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THE

JOURNAL

OF

SACRED LITERATURE.

New Series.

EDITED BY THE REV. H. BURGESS, PH. D.

VOLUME V.

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LONDON:
BLACKADER AND CO.,
ALDINE CHAMBERS, 13, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1853.

LONDON: W. CLOWES & SONS, STAMFORD STREET, AND CHARING CROSS.

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No. IX.—OCTOBER, 1853.

THE EXTENT AND THE RESTRICTIONS OF SACRED LITERATURE,

IN REFERENCE PARTICULARLY TO THIS JOURNAL.

AN ADDRESS BY THE EDITOR.

Circumstances having led to a change in the Editorship of this Journal, it appears convenient and desirable, in this place, to say something of the distinctive character it aims at possessing, and of the principles on which it will be conducted.

The expression, 'Sacred Literature,' is sufficiently generic to include all that can possibly be written on Christian topics at large, such as the criticism and the interpretation of the Old and New Testaments; the history of the Church under all its external manifestations and changes; and the phenomena of Christian, or, more extensively, of the divine life in individuals; to embrace, in fact, everything which is now treated of in the very numerous publications of the religious world. But as this large sense is not that in which the objects of the Journal are to be understood, the inquiry is originated, What are the restrictions proposed—what the boundaries of the information we are anxious to collect and to communicate?

Generally, then, the department of our labours may be defined as contained in an orbit having the Bible for its centre, in distinc-

tion from those spheres of religious literature which revolve around the CHURCH, whether considered in the aggregate or in its individual portions. Whatever may tend to the interpretation or illustration of the Holy Scriptures is what we wish to gather from every available source, and to place on record. Whatever can restore or confirm the integrity of the sacred text, reconcile its apparent discrepancies, or elucidate its statements, constitutes the proper material to be gathered up and preserved in a Journal like this; and it must be confessed that the area thus proposed is sufficiently extensive to allow no room for regret that the restriction mentioned is deemed necessary. The field certainly is ample enough for all the labourers who may be disposed to till it, and the soil is confessedly so fruitful that we need entertain no doubt of being able to reap an abundant harvest. Nor can any complaint be made on the score of *variety* in the kinds of productions which may be gathered, as the past history of the JOURNAL abundantly testifies. The time must be very far distant indeed when all the fair produce of this spacious enclosure shall be gathered in, whether of flowers to adorn the shrine which it surrounds, or of more substantial fruits to feed its priests and worshippers.

If the boundary line we have indicated is ever left, it will not be from caprice, but from the necessary imperfection of all human arrangements, and the almost impossibility of rigidly cutting off all communication beyond it. All sciences and arts have mutual relations more or less intimate, and it is often difficult to say where one of them ends and another begins, as pure mathematics gradually become concrete in their alliances with those which are mixed, and as painting and poetry imperceptibly coalesce. But another reason exists, besides the nature of things, why the rigid limits we have given to the literature of this JOURNAL must sometimes be passed; and that is, the taste of the public mind in this country, under whose patronage alone our labours can have any successful result, or even an existence. *Unfortunately* the taste for pure biblical literature is not sufficiently cultivated in England to secure for a journal exclusively devoted to it an amount of support adequate to its healthful and vigorous existence. Party spirit is too strong, religious prejudices are too inveterate, and, we may add, ignorance of the real value of biblical science is too widely spread, to allow of the extensive patronage which alone could keep in a

state of vitality a Journal strictly confined to pure biblical subjects. Hence proceeds the startling phenomenon that, in a country where the Bible is regarded with feelings of reverence and affection little short of adoration, sectarian and one-sided expositions of its doctrines are more valued than laborious and learned inquiries directed to the discovery of truth alone. From this originates the fact, that, while religious miscellanies which bear on their front the shibboleth of a party often yield large profits, a work like ours has had, up to this time, to struggle for existence! It will be readily seen how this state of things *must* sometimes modify our theory, although notwithstanding we shall endeavour, as far as practicable, to maintain it intact and complete.

By avoiding, as far as is consistent with a manly regard for truth, all those peculiar topics which cluster around the idea of the Church, we hope to secure the co-operation of all who profess and call themselves Christians, and who desire 'to hold the faith in unity of spirit and in the bond of peace.' It is plain that the admission of controversy on points which Christians hold to be most valuable, and yet upon which they are not agreed, would be to incur the fate of a house divided against itself, which, according to the highest authority, cannot stand. No compromise is incurred, no suppression of what is conceived to be true is committed by this arrangement, because the acknowledged sphere of labour to which the JOURNAL is devoted would be infringed upon by the discussion of those disputed subjects. There are some minds probably which will never be satisfied in any literary efforts they put forth, unless prominence is given to the points on which they disagree with others. With such we cannot sympathise nor co-operate, for our practice will be the very reverse of this. We shall be quite content to hold our cherished peculiar opinions tightly to our hearts, without exposing them to be carped at and written down; and this freedom from offensive attack which we claim and value ourselves, we shall freely concede to others, whose attachment to their own distinctive views is without doubt equally warm and sincere.

But while the unsectarian character of the JOURNAL will thus be maintained, both on principle and from inclination, it must be remembered alike by ourselves and our contributors and readers, that there will still be room for charitable construction and kind forbearance. The faith of all bodies of Christians is confessedly

built on the Word of God, and hence the treatment of its various topics *must* more or less seem to come close, if not to touch and intrude upon, the precincts of personal opinions and party customs and practices. As this cannot be avoided, the fact gives occasion for a polite and even tender treatment of the motives and feelings of others; and for the suppression of what every good man should seek to avoid—an overbearing assumption of the general value of his own opinions. Infallibility is not the lot of man. Each *may* be wrong in his peculiar construction of portions of the record to which all appeal, and hence the necessity and the propriety of forbearance. It is not a healthy state of mind which makes a man touchy and over sensitive respecting opinions opposed to his own. Such a temper is more indicative of self-will than of a sincere regard for truth, our search after which should sometimes dispose us to consider what may be said by those who differ from us.

But the most difficult part of our task still remains, even after we have agreed to place disputed matters in abeyance. The *mode of treating* the topics which legitimately belong to our prescribed province may be calculated to startle the timid, to unsettle still further the waverer, or even to shock the pious feelings of the conscientious biblical scholar who is anxiously and reverentially searching after the truth. Our task is not done when we have settled the bounds of mutual charity respecting such matters as the officers, the sacraments, and the government of the Church. There yet remain to be adjusted all the formidable questions associated with orthodoxy on the one hand and heterodoxy on the other. Thus, although the first chapter of Genesis, for example, may seem incapable of exciting any controversy on purely Christian grounds, the modes of its interpretation may be very various. They may be rationalistic or anti-supernatural; moderate, or in accordance with the lights both of revelation and science; or blindly conformed to old and exploded ideas and notions, long since rejected by competent scholars, although still firmly held by multitudes of the ignorant and the bigoted. It behoves us then to put on record the principles on which we propose to receive or reject articles capable of favouring these various schools of exegesis.

Now we candidly confess that the term *orthodoxy* has no charms for us, unless, deprived of its conventional and various meanings, it comes before us as simply designating *right-thinking;* and that

the word *heterodoxy* inspires us with no terror, except as it is synonymous with *wrong-thinking*. To think rightly, as things really are, or as God thinks respecting them, is the aim of all true piety, and is the highest possible attainment of an intellectual being; while, on the other hand, to think wrongly, as fallen spirits and depraved men do, must be an evil of all others to be most deprecated. But who will affirm that orthodoxy and heterodoxy, in common speech, have these contrasted meanings? *Generally* a man is orthodox in the estimation of those with whom he agrees, and heterodox in the eyes of those who differ from him. If the terms were always used in reference to what may be considered the catholic view of the essentials of Christianity in all ages, they would be precise and intelligible; but they have more often a reference to the peculiarities of isolated communities, and even of individuals. It is thus obvious that the Editor of a Journal like this must have some other principle to guide him than the common use of these undefined and variable watchwords. In short, he must dismiss these words altogether, and apply a rule of selection less Protean and capricious.

When the Editor affirms that from inclination, from experience, and from some extensive observation of the religious world in its literary aspects, he is strongly disposed to conservatism on all biblical subjects, he feels sure that his unceremonious rejection of the talismanic words, orthodoxy and heterodoxy, will be received, not as intimating a disposition to throw down ancient landmarks and stop up old paths, but rather as the result of a strong desire to use more effective guides to what is permanent, and therefore old, in biblical science. He confesses that the historical or traditionary aspect of divine revelation, with its marvellous harmony on all really substantial verities, presents to his own mind a most comforting assurance that Providence has always specially watched over the Church and the Word, and given them, in the general phases they have always and everywhere exhibited, an indelible character of truth and certainty.

What truly prayerful biblical scholar is there who does not feel that, when he lifts his eyes from some perplexing entanglement of the text of Holy Writ, or some *quæstio vexata* of theology, and surveys revelation in its venerable course of six thousand years, the whole presents a compactness and beauty most grateful to his

mental vision and soothing to his spirit? The parts minutely inspected may appear out of course, but collectively they form a magnificent temple, on the majesty and loveliness of which the soul delights to rest. To change the figure, when we dwell exclusively on difficult texts, and endeavour to reconcile apparent discrepancies, we are like men toiling along some rough path amidst glorious scenery, of which the very stones and briars which impede our way form a part. We begin to doubt the wisdom by which such a tortuous and tangled way has been provided for us, until we look upward and around us, and in the vision of the whole landscape discern a harmony and beauty we were almost tempted to forget!

Our axioms are, that our holy religion is divine, in the explicit and unreserved sense in which our forefathers believed it to be so, before rationalism had caused one eddy in the deep and pellucid waters of their faith; that in old time God spake unto the fathers by the prophets in a sense far different from the way in which he may be said to instruct and adorn the mere philosopher and poet, and hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son; that Holy Scripture is given by inspiration of God, in a sense which separates it by a great gulf from all other written compositions; and that the miraculousness of the revelation as a whole, renders it unphilosophical to start at and doubt the supernatural character of its minor details. With such deep convictions as these we shall feel it incumbent on us on no account to admit anything that would unsettle the faith of our readers in what is understood to be orthodox in this enlarged sense. Our literature will not be intended to undermine the foundations of the temple we have referred to, but rather to give them greater subjective firmness; not to bring a cloud over the magnificent scenery to which we have likened divine revelation, but rather to remove any mists which may hang over it, and bring even its latent beauties into greater prominence.

Subject to these explanations, the JOURNAL will be conservative, not destructive, in its tendency; for it will neither bring forth novelties for their own sake, nor neglect the antiquities of Christian thought because they are old. It is only in this enlarged view of our operations that we hope to be understood; to a short-sighted and minute criticism we shall probably be a stumbling-block. Conscious that both ourselves and our fellow-labourers would rather lay down the pen for ever than write a line that could tarnish

God's glory, or hinder the humblest spirit in its heavenward course, we shall have our reward in our own integrity of purpose, although we may be sometimes misconstrued.

There is a state of mind often found in biblical inquirers which we consider to be a disease, and shall do all we can to counteract. We allude to a restless and constant attempt to unsettle current interpretation, and introduce new theories. This morbid activity is often found in young students of the Bible, and indicates a want of reverence and faith which, instead of being promotive, is destructive of improvement. The whole tendency of our labours will be to produce a more healthy tone of mind than is thus indicated; but we think we shall best accomplish our object, not by stigmatizing freeness of thought as German rationalism and heterodoxy (stones which the hand of ignorance is skilled to throw), but by discerning between the results of an earnest search after truth on the part of a pious and learned inquirer, and the crude speculations of the pedant and the novice.

We trust that in every case it will be remembered that the Editor only holds himself responsible for the tendency of the articles admitted into the JOURNAL, in the enlarged sense in which orthodoxy may be predicated of them. It is obvious that he could be more strictly responsible than this only by making the work the channel for his own opinions, instead of the general views of the religious public, and thus turning his office into an instrument of inquisitorial tyranny. The article in this number, *On the Inspiration of the Gospels*, will illustrate what is here meant. The Editor does not agree with the writer of that thoughtful essay in his minor details, thinking that they border too much on the fanciful; but he would on no account, for this reason, have excluded a composition the tendency of which is so good, and which may be, after all, nearer the truth than he imagines in the particulars mentioned.

Such are our views on entering upon our labours. How far we shall be able practically to apply them must depend upon others. The JOURNAL can only carry out its professed objects by the cordial co-operation of gentlemen whose literary tastes, combined with a love of biblical knowledge, dispose them to become contributors, and by the patronage of the reading public. Its past history has been one of great patience and persevering efforts on the part of the late Editor and his coadjutors. It is satisfactory to know that

its circulation has largely increased of late, and its pages no doubt are extensively read; still it requires a larger measure of support to place it on a firm footing, and to enable it fully to realise its objects. We appeal therefore to all who may read this address to do something to enlarge its circulation, and thus add to its usefulness. No pains shall be spared on our part to make it subserve the interests of true religion and piety, to make it a blessing to the Church and the world. May He without whom nothing is wise or holy direct our minds into the truth by His Holy Spirit, that all we do may tend to the glory of His great name!

To the late Editor, Dr. KITTO, the thanks of the Christian public are greatly due for having, in the midst of many discouragements, brought the JOURNAL to its present position of honourable usefulness. His retirement, rendered necessary by his numerous and important literary engagements, will not deprive the JOURNAL of his best wishes, nor of his valuable advice and occasional contributions. His successor, who ranks his friendship among his greatest privileges, enters on his duties with his full sanction and concurrence; and begs to express a hope that, while the energies of his learned friend are given to works which adorn and benefit our country and the world, he may still see the JOURNAL, brought by his fostering care to the verge of manhood, attain to a ripe and full age.[a]

[a] The readers of the JOURNAL who take an interest in its prosperity will be gratified by the following extract from a letter to the Editor, which he is permitted to publish by Dr. Kitto:—'It cannot but be a great satisfaction to me that the interests of a publication which has for many years been an object of deep solicitude to me, and for which I shall always cherish a paternal regard, should be intrusted to the hands of one with whom I have been privileged to form relations of personal friendship, and in whose judgment I have entire confidence. I regard the editorship of the JOURNAL as a position of great honour and distinguished usefulness. I retire from it with great reluctance, and even with grief. And this would be doubly intense were I not thus assured that its future management will devolve upon one so competent as yourself to meet the serious and often delicate responsibilities the trust imposes, and to discharge adequately the various duties it involves. I shall be ready to do all that I can to facilitate your proceedings, by affording you all the information that may be needful at the commencement of your onerous undertaking. Write to me freely when such need arises; and rest assured that you have not only the "concurrence" which you have the consideration to ask, but that I am exceedingly gratified with the prospect your letter opens.'

ROBINSON'S JOURNEY IN PALESTINE.[a]

OUTLINES OF A JOURNEY IN PALESTINE IN 1852 BY E. ROBINSON, E. SMITH, AND OTHERS.

Drawn up by E. Robinson, D.D., of New York.

Ever since the publication of my work on Palestine, I had cherished the desire of once more visiting that interesting country; partly for the purpose of examining some points anew; but still more in the hope of extending my researches into those portions which had not yet been explored.

In March of the present year (1852) I arrived at Beirût, on my way to carry these plans into execution. Here I was detained for some time; at first by the unsettled state of the weather, which continued variable much later than usual—some of the most violent storms of the season having occurred after my arrival; and then in order to be present at the Annual Meeting of the American Mission in Syria, which was held this year at Beirût. I desire here to express my deep feeling of obligation to the Mission, for the interest manifested by them in my undertaking, and for the arrangements adopted to secure to me the aid and company of some one of the Missionaries during the whole journey.

It had already been arranged, that, before the meeting, I should accompany Mr. Thompson to Hasbeiya, and from thence visit the region of Bâniâs and Phiala. But just at that time the movements of the Druzes to evade the threatened conscription made those districts insecure. I was therefore obliged to content myself with short excursions to the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, with its Egyptian and Assyrian tablets; to the remarkable temple at Deir el-Kŭl'ah; and to 'Abeih, the seat of the Boys' Seminary belonging to the Mission.

To the latter place, under the guidance of Dr. De Forest, we took a less usual road; and visited a spot on a rocky ledge between two valleys, where there are many ancient sarcophagi cut in the scattered rocks. Their huge lids have been removed, and lie mostly near by. The place is utterly lonely, and almost desolate; a few patches of wheat only being interspersed among the rocks.

On the 5th of April the Rev. Dr. E. Smith and myself found ourselves once more on the way from Beirût to Jerusalem. On the 26th of June, 1838, we had together arrived at Beirût from our former travels; and we were now setting off from the same point to

[a] This paper was found in type by the Editor, intended for insertion in an earlier number. It has appeared in print in America, but its value is too great to allow of its being excluded from the Journal on that account.

continue our explorations. We encamped for the night at Neby Yûnas (*Porphyrion*), more than half way to Sidon. After the tent was pitched, the beds arranged, and the frugal meal ended, it was with an overpowering feeling that we compared the present with the past. Here we were, in our tent, not the same indeed as formerly, but yet so like it as hardly to be distinguished; the furniture and all our travelling apparatus were similar; several things were the very same; and our places in the tent were as of old. The intervening *fourteen years* seemed to vanish away, as if we were but continuing a journey of yesterday. And when we reverted to the reality, we could not but gratefully acknowledge the mercy of God in preserving our lives, and permitting us once more, after so long an interval, to prosecute *together* the researches which we had together begun. We could not but regard it as a high, and certainly an *unusual* privilege, thus after fourteen long years again to take up the thread of our investigations.

Under other circumstances we might, perhaps, have regarded it as an unpropitious omen, when, during the night, a violent sirocco wind arose, and blew down our tent upon us as we slept. It was pitched upon the sand, the only foundation which the neighbourhood afforded. At first we tried to sleep on beneath the fallen tent; but the flapping of the canvas compelled us to rise; and as the day was already breaking in the east, we decided to make an early start. This we did, and, fording the Auwaly, near its mouth, reached Sidon soon after 7 o'clock.

The observations we made along the coast were not many; but they serve to correct the maps in a few particulars. We were now more struck with the remains of the ancient Roman road, traces of which are visible from near the river Dâmûr for most of the way to the Auwaly. It is singular that no regular survey has ever yet been made of the Syrian coast; and it therefore gives us the more pleasure to learn from the highest authority, that such a survey will probably be undertaken by order of the British Government during the next year.

From Sidon we turned eastward towards Lebanon; and after a ride of more than two hours, pitched our tent at Kefr Fâlûs. For some distance on the N. and E. of Sidon the mountains retire; and the interval is an open, uneven, rolling tract, highly cultivated, and abounding in the finest fruit. From Sidon to the roots of Lebanon is about three hours; and then the mountain ridges rise by degrees.

The next day our plan was to have kept on to Rûm and the high conical point of Ruweiset Rûm; then to have ascended and travelled along the high ridge of Jebel Rîhân, south of the angle of the Auwaly, until, reaching the road from Jezzîn to Jerjû'a, we could

descend to the latter village, situated high up on the flank of the mountain on the N.W. brink of the great gorge of the river Zaherâny. We accordingly sent off our baggage-mules by the direct road to Jerjû'a, there to await our arrival. But we had proceeded hardly an hour on the way to Rûm, before it began to rain; and after waiting for a time in a peasant's house at Rûm, we were compelled to forego our purpose and take the nearest way to Jerjû'a. We reached that place, by way of Jebâ'a, after a long and dreary ride in the rain, and took refuge for the night and next day in a dark and smoky room in one of the hovels of the town. This was the only time that our plan of travel was frustrated by bad weather.

While lying next day at Jerjû'a, we descended into the chasm of the Zaherâny, and visited its highest perennial fountain. Here we were surprised to find the remains of an ancient channel cut in the rock, and connected with an aqueduct further down, by which the water of this fountain was carried below the village around the flank of the mountain, and so to Sidon; many remains of such an aqueduct having already been known along the way to Sidon, though its beginning had not been found. The Sidonians had aqueducts from the Auwaly much nearer, for irrigation; but they must have preferred this water for drinking. Even now water for drinking is brought to the city from fountains an hour or more distant. From Jerjû'a, Sidon bore N. 42 W.

From this high position the whole country W. and S.W. was visible quite to the sea. It is rolling, uneven, and sometimes rocky, made up of hills and valleys and plains, but no mountains. The gorge of the Zaherâny here runs S.W. and turns nearly S. just below, along the W. base of Jebel Rîhân, for a short distance, when the river suddenly breaks through the low ridge which there forms its western bank, and runs off W. to the sea. But the valley along the base of Rîhân continues on, as Wady Jermûk, quite down to the Lîtâny; and one might be almost tempted to suppose that the Zaherâny once kept on its course to the latter stream. On the right bank of the Lîtâny, just below the entrance of Wady Jermûk, on a high cliff, in no connection with Lebanon, stands the magnificent but deserted fortress, Kŭlăt esh-Shûkîf, the *Belfort* of the crusaders. It was in sight from Jerjû'a, bearing directly S.; and a visit to it was included in our plan.

The next day (April 9th) we proceeded through a fertile and well-cultivated region, by way of the market-town Nŭbâtîyeh, to Arnûn, a poor village below the ridge of the castle. Here are a few ancient sarcophagi cut in isolated rocks. The ridge on this side is neither very steep nor high; we rode the distance in twenty minutes from the village, half of it being level ground. But on

arriving at the top, one looks down on the other side almost perpendicularly into the abyss of the Lîtâny, *fifteen hundred* feet, as measured by Dr. De Forest with the aneroid. The top of the ridge is very narrow; and the castle occupies its whole breadth, and more, being in some places built up from lower precipices. Its length is hence greatly disproportioned to its narrow breadth. On the S. of the castle the top of the ridge is levelled off as a fine esplanade or parade-ground.

This fortress is known to us from the historians of the crusades; but it needs only a glance to see that it dates from a much higher antiquity, and that the crusaders did nothing more than repair it. The ancient portion, which still forms the main body of the building, is built with *bevelled* stones; not large stones like those at Jerusalem, nor with a bevel so regular as is found in the tower of Hippicus, but yet of the same general character, though coarser. The sloping foundations of the towers are also seen here; and, indeed, some of the square towers may be said to be almost *facsimiles* of Hippicus. The repairs of the crusaders are everywhere easily to be distinguished; they have a totally different character. The chief work of theirs which remains is a fine Latin chapel along the eastern wall. Perhaps some historical notice may yet be found to fix the date of this fortress; but at any rate it cannot be later than the times of the Byzantine, or perhaps the Roman dominion in Syria. Here was always an important pass from Sidon eastward. Nothing overshadows the castle except Jebel Rîhân on the N. and N.E., so that it forms a conspicuous object, visible at a great distance in all other directions. From it the castle above Bâniâs bore S. 60 E.

From esh-Shûkîf we turned our course about W. by S. to the bridge over the Lîtâny (here running westward) near the village Kâ'kâ'îyeh. This bridge is in part an ancient structure, but the whole is very rickety. Here we encamped for the night.

Our next day's journey brought us to the castle of Tibnîn, the *Toron* or *Turinum* of the crusaders. Our direct road to this place led up through the Wady Hujeir for nearly the whole distance; but after an hour we turned to the left up another deep valley, Wady Selûky, which has its beginning in the S.W. of Hûnîn, and drains the whole region. On the high southern brow of this valley we came, after another hour, to the hamlet Kŭbrîkhah, where are the remains of a temple with several columns still standing, with Ionic capitals. Hence we struck off again obliquely to Wady Hujeir, at a point where another temple once stood on its western side, of which only one or two columns remain.

The fortress of Tibnîn is on the summit of an isolated hill, and covers much more ground than that of esh-Shŭkîf. It is also

much more a work of the crusaders; though several courses of bevelled stones on the outside show that they built it upon earlier foundations. It is now in ruins, except the gateway, where a family of Metâwîlch Sheikhs have built a house within the walls, which they make their home. Here Jerjû'a bore N. 24 E. and the castle esh-Shŭkîf N. 42 E.

From Tibnîn we took a course S. 60 W. crossing our former route at Hârîs (not Hâdîth), and after another hour turned up the ridge on the right side of Wady el-'Ain, on the road from Rumeish to Tyre, to Yâtir, a village overlooking the plain of Tyre, and evidently occupying an ancient site.

Retracing our steps, we followed up Wady el-'Ain for a time S.E., and then turned to the right to a site of ruins called Hazûr and also Hazîry; but not the Hazor of Scripture and Josephus. Hence we proceeded S.W. to Râmeh, on an isolated hill in the midst of a basin shut in by other high hills. This is unquestionably the *Ramah* of Asher; a different place from Ramah of Naphtali. Here are quite a number of ancient sarcophagi.

Half an hour W. of Ramah is a high hill, on which are seen from afar the columns and part of the architrave of an ancient temple. We visited the spot; but the columns are all too much weather-worn to distinguish the order of their capitals. The place is called Belât. From this high point we could look down over the whole mountainous and broken region intervening between it and the sea, from Râs el-Abyad to 'Akka, and could trace the course of the ridges and valleys. Of the latter, the great Wady el-Kŭrn is the principal; it was described by our guides as so deep and precipitous, that even eagles could not fly across it.

We learned afterwards, that both Râmeh and Belât had been visited a few weeks previously by Mr. Van de Velde.

From Râmeh we turned our course to Rumeish, and thence to Kefr Bir'im on the road to Safed, half an hour E. of Sa'sa'. Here are the remains of two singular edifices. Of one a large part of the body is yet standing, with a portico of columns in front, of no Greek order. Behind the columns is a large portal in the middle, with a smaller door on each side. The whole is very elaborately decorated with sculptured ornaments. Of the other building only a portion of the front remains, standing alone in the fields. It is similar to the front of the other edifice, except that on the sculptured entablature of the middle portal is a Hebrew inscription, in the ordinary square character of the present day. It is much defaced, and, so far as it can be read, merely invokes 'peace' upon the founder of the edifice, but without legible name or date. If the inscription be coeval with the building, it marks it as a Jewish synagogue. That it and the other building actually were such is

also evident from their resemblance to the ruined building at Meirôn, which the Jews still hold to be a synagogue of their fathers. We afterwards found the remains of similar edifices, marked by a very peculiar architecture, and some of them quite large, at Irbid, Tell Hûm, Kedes, and perhaps other places in Galilee. All this would seem to mark a condition of prosperity and wealth and influence among the Jews of Galilee during the early centuries of the Christian era, of which neither their own historians, nor any other, have given us any account. These edifices must have been coeval with their flourishing schools in Tiberias.

The next day (April 14th) took us first to Meirôn; whence, after examining the sepulchres and the ancient synagogue, we turned our course up the mountain W., and crossed the high ridge of Jebel Jermûk and the next valley to Beit Jenn. This village lies high upon the declivity of the ridge W. of the great valley here running N.W., and forming one of the main heads of Wady el-Kŭrn. Beyond this western ridge, in a basin from which goes out another great branch of Wady el-Kŭrn, is the village Bukei'a, inhabited in part by Jews occupied with agriculture. On this account they are supposed by some to be a remnant of the ancient Jewish inhabitants of the land, who have never been driven out by the later masters of the country, whether Christians or Mohammedans.

Turning S. from Beit Jenn we came out after half an hour upon the brow of a pass in the ridge of mountains here running from E. to W. looking out over the whole of southern Galilee. This point afforded one of the widest and finest views we met with in our whole journey. Some 1500 or 2000 feet below us was the splendid plain of Râmeh (the *Ramah* of Naphtali), covered with groves of olive-trees and fields of grain; while beyond were other ridges and plains, through which we were to pass. Through this long plain of Râmeh runs the great road from 'Akka to Damascus.

Singularly enough this plain has no outlet at either end. Its eastern part is drained through a gap in the southern ridge into the next plain, and so through Wady Sellâmeh to the lake of Tiberias. The western portion is in like manner drained through a similar gap in the same ridge into Wady Sha'ab, which runs down W. to the plain of 'Akka. On the southern ridge, E. of the former gap, is a high rounded prominence called Tell Hazûr, from a small ruin on its N.W. declivity. This, also, cannot be the Hazor of Scripture and Josephus; for that was adjacent, not (like this) to the lake of Tiberias, but to the waters of Merom or Samochonitis, now the Hûleh.

We descended to Râmeh, lying still high on the lower and cultivated declivity of the mountain. It has few traces of antiquity. We then crossed the plain obliquely S.E., and ascended the southern ridge around the eastern side of Tell Hazûr, to the large village el-Mŭghâr upon its S.E. side, overlooking the plain below. This place is probably ancient; but no corresponding name is found in ancient writers. From this point we visited the ruin of Hazûr, and also ascended the Tell.

The plain now before us does not, like that of Râmeh, extend unbroken between the ridges on the N. and S. throughout their whole length; but is divided near the middle by a lower ridge running obliquely across it from N.W. to S.E. between the two parallel ridges. The eastern part was now before us, drained eastward by Wady Sellâmeh, which comes in from the plain of Râmeh, and enters the lake of Tiberias as Wady er-Rŭbŭdîyeh. It has its name from an ancient site Sellâmeh, on the western side of this part of the plain; the *Selame* or *Selamis* of Josephus.

From el-Mŭghâr we made a short day's journey, descending and crossing the plain on a S.W. course, and then crossing the oblique ridge into the western portion of the plain. A large part of this is so level that a lake is formed upon it in the rainy season; while the part further W. is drained by the Wady Sha'ab to the western plain. Keeping along on high ground near the southern hills, we came to 'Arrâbeh, lying in a nook among these hills. It is doubtless the *Araba* of Josephus. One hour further W., and in full view, is Sŭkhnîn, the *Sogane* of that writer, and mentioned by him in connection with Araba. These names, as also *Selame*, are found in the map of Galilee by Schultz, but are not correctly placed.

At 'Arrâbeh we were detained two nights; mainly on account of the lameness of one of our horses. This at last compelled us to turn down to 'Akka, which did not lie in our original plan. We therefore went to Sûkhnîn, where are some ancient remains with bevelled stones. From hence the direct road to 'Akka passes by Mî'âr, on the brow of the hills overlooking the western plain. We, however, turned more to the right, in order to visit a ruin of which we had heard, called Kŭbarah. In this name may be recognized the *Gabara* of Josephus, which he mentions along with Tiberias and Sepphoris, as one of the three principal towns of Galilee. We made a great descent to the bottom of Wady Sha'ab, at a point whence a good and level road led to 'Akka; and there turned N.E. up the northern ridge and across table-land to the brow looking down into the plain of Râmeh. Here are the remains of Gabara, consisting of the ruins of a large and strong fortress, with the walls and foundations of houses, and cisterns,

indicating an important place. The remains of antiquity found here are much more extensive than those existing at Seffûrieh. Râmeh was here in sight, bearing N. 75 E.

On the way to 'Akka we saw on our left, among the lower hills, the village of Kabûl; and afterwards, far on our right, another village on the declivity of the hills called 'Amkah, on the S. side of the deep ravine now called Wady Jiddîn, from the ruined castle of that name on its N. bank. These villages correspond in name to the *Cabul* and *Beth Emek* of the tribe of Asher; and the deep valley may then perhaps be that of *Jiphtha-el.* Both these places had been seen and recognized by Dr. Smith during a former journey.

We remained in 'Akka over Sunday; and starting again on Monday morning (April 19th) we took the road for the hills again, by way of 'Abilîn. Our guide, however, finding that we desired to visit Jefât (*Jotapata*), proposed to take us a shorter way by Tŭmrah and Kaukab. To this we assented, and climbed the rough acclivity back of Tŭmrah by a blind and unfrequented path. Jefât is E. of Kaukab; we reached it in 40 minutes, also by a blind path. This isolated Tell, first visited by Mr. Schultz, corresponds in every particular to the description of Josephus; but there exists not the slightest indication that a fortress or anything else ever stood upon it. The surface is naked rock, with one or two small cisterns now used for flocks; but not a trace of a wall or foundation of any kind. It is shut out from any prospect by high hills on all sides, except that through a narrow valley running down S.E. a small strip of the plain el-Bŭttauf is visible.

Down this valley we proceeded to the ruins of *Cana* of Galilee, which lie at its mouth, on the edge of the hills which skirt the Bŭttauf on the N. The remains are those of a large village with well-built houses, but without any special marks of antiquity. The place is known as *Kâna* and *Khirbet Kâna* to all the people of the region round about, both Christians and Muslims. We turned now westward along the base of the northern hills to Kefr Menda, and encamped for the night.

The next day (April 20th) we passed through Seffûrieh with its ancient tower; and leaving its great fountain on our left, a favourite camping-ground of the hosts of the crusaders, we kept on S.W. to Beit Lahm, the *Bethlehem* of Zebulon, a miserable village, with no trace of antiquity but its name. It had already been visited by Dr. Kally. We continued on to Jeida; and then crossed the great plain of Esdraelon in the direction of Lejjûn, encamping for the night in the middle of the plain. Here we had on our right the mouth of Wady Milh, at the base of Carmel, up which valley a road from 'Akka leads and crosses the ridge to

the plain of Sharon. Just at the mouth is a hill called Tell Kaimôn, in which is to be recognized the *Camon* of Eusebius, situated six Roman miles from Legio towards Ptolemais. It is still near the road from Lejjûn to 'Akka. May it also perhaps once have been the *Jokneam* of Carmel?

The next morning we crossed the Mukŭtta' (Kishon), running over a gravelly bed between banks from 15 to 20 feet high. Passing through tracts of the utmost fertility, we came at last to the great Tell el-Mutesellim, which stands out in front of the hill, on the back of which Lejjûn is situated. This Tell affords a magnificent view of the rich plain; and, as we looked towards Taanach, we became fully persuaded that we had before us the battle-field of Deborah and Barak. Whether Megiddo lay upon this Tell, as some suppose, but of which there is now no trace; or whether it lay upon the hill back, the S. side of which is now occupied by Lejjûn; it was at any rate a sightly and important place, and might well give name to the plain. The stream flowing down from Lejjûn is still the largest perennial tributary of the Kishon.

That Lejjûn is the representative of the more ancient Megiddo there can be little doubt. Maximianopolis, to which Raumer assigns the succession, partly because it is marked as on the route from Cesarea to Jezreel (Zer'în), must have lain more to the E. We saw afterwards the course of that route through the hills more eastward; and saw, too, that for it to pass through Lejjûn would be a large circuit towards the W. Maximianopolis may not improbably have lain at or near the large village Sâlim.

Near Lejjûn passes the great road from Damascus to Ramleh and Egypt. We followed it to the top of the pass, and then, without descending, took a more south-easterly course to Um el-Fahm, on the brow of a hill looking towards the western plain. Hence we proceeded on high ground, south-eastward, along the water-shed between the heads of valleys running to the northern and the western plains, and came for the night to Ya'bud, on a hill overlooking another beautiful plain extending far to the E. and N.E. and bending round Ya'bud towards the W. Far in the N.E. we had before seen Kŭbâtîyeh; and in the northern parts lies Kefr Kûd, the ancient *Capharcotia* of Ptolemy. Here, too, in the middle of the eastern plain, we were delighted to find the name of Dothân (*Dothan*); it is now a fine green Tell, with a fountain on its southern base, corresponding entirely to the position assigned to it by Eusebius, twelve Roman miles N. of Samaria. We learned afterwards from Mr. Van de Velde, that he too had unexpectedly lighted upon the place some weeks earlier.

In this connection, we were told at Ya'bud, that the great road

from Beisân and Zer'în to Ramleh and Egypt still leads through this plain, entering it W. of Jenin, passing near Kefr Kûd, and bending south-westward around Ya'bud to the western plain. It is easy to see, therefore, that the Midianites, to whom Joseph was sold in Dothan, had crossed the Jordan at Beisân, and were proceeding to Egypt along the ordinary road. It is obvious, too, that Joseph's brethren well knew the best places of pasturage. They had exhausted that of the Mûkhna by Shechem (Nâblus), and had afterwards repaired to the still finer pastures here around Dothan.

On the day after (April 22nd) we followed down the road by which Joseph was carried away to Egypt, to Zeita and 'Attîl on the borders of the western plain, and then turned up again into the mountains on the way to Sebŭstieh and Nâblus. We supposed we were here upon Herod's road from Cesarea to these places; and in many parts there were evident traces of an ancient road, but we saw nowhere any paved way. We spent the night at Ramîn. The next day, in crossing a rocky ridge, some distance S. of Sebŭstieh, and before we struck again our route of 1838, we found evident remains of the ancient road over the ridge; here were also columns and other traces of an ancient site, now called Dibbârieh.

We spent the day in Nâblus, and again visited the Samaritans. Both the priests, father and son, whom we saw before, are still living; but the elder seemed to be superannuated, and the younger is now the acting head of his people. Learning that we desired to see him, he came to us, conducted us to their place of worship, showed us their manuscripts, and loaned of his own accord to Dr. Smith a fine copy of their Arabic version of the Pentateuch, to be used by him in the new Arabic version in which he is engaged.

From Nâblus we bent our course again S.W. on the direct road to Ramleh. We turned around the shoulder of Mount Gerizim by Râfîdieh, and passed by Kuryet Jit (the ancient *Gitta*), and Funduk, leaving Fer'ata (*Pirathon*) at no great distance on our left. As we began gradually to descend towards the plain, we had at our left a large and deep valley called Wady Kânah, which we may with probability regard as the brook *Kanah* of the book of Joshua (xvii. 9), the boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh. Lower down it takes a different local name. We passed on by 'Azzûn and down the long Wady of that name to its entrance into the plain opposite Kilkîlieh and Kefr Sâba. Turning left a little to Hableh on the low hills S. of the Wady, we encamped over Sunday, in full view of Kefr Sâba, and also of Jiljûlieh further S. These are the *Antipatris* and western *Gilgal* of Scripture, and were visited and described by Dr. Smith in 1844.

At Hableh I was gratified at finding close by our tent an ancient wine-press hewn in the rock. It was complete, with the upper shallow vat for treading the grapes, and the lower deeper one to receive the liquid; and might still be used, were there here grapes to tread. At present there are no vineyards in all this region. I would have given much to transport this wine-press *in naturâ* to London or New York.

On the following Monday (April 26th) we proceeded southward along the foot of the hills, crossing in a quarter of an hour from Hableh the continuation of the great Wady Kânah, here called W. Zâkûr and W. Khureish, from two sites of ruins on its banks. It was here said to come from the S. end of the plain el-Mûkhna. It passes off S. of Jiljûlieh, and, joining the Wady from Kefr Sâba, goes to the 'Aujeh. We had the great fountain of the Aujeh, at Râs el-'Ain, on our right in the low plain. From Mejdel Yâba we turned S.W. into the plain, entered the Damascus road, and came on it to Renthieh. This village, so far as the name is concerned, might well be held to be the ancient *Arimathea;* but the historical notices seem to fix that place, not in the toparchy of Lydda where this village lies, but in that of Tibneh (*Timnath, Thamna*), farther eastward.

We came to Lydda, and passed on by way of Kubâb to Yâlo, the ancient Ajalon. The road lay much of the way along the Wady 'Atallah, which drains the plain of Merj Ibn 'Omeir, and runs down on the E. and N. of Lydda. Yâlo we formerly saw from the upper Beth-horon, and our view of it and the adjacent region was correct, except that the plain of Merj Ibn 'Omeir is bounded by the ridge, on the N. side of which Yâlo lies, and does not extend itself towards the S.W beyond Kubâb, as we then supposed. The name Ibn 'Omeir belongs to the district, and not specially to the plain. We were told afterwards of a ruined place in the mountains E. of Yâlo, and not very far off, called Kefîr. It probably is the site of the ancient *Chephirah* of the Gibeonites; but we heard of it only too late to visit it.

We proceeded the next day to 'Amwâs, the ancient *Emmaus* or *Nicopolis*, situated between Yâlo and the Jerusalem road, twenty minutes N. of the latter. It is a poor village, with a fountain, and the ruins of an ancient church, a fine structure of large hewn stones. It lies on a declivity, looking westward out over the great plain.

Close upon the S. side of the Jerusalem road is the Tell and ruin of Latrôn. The ruin is that of a fortress, some of the lower parts of which appear to be Roman work. This is the place which formerly was pointed out to us at Tell es-Sâfieh, as 'Amwâs. From it the latter Tell is visible. The Wady 'Aly, along which

the Jerusalem road leads up the mountain to Sârîs, here bends around on the S. of Latrôn; and then turning N.W. it passes down E. of Kubâb to Wady 'Atallah.

We now kept on southward to Sŭr'a, the ancient *Zorah*, the birthplace and residence of Samson. We saw it from the S. on our former journey, on a high peak overlooking the fine plain of Bethshemesh. We approached it now from the N., on which side the elevation is not more than half as great. Some twenty minutes before reaching Zorah we came to a noble fountain, and afterward passed no less than twelve women toiling up to the village with jars of water on their heads. This is a very common sight in Palestine; but in the present case the hill was very steep. We remembered, too, that in all probability the mother of Samson must often have visited this fountain, and toiled homeward with her jar of water in like manner.

Our object in visiting Zorah was to obtain a view of the country between it and Jerusalem, and especially to ascertain the course of the great valleys. We found the plain of Bethshemesh extending up some distance N.E. of Zorah into the mountains, and could see the chasms of two great valleys running down into it. About E.S.E. of us was the mouth of the great Wady which comes down by Kulônieh; and further N. that of Wady Ghŭrâb, one branch of which begins near Sârîs, and another above Kuryet el-'Enab. On the high ridge between this latter and the Wady of Kulônieh lie Sôba and Kŭstŭl.

We wished to proceed to Jerusalem along this same ridge, by Kesla and Sôba; but, after starting, learned that the road was impracticable. The usual road from Sŭr'a is along the western declivity of the ridge of Sârîs to Wady 'Aly. We took this route at first; but turned up by a very steep and difficult ascent, and gained the top of the ridge at Mihsîr, a flourishing village surrounded by olive-groves, an hour W.S.W. of Sârîs. We kept along on the top of the ridge, having a branch of Wady Ghŭrâb below us on the right to Sârîs; and thence took the ordinary and very dreary road to Jerusalem by Kuryet el-'Enab, the ancient Kirjath Jearim. We reached the city at 8 o'clock on the morning of April 28th, having been more than three weeks on the way from Beirût.

In Jerusalem and the vicinity we remained twelve days, diligently occupied in examining the objects of interest, and investigating the various questions connected with ancient topography. We constantly enjoyed the kind attentions and ready assistance of Dr. McGowan, and other gentlemen connected with the English missions, as also those of our own countryman, Dr. Barclay, now residing in Jerusalem. For all these our best thanks are

due. Bishop Gobat had already left the country on a visit to England.

This is not the place to enter upon a discussion of the vexed questions connected with the historical topography of the Holy City. I may, however, be permitted to refer to a few particulars, which may serve to show how the public mind has been misled by statements and conclusions not founded on careful and correct observations.

First. In a published Plan of Jerusalem, to which are attached the names of the English Engineers, Col. Aldrich and Lieut. Symonds, the *western wall of the Haram*, or enclosure of the great Mosk, is laid down with two retiring angles towards its southern end; that is, so that it does not continue straight through its whole length, but in its southern part first turns eastward by a right angle, and then again by a second right angle. Great stress has been laid upon this Plan, as constructed from actual survey by scientific engineers, and therefore decisive as to the point in question. Yet it contradicts the Plan of Mr. Catherwood, made from actual measurements in the interior of the Haram, as well as all other Plans of the city before or since.

Through the kindness of Dr. McGowan we were able to make some observations having a bearing on the subject. He and Mr. Calman accompanied us to the barracks, the residence of the military Governor of the city, at the N.W. corner of the Haram, from the roof of which there is a near view of the whole interior. Here not only the general view showed that the western wall is straight throughout, but a special circumstance added strength to the conviction. We had already noticed two cypress-trees standing just inside of this wall near the S.W. corner of the Haram, and S. of the house of Abu Sa'ûd, so called. These two trees we could now see standing in a line with the northern part of the wall, as we looked along the latter. We afterwards repaired to the house of Abu Sa'ûd, to which the professional services of Dr. McGowan had procured for us a ready admission. It is built directly upon the western wall, at some distance from the southern end, and is partly without and partly within the enclosure of the Haram; a passage being broken through the wall in each story. We were introduced into the uppermost room, where from the windows there is a view of the wall further N., and of the southern part of the enclosure. We were also conducted through the buildings in the S.W. corner of the Haram; but not of course to any place where we should be exposed to public view. The result was as before, that the western wall is straight throughout. Such, too, was the testimony of the very intelligent owners of the house; one of whom occupied the post of Secretary under the government, and had charge of the census.

After all this, I can only repeat the expression of my surprise, that the names of scientific engineers could ever have been attached to the publication of so manifest an error.

Second. In respect to the *Valley of the Tyropoeon*, so called by Josephus, the new theory, first broached since 1840, and contradictory to the current views of all former centuries, transfers the beginning of this valley from the Yâfa gate to the Damascus gate. This is really a question of interpretation, between the supporters of this hypothesis and Josephus. But so long as, with one voice, they follow him in making Zion terminate at the street leading down from the Yâfa gate, all the laws of philology and hermeneutics require that they should follow him further, and like him make the Tyropoeon and then Akra lie adjacent to Zion. By no law of language can it be justified, that one part of the historian's description should be followed, and another part left out of view.

Third. In connection with this transfer of the Tyropoeon, it has been asserted that there is no ridge N. of Zion, and no rise of ground in that direction. This statement needs correction. The street which runs N., in the rear of the Church of the Sepulchre, rises very considerably in that portion of it; although at its southern end it appears to decline northward. But just at this southern end is the Greek Church of St. John, beneath which there has been dug out a chapel, standing on ground at least twenty-five feet below the present level of the two streets at that point. In the Bazaars the water is conducted off by a sewer running toward the S., and further N., opposite to the Church of the Sepulchre, the main street is carried along a covered passage cut through a ridge of solid rock. Turning down at the S. end of this covered passage, along the street leading by Helena's Hospital, so called, we enter on the left the court of the Prussian Consul, and ascend by two flights of steps to his garden and dwelling (formerly Mr. Lanneau's) on the same ridge. Following the same street further down, we find it crossing very obliquely the crest of the descending ridge. If again, from the street running S. along the bottom of the depression or valley, one enters the street next S. of that just described, he first ascends *west* rather steeply; the street then turns *north*, and he ascends quite as steeply, until it turns W. again. Here another street comes into it from the *south* up a rather steep ascent. From all this it appears that there is on the N. of Zion a rocky ridge, on which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands, and which ends below in a rather broad point, about in a line between the said church and the great Mosk. This is the ridge which, with the adjacent tract, according to the description of Josephus, must be regarded as Akra.

That the Tyropoeon itself, probably a narrow ravine, should no

longer exist in its former depth, is not surprising, when we consider the immense masses of rubbish with which the city is everywhere covered. The excavated chapel under the Church of St. John shows how enormous has been the accumulation along the very line in question.

Fourth. In connection with the same transfer of the Tyropoeon, have been adduced the channels of living water said to enter the city by the Damascus gate. That a report is current among the native inhabitants that a trickling of water may sometimes be heard at that gate, we formerly learned and have related; and the same story is now repeated every day. But we never found a person who professed that he himself had ever heard this trickling; neither a native nor much less a Frank. Yet it may well be true, and that without being wonderful, seeing there are two large cisterns just by the gate. But in addition to this supposed channel, one writer asserts that just outside of the Damascus gate, on the right hand, is a large reservoir of living water flowing into the city, from which several fountains were formerly supplied. Another writer speaks of a well of living water in the Church of the Flagellation, and regards it as connected with this channel at the Damascus gate. Both writers appeal also to the taste of these waters, as resembling that of the waters of Siloam.

It seemed important to prove the accuracy of these statements. We went, therefore, to the Damascus gate, in company with some of our friends, and found not only a cistern on the right side of the gate, but also one on the left side. They are both, however, merely ordinary *cisterns of rain-water*, filled by the water which runs from the roads and fields above, and is conducted into them by small channels or furrows on the surface of the ground; these we saw. We tasted of the water in the right-hand cistern; it had, indeed, a flavour somewhat like that of Siloam, but it was here merely the taste of impure water. We then tasted of water from the other cistern, and found it almost putrid. We afterwards repaired to the Church of the Flagellation. In the outer court is a large cistern of good rain-water collected from the roofs and courts. In an inner court is a smaller reservoir; and the attendant began to relate how the water in it was never exhausted, and never stood higher nor lower in the reservoir. We tasted it, and found again the Siloam flavour. But looking at the water which had just been drawn up, we perceived that it was full of the wriggling worms and other animalcula found in impure rain-water. Here, then, was another ordinary cistern, and the peculiar taste was accounted for.

Fifth. Of the *second wall* of the city, Josephus says that it began at the 'Gate Gennath' in the first wall, and ran 'circling' around to the fortress Antonia. The gate Gennath has

therefore usually and naturally been regarded as situated near the tower of Hippicus. But the modern theory removes this gate eastward to a point in the wall along the brow of Zion, from which the said second wall would run northward along the street of the Bazaars. The grounds and arguments brought forward in aid of this view by its two earliest supporters have all been rightly rejected by the latest, with the exception of two; and these would seem to be hardly more tenable than the rest. These are the *tradition* of two gates along this line; one the *Porta judiciaria*, so called, on the *Via dolorosa*, the other on the brow of Zion. Now as to the *Porta judiciaria*, without which the whole argument falls to the ground, there is no appearance nor evidence that a gate ever stood in that spot; a single lone column does not of itself imply a gate. And further, of the *Via dolorosa* itself, now held to be so authenticated by tradition, there is no historical trace until long after the crusades. On the contrary, historical documents clearly show that in the thirteenth century the streets now so called were known among the Christians by other names.

In opposition to such a course of the second wall, we have, first, the manifest absurdity of supposing that a wall for the defence of the city would be carried along the middle of a declivity, where it would everywhere be commanded by higher ground outside. Then, too, we know from Josephus, that there was a gate by which water was brought into the tower of Hippicus; of course it was near Hippicus. In describing the approaches of Titus, after he had taken the third or outer wall, the historian speaks of the next wall (the second) as extending up to this gate. Hence we have the second wall described in two opposite directions; once, as beginning at the gate Gennath and running northward; and again, as running southward up to the gate near Hippicus, The inference is conclusive, that the gate Gennath and the gate by Hippicus were identical.

Sixth. One writer regards the course of the third or outer wall of Josephus as having been, in the main, the same with that of the present northern wall, and denies that the ancient city extended farther north than the limits of the modern one. But the multitude of ancient cisterns existing over a large tract outside of the present wall on the north, and in no other quarter, prove conclusively that a very considerable extent of ground was here occupied of old by the streets and dwellings of a portion of Jerusalem.

From these *six* specimens it will be obvious that I did not find the statements and hypotheses of recent writers sufficiently supported by observation to lead me to any important change in the views of the topography of Jerusalem expressed in my former

work, and current for centuries. I might go on to add other like examples, but must leave them for another opportunity.

From these specimens, too, it might possibly be inferred, that these recent inquiries have been carried on, not so much with a desire to arrive at the simple truth, as to find support for preconceived opinions or favourite hypotheses. The authority of tradition, it might be said, was at all events to be sustained, even when unsupported by any evidence from history.

From Jerusalem we made an excursion of a day to the Wady el-Werd (Valley of Roses) and its three fountains, S.W. from the city. One of its main heads is in the Plain of Rephaim: and the valley enters the great Wady of Kulônieh near a village called 'Akûr. The valley has its name from the extensive fields of roses cultivated in it. The fountains are 'Ain Yâlo, 'Ain Hanîyeh (St. Philip's), and that of Bittîr; the latter being much the largest. We passed near the Convent of the Cross in going out, and returned by Welejeh and the ridge above the village and Convent of 'Ain Kârim.

Another excursion of two days took us to the neighbourhood of Hebron. In our former journey we had been compelled to hasten over the road between Hebron and Jerusalem without a guide; and hence it had been in some respects our least satisfactory day in Palestine. We now took the same road, stopping at Urtâs on our way, where Mr. Meshullam now cultivates rich and well-watered fields along the bottom of the valley. The German colonists who were here two years ago were in his employ, but are since scattered. We went also to Bethzur, and visited again the vast and inexplicable foundations at Râmeh, as also the remains upon the hill. Thence returning to Halhûl, we encamped for the night near its sightly Mosk.

On our return to Jerusalem next day we kept along as near as possible to the western brow of the mountains. We passed through Beit Ummar and near to Jedûr, and afterwards came to Beit Sakârieh, on a high and almost isolated promontory, overlooking the western region of lower hills. It bears every appearance of having once been a strong and impregnable fortress. It is without doubt the site of the ancient *Bethzacharia* of Josephus and the historian of the Maccabees; since, besides the identity of name, its position relative to *Bethzur* is precisely the one required by the accounts of those writers. We passed on through the little village el-Khŭdr, and struck the road from Hebron to Jerusalem just W. of Bethlehem.

On the 10th of May we left Jerusalem to proceed northward, and reaching the brow of Scopus I turned and looked upon the Holy City for the last time on earth. We hastened on, leaving

on our right the conspicuous Tuleil el-Fûl, the ancient *Gibeah* of Saul, and came to *Ramah* of Benjamin. Thence we turned eastward to the Tombs of the Amalekites (so called), in the low plain in the valley N. of Hizmeh. These are merely four low heaps of rough stones in the form of long parallelograms; the largest is 102 feet long by 27 feet broad, and three or four feet high. There is no appearance of antiquity about them, nor of any sepulchral character. Our guide from er-Râm called them Kubûr Isra'în (Tombs of the Israelites), but we heard also the other name.

We kept on in the same direction to Khirbet el-Haiyeh (Serpent), on the ridge between this valley and Wady Suweinît, near the southern brow of the latter. This place, on account of the name, has recently been brought forward as the site of the ancient Ai. But there is no affinity between the two names; since Ai contains the tenacious letter *Ayin*, which the other has not. And further, Ai was near to Bethel, and of easy access from it; but this spot is at least nearly three hours distant from Bethel, and the deep and difficult Wady es-Suweinît lies between. There is here no valley on the W., except the low open plain we had traversed; while towards Jeba' there is a ridge.

We turned now to Jeba', the ancient *Geba*, and again crossed the deep valley to Mŭkhmâs, passing in it the two steep hills, the scene of Jonathan's adventure with the Philistines' garrison. They struck us now, more than before, as well adapted for such outposts. At Mŭkhmâs we encamped; and next day passed on over the rocky Tell of Rŭmmôn, and along the declivity below Taiyibeh on the W., to Deir Jerîr. Here we entered upon new ground, which as yet is a blank in the maps. We crossed obliquely a very high ridge, and came in about an hour to Kefr Mâlik, on a high point overlooking the deep Wady going down to the 'Aujeh. Crossing this and ascending again to a higher uneven plateau, we came in an hour more to el-Moughaiyir, a large village; and in another hour to Daumeh, the *Eduma* of Eusebius; here we encamped. From a hill just by we had a wide view of the Ghôr directly below us, and of the ridge of Kŭrn es-Sŭrtabeh not far distant in the E.N.E. Just under our feet, in an offset from the Ghôr, was Fusâil, the site of the ancient *Phasaelis*.

The next morning, after crossing the main branch of the great Wady Fusâil, we came to Mejdel, a very old place, with an extensive view of the Ghôr, and a nearer one of Kŭrn es-Sŭrtabeh. An hour and a half brought us now to 'Akrabeh, a large and flourishing town, which of old gave its name to the toparchy of *Acrabattene*. The situation is fine, on the base of a high ridge on the northern side of an open valley or plain, which just here has its water-shed; running down E. to Wady Ahmar under Kŭrn es-

Sŭrtabeh; and also W., as Wady Bîr Jenâb, by Kŭbelân to the western plain. From 'Akrabeh we took a circuitous route northward by Yanŭn to the S.E. corner of the little plain of Sâlim, E. of Nâblus; and then descending and passing through Beit Fûrîk, we crossed the water-bed of the Mŭklma running through the W. end of the little plain, and came to Nâblus for the night.

The following day (May 13th) we turned again N.E. towards the Ghôr. At the mouth of the valley of Nâblus, on the N. side, are the ruins of a village called 'Askar, which name has sometimes been compared with the Sychar of the New Testament. It has, however, the letter *Ayin*, which precludes any such affinity. We passed on northwards along the plain; which is here narrow, and soon breaks down by a deep and singular gorge to the Wady Fâri'a and its wide rolling tract. We turned more to the left, and ascended steeply to Tŭllûzah, lying N. of Mount Ebal, and surrounded by immense olive-groves. This seems to be the ancient *Tirzah*, for a time the residence of the kings of Israel, though it now bears few marks of a royal metropolis. Hence we crossed the branches and intervening higher plains of Wady Fâri'a to Tûbâs, in two and a half hours. This is the *Thebez* of Scripture; where Abimelech met his death. It lies on a declivity looking E., and has a fine plain with olive-groves before it. We kept on for less than an hour further to Teyasîr, a small village, and there stopped for the night.

This village is near the head of Wady el-Mâlih, which we followed next day down to the Ghôr, climbing on our way to the ruins of a fortress of moderate size, Kŭsr el-Mâlih, once commanding a pass. The descent is here very gradual; the hills become lower and lower, and by degrees lose themselves in the plain. In Wady el-Mâlih are springs of saltish water, blood-warm, and in its lower part is a running stream. As it crosses the Ghôr to the Jordan there is on its northern side a broad low swell, extending from the western hills quite to the upper banks of the Jordan; the river being here crowded quite to the eastern part of the Ghôr. We kept along upon this swell, and came at its extremity to a low hill, on which are the slight remains of Sâkût, a name corresponding to the ancient *Succoth*. It looks down upon the lower valley of the Jordan, here a plain of some width; the place and banks of the stream are seen, but not the water itself.

We now turned N.W. through a lower portion of the plain, exhibiting the utmost fertility, and covered with the rankest vegetation. The grass and weeds came up to our horses' backs, and the taller thistles often rose above our heads as we rode along. On the higher plateau, nearer the western mountains, the inha-

bitants of Tûbâs and other villages cultivate wheat. They were now in mid harvest; and we pitched our tent by the side of a colony from Tûbâs, who were dwelling in tents and booths, with their women and children, horses and donkeys, dogs and poultry. What struck us here especially were the many fountains and brooks in this part of the Ghôr, furnishing an abundant supply of water, and giving rise to a most luxuriant fertility.

Here we bargained with two young Sheikhs from Tûbâs, active and intelligent men, to take us on an excursion of a day across the Jordan. Our object was to ascertain whether any place or ruin called Yâbis (Jabesh) still existed on or near Wady Yâbis; and in that way determine, if possible, whether the ruins at Tŭbŭkat Fahil were those of Pella. Eusebius gives the distance of Jabesh from Pella at six Roman miles, on the way to Gerasa (Jerash). We proposed to go first to Kefr Abîl (not Bîl), which lies high on the side of the mountain, not very far distant from the probable position of Jabesh Gilead; since the men of Jabesh had gone down by night to Beisân, and carried off the bodies of Saul and Jonathan.

We rose very early (May 15th), and, sending our muleteers to Beisân, directed our course to the ford not far N. of Sâkût. Descending the steep upper bank of the Jordan, here 150 feet high, and crossing the low alluvial plain, which our guides said was never overflowed, we came to the ford. A narrow island, covered with rank vegetation, here divides the river into two branches, the eastern one being much the largest. The stream was rapid, and the water came up high on the sides of the horses. Having got safely over, we ascended at once the steep eastern upper bank, and crossed obliquely the narrow plain to the foot of the mountains, to reach the mouth of Wady Yâbis. As we approached the first hills, we found ourselves suddenly surrounded by twenty or thirty armed men. They proved to be from the village of Fârah on the mountain, and were here to harvest their wheat in the plain. They had recently helped to drive away the officer sent to enforce the conscription in their district; and they had now been watching us, thinking we might perhaps be coming from the government on a like errand. They were acquainted with our Sheikhs, and, finding all right, they took us to their encampments on the S. bank of Wady Yâbis, gave us coffee, and brought us bread and *leben*, which we left to our guides.

We now began to ascend the mountain by a smaller Wady just N. of the Yâbis. After half an hour, the hills became higher and greener; and oak-trees, the oaks of Bashan, began to appear, scattered like orchards upon the hills. After more than an hour we came out upon a prominent point, affording an extensive view

over the whole northern Ghôr, from Kŭrn es-Sŭrtabeh to the Lake of Tiberias. The whole southern part, from the Kŭrn to the Dead Sea, I had already seen. This eminence proved to be the brow of the first plateau of the mountain, along which we ascended very gradually through a region of the utmost verdure and beauty and fertility, to Kefr Abîl, near the foot of the next high ridge.

We found it deserted. The inhabitants had been implicated with those of Fârah in the matter of the conscription; and seeing Franks approaching (an event of unusual occurrence), they had all left the village. They were, however, not far off, and soon returned.

Wady Yâbis is a mile or more S. of this village. It breaks down from the higher ridge by a deep glen, in which is a place of ruins called Maklûb, as having been 'overturned.' It was said to have no columns. Lower down on the Wady, about S. from us, and on a hill on the S. side of the valley, is another ruin called ed-Deir; it is on the road from Beisân to Helâweh and Jerash, and has columns. This latter ruin seems to correspond well to the site of ancient *Jabesh Gilead;* but the name Yâbis now exists only as applied to the Wady.

We now turned to descend the mountain by a more northern path leading directly towards Beisân; computing that, if the ruins at Tŭbŭkat Fahil were those of Pella, we ought to reach the spot in about two hours. Our road to Beisân passed ten minutes N. of the ruins; and we were opposite to them in just two hours. But our guides knew them only as el-Jerm, and we went on ten minutes further before turning off to them. They lie upon a low hill or mound, having a broad area on its top, surrounded by higher hills except on the W., where is a plain, which also runs up on the N. side of the hill or mound described. As we approached from the N, we came upon ruins in the low plain, with many fragments of columns. The area on the hill is covered with like remains, and others are also seen below in the western plain. Below the hill, on the S.E. quarter, there is a large fountain, which sends off a stream towards the S.W. Near it was a small temple, of which two columns are still standing, and the valley below is full of oleanders. From men on the spot we learned that the name of the place itself is *Fahil;* the word *Tŭbŭkah* (meaning a story of a house, a terrace) being here applied to the narrow plain which stands out like a terrace in front of the hills, several hundred feet above the valley of the Jordan below.

The situation of this spot in relation to Beisân and Wady Yâbis, the extensive remains obviously of a large city, the copious

fountains, and also the name, left no doubt upon our minds that we were standing on the site of ancient *Pella.* The ruins were discovered and visited by Irby and Mangles in 1817, but no idea of any connection with Pella suggested itself to their minds. Since that time no Frank traveller has visited the spot. The first public suggestion of the identity of the place with Pella was given in Kiepert's Map of Palestine, in which the name of Pella is inserted with a query. Our main object was now accomplished, in thus verifying the correctness of Kiepert's suggestion. Mr. Van de Velde, whom we had met again at Nâblus, accompanied us on this excursion at our invitation.

Descending from the terrace five or six hundred feet to the plain below, we came to the ford of the Jordan. Here are in fact three fording places, of which that lowest down is said to be the easiest; but we found it deeper and more rapid than the ford of the morning. The Sheikhs proposed, and we assented, that one of them on foot should lead our horses one by one across. In this way we crossed safely, the water coming up almost to the horses' backs. We pushed on rapidly through the glorious plain to Beisân, where our tent was pitched, and we remained over Sunday. This was our hardest day's work in Palestine.

Beisân has a splendid position; just where the great valley or plain of Jezreel sinks down by an offset or gradual declivity of a hundred feet or more to the Ghôr. Just on the brow of this declivity is the village, and also many remains of the ancient city. But the Tell or acropolis is ten minutes further N., near the stream of Jalûd coming from the W., which passes down at the N. foot of the Tell. On the S. of the Tell are numerous columns still standing, and the very perfect remains of a large amphitheatre. All the ruins (except the columns) are of black basaltic stones; and the Tell is also of the same character, and black.

On Monday morning we left the direct road to Zer'în on our right, and struck off to the foot of the mountains of Gilboa, to a site of ruins called Beit Ilfa, which had been already visited by Schultz. The remains are those of a small place; there are two or three ancient sarcophagi. It could never have been a fortress of importance, since it lies in the plain directly at the foot of the high mountain. Whether it was the *Bethulia* of the book of Judith is at least doubtful.

We now passed on across the plain to Kûmieh, and came near getting our animals mired in the soft bottom of the Jalûd. At Tŭmrah we crossed the line of hills extending from the Little Hermon eastward to Kaukab, and descended so as to pass along the eastern foot of Tabor, to the Khân and Lûbieh. Here we encamped.

From Lûbieh we came next morning to the Hajar en-Nŭsrâny, where our Lord is said (in monkish tradition) to have fed the four thousand. My object at this place was to obtain the view of Capernaum described by Arculfus, as this seemed naturally to be the point of which he speaks. Thence we descended to Irbid, at the upper end of Wady Hamâm. The remains are not important, but among them are the columns and some other portions of an ancient Jewish synagogue, of the same type with those at Kefr Bir'im and Meirôn. We now passed down Wady Hamâm, beneath its frowning precipices, with the caverns of the fortress Kŭl'at Ibn Ma'an, and, entering our former route at the Round Fountain, followed it to Khân Minyeh. Here I was more impressed than formerly with the extent and character of the adjacent ancient site; and the neighbouring fountain, 'Ain el-Tin, is fine and cold.

On the promontory beyond is a deep channel cut in the rock, now serving as a road, but obviously once an aqueduct conveying water from Tâbighah to irrigate the plain. At Tâbighah the water was formerly raised to an elevated head in a massive reservoir, but there are no traces of the intermediate channel. At Tell Hûm we at once recognized, in the sculptured remains, which formerly had puzzled us, another ancient Jewish structure, like those at Meirôn and Kefr Bir'im, and the largest and most elaborate of all.

At Tell Hûm we turned up from the lake along a shallow Wady coming down from the N.W., in order to visit a site of ruins called Kerâzeh. An hour brought us to the place. The remains are merely the basaltic foundations and walls of a poor village. In a side valley, five minutes N.E., is a small fountain called Bi'r Kerâzeh. This name may be compared with the ancient *Chorazin;* but the latter place, according to Jerome, appears to have been situated on the shore of the lake (*in litore maris sita*), and the remains seem too unimportant.

We now struck up into the road running N. from the Khân Jubb Yûsuf along the eastern foot of the Safed hills to the Hûleh. After a long hour we turned up for the night to Ja'ûneh, a village lying high on the declivity of the western hills, and overlooking the Hûleh, but still at some distance S. of the lake.

Our road next day continued along this declivity, passing through or near several villages and places of ruins. Among the latter was Kŭsyŭn, of which we had before heard. Coming at length to the deep Wady Hendaj, we were obliged to descend to the plain and cross its mouth. But we soon again began to ascend on the road to Kedes, and, coming out upon the plateau on which Kedes lies, we turned off S.W. to visit el-Khureibeh, a Tell with

ruins S. of Kedes, and overlooking the gorge of Wady Hendaj rom the N. I have formerly suggested, that possibly this spot may have been the Hazor of Scripture, which is twice mentioned as on the S. of Kedes; nor have I since found any more probable site.

We passed on to Kedes over the fine plain, in which, below the village, are some remarkable sarcophagi, and two ruined structures. The easternmost of these is of the Jewish type already mentioned. The situation of Kedes is splendid; but the water of its copious fountains is regarded as unhealthy, and the place was now deserted. We encamped for the night at the large village of Meis.

The next morning brought us to Hûnîn; the road affording on the way extensive views, as far as to Tibnîn on our left, and over the lake and plain of the Hûleh on our right. Hûnîn is evidently an ancient site; but there are no data by which to ascertain its ancient name. It lies in a notch of the ridge, looking towards the E.; while towards the W. a valley runs down from it to the Lîtâny. Our way now continued N. along the high ground, leaving Abil and Mutŭllah on our right, and Kefr Kily on our left, until we descended into the fine oval basin of Merj 'Ayûn. Crossing this, we came to Tell Dibbîn in its northern part, so called from a neighbouring village. There are remains of an ancient town at its northern base; and there seem to be good reasons for regarding it as the site of ancient *Ijon*. The Tell is ninety feet high.

We here fell into the road from Sidon by the Jisr Khŭrdelah to Hasbeiya, and continued on over a high plain, till it descended into Wady et-Teim at the Khân. Here this valley opens out to a very fertile oval basin, full of tillage and fruit-trees. Three quarters of an hour from the Khân brought us to the ford of the Hasbâny, leading to Hasbeiya. The bridge is ten minutes higher up, and the great fountain some thirty rods above the bridge. The river was running with a fine full stream, coming wholly from the fountain. We passed up the rough and rocky Wady Busîs, and came in thirty-five minutes to Hasbeiya, situated in the S.W. quarter of the great amphitheatre which forms the head of that valley. This was on Thursday, May 20th.

Here the Rev. W. M. Thomson from Sidon was awaiting us, and Dr. Smith left me and returned to Beirût. But the exhaustion caused by rapid travelling during the excessive heat had brought on an illness, which detained me at Hasbeiya until the next Tuesday.

On that day (May 25th) Mr. Thomson and myself set off for Bâniâs by way of the chasm of the Lîtâny below Bŭrghŭz. There had been reports of robberies committed by Druzes in the vicinity

of Bâniâs; and we took the precaution to obtain a letter from the principal Druze Sheikh in Hasbeiya, who also sent with us three of his men. But we heard nothing more of robbers, though there was no question that the reports were true.

We struck first by Kaukaba over to the bridge of Bŭrghŭz. Below this bridge the river meets a ridge or spur running out from Lebanon, and cleaves it obliquely and almost lengthwise to its base. We kept along, without path, as near as we could on the top of the thin left-hand ridge above the chasm, to Belât. The depth below us, as we rode along, was from 1000 to 1200 feet; at Belât Mr. Thomson had, a few days before, found the height of the precipitous bank alone to be 800 feet by the aneroid. The whole chasm bears a great resemblance to that of the river Salzach at the Pass Lueg, on the way from Salzburg to Gastein. At Belât the chasm turns S.W. at a right angle, and becomes still more precipitous. After cutting thus through the ridge, the river again turns S. and flows on by Kŭl'at esh-Shŭkîf.

We now kept along by way of Dibbîn and Judeideh, visited again Tell Dibbîn, and then ascended the eastern hill to Khiyam, the chief place of Merj 'Ayûn, where we encamped. It commands a view both of the Merj on the W., and of the lower and more open part of Wady et-Teim, and the upper portion of the Hûleh, on the E. Here, as in all the region round about, the traveller has continually before him the lofty ridges and snowy summits of Jebel esh-Sheikh, the Hermon of Scripture. There are two summits, as here seen, of which the north-eastern one is the highest.

From Khiyam our course was to Tell el-Kâdy, fording the Hasbâny in its deep channel just N. of Ghŭjar on its E. bank. The bridge of that name is some distance farther down the river. Tell el-Kâdy is apparently the crater of an extinct volcano; portions of the rim are still visible. From under its S.W. side gushes out at once an immense stream of the purest water, while another smaller one rises within the crater and rushes down further S. through a break in the rim. These streams together form the middle and largest arm of the Jordan, called Leddân, equal indeed in the volume of its water to both the other branches.

From this point we made an excursion into the lower Hûleh, in order to ascertain whether there was any junction of the streams before entering the lake. We expected to traverse much marshy ground, and were surprised to find only a most beautiful tract of plain, superabundantly watered indeed by channels from the various streams of the Jordan, but not now miry; the whole was of exuberant fertility, like the Ghôr around Beisân. But the Hûleh exhibits far more tillage. We came first upon the stream from Bâniâs, and forded it twice in its windings; then to its junc-

tion with the Leddân, which comes down in two arms; and, lastly, further down comes in the Hasbâny. From this point, which is some distance above the lake, the river runs to the latter as one stream. We returned and pitched our tent at Bâniâs.

Bâniâs lies in the angle of the mountains, on a beautiful terrace, 500 feet higher than Tell el-Kâdy. The brow of the terrace is nearly twenty minutes W. of the town, and extends as far as to the great chasm of the Wady 'Asal coming down from Jebel esh-Sheikh. E. of the town runs up a high and thin ridge, which seems cut off from the shoulder of Jebel esh-Sheikh by the deep and wild gorge of Wady Khushâbeh, which comes out upon the terrace around the W. end of the said ridge. Just here, from under the lower extremity of this ridge, and in no direct connection with Hermon, bursts forth the famous fountain, of the purest and most sparkling water, sending forth a stream two-thirds as large as the Leddân. On a high point of the same ascending ridge stands the ruined castle of Bâniâs, the Kŭl'at es-Subeibeh of Arabian writers. On the S. side of the town comes down Wady Za'arah with a brook, which unites below with the stream from the fountain.

The following day we devoted to an excursion to the lake *Phiala*, now Birket er-Râm, returning by way of the castle. At first we passed up along Wady Za'arah, then in a straight course by 'Ain Kŭnyeh over the high ridge above that village, whence we again descended and crossed Wady Za'arah, here coming from the N.E., and sweeping round in a circuit through the ridge till it turns N.W. The lake is a short distance beyond, just two hours from Bâniâs, in a direction nearly E. by S. It lies in a depression like a bowl, 200 or 250 feet lower than the adjacent tract, and is not less than a mile in diameter. It was probably once a crater; the shores are everywhere volcanic. Millions of frogs and innumerable leeches are the tenants of its stagnant slimy waters. Some ducks were swimming on its surface, and a hawk was pursuing them.

We struck off now N.N.W., without path, to gain the top of the ridge before mentioned, crossing on our way the lower end of Merj Sheikh Yafûry, a little plain coming down S.W. from under the very base of Jebel esh-Sheikh, which here drops down at once precipitously from its south-western summit to this plain 3500 to 4000 feet. The plain forms the head of Wady Za'arah. Having gained the top of the ridge, we descended and passed along a lower neck or cross ridge extending from it to that on which the castle stands. On this, twenty-five minutes E.S.E. of the castle, we came to a grove of venerable oaks, among which is the tomb of Sheikh Othman Hazûry. This spot has also been assumed as the

site of ancient Hazor, but the ground is in its native state, and was obviously never built upon. This was the third Hazûr or Hazûry which I had visited, neither of which can possibly have been the Hazor of Scripture.

The castle is the most extensive and best preserved ancient fortress in all Palestine. It is very long, though narrow; and the eastern and highest part forms of itself a separate citadel, with walls and towers more massive and impregnable than the rest. It was originally built wholly of stones finely bevelled; and in the eastern portion, especially, there has been little change. The patchwork of the times of the crusaders is visible in many parts; but other portions of earlier ruins remain untouched. A very steep and rapid descent from the castle, down the S. side of the ridge and along its base, took us to Bâniâs in fifty minutes.

We returned next day (May 28th) to Hasbeiya. The road kept along the southern base of esh-Sheikh to the mouth or plain of Wady et-Teim, and then turned N. by E. In a little more than half an hour from this point we turned off and climbed for forty minutes the almost precipitous mountain on our right to a place of ruins called Kul'at Bustra. This is a singular spot; it was not a fortress nor a town, but rather a religious site, a collection of temples. These were small, indeed, and rude, but we made out not less than four distinctly, and there must probably have been more.

Our road lay by Râsheiyat el-Fŭkhâr, renowned for its pottery; and thence to Hibbarîyeh, situated at the mouth of the great chasm of Wady Shib'ah, where it issues from the W. side of Jebel esh-Sheikh. In this enormous gorge, high up in Hermon, lies the village of Shib'ah, which sends out its 25,000 goats to pasture throughout the higher parts of the mountain. In Hibbarîyeh, and fronting this magnificent chasm, stands a beautiful and well-preserved ancient temple, built of large bevelled stones, some of them fifteen feet long. It is of the same general type with that at Deir el-Kŭl'ah, but less massive and less simple.

We came by 'Ain Jŭrfa to Hasbeiya, crossing the high ridge on the S. of the town. From the bed of Wady Shib'ah below 'Ain Jŭrfa we ascended 992 feet to the top of this ridge, and then descended 550 feet to Hasbeiya. These measurements had been made by Dr. De Forest with the aneroid a few days previously.

On the following Monday (May 31st) we started again on the way to Damascus, accompanied by Mr. John Wortabet. We crossed the bed of the Hasbâny above the fountain, where only a small thread of water was trickling among the stones, and ascended the ridge ed-Dahar, which divides Wady et-Teim from the

valley of the Lîtâny. Along the top of this ridge runs a path, which we took for an hour north-easterly, and then left it and descended obliquely to Yŭhmur on the E. bank of the Lîtâny. Half an hour up the river from this village is the Kûweh, a natural bridge over the Lîtâny, at the bottom of a wild chasm. The road to it is now not more difficult than many others, and leads from it up to Jezzîn. The bridge appears to have been formed by the fall of rocks from above, and has some resemblance to the *Oefen* at the Pass Lueg. From the Kûweh we turned again obliquely to the ridge ed-Dahar, and came to Libbeiya on its eastern brow, and passed on to Neby Sŭfa for the night. Here is another temple not unlike that at Hibbarîyeh, but less well preserved.

We came next day to Râsheiya, situated high on the northern flank of Jebel esh-Sheikh, and strictly upon the first or western ridge of Antilebanon. Hence we followed the great Damascus road for half an hour to 'Aiha, where also are the now scattered remains of an ancient temple. Hence we struck down across the fine round basin of Kefr Kûk to that village. This plain has no outlet, and becomes a lake in the rainy season. We then took another cross-road in order to reach Rŭkhleh, situated E. of the water-shed on the road which passes by 'Aiha. Here, in the deepest recesses of Hermon, is (or rather was) one of the finest ancient temples, massive, and yet simple and beautiful, with nothing of the later more florid style. The ground is strewed with its ruins.

We now turned about N.N.E. and came in a hour and three quarters to Deir el-'Ashâyir, situated on the upper plateau of Antilebanon, S. of Zebedâny. Here, too, is an ancient temple, more elaborate and ornate than that at Rŭkhleh, and standing on a platform. Here we stopped for the night.

The next morning Mr. Thomson left us to return to Hasbeiya and Sidon. Our road led along a shallow valley, through an open region, to the fountain and ruined Khân of Meithelûn, where a road from Beirût comes in, which passes through Wady el-Kŭrn. We came to Dîmâs; and followed the usual road by Mezzeh to Damascus. It is barren and dreary enough. The only point of interest on it is the view from the brow above Mezzeh; and this is far inferior to the celebrated one from the Wely above Salihîyeh.

In Damascus it had been arranged by the missionaries that I should find a home in the dwelling of Mr. Robson, of the Irish Presbyterian Church, and that he would accompany me on my further journey. From him and his colleague, Mr. Porter, I received the kindest attentions. The American missionaries were

mostly absent at Blûdân, near Zebedâny, preparing a summer residence; but Dr. Paulding returned before I left. To him and Mr. Porter I am also indebted for much topographical information.

Damascus is an oriental city, but it is one of the most regular and least filthy of oriental cities. It has many more remains of antiquity than I had supposed, though few of them go back beyond the Roman period. It is likewise a very old city, being mentioned in the time of Abraham; and being, too, the only known city of that period which is now inhabited and flourishing. The glory of Damascus is its splendid plain, watered abundantly by the channels of the Berada. Without the waters of this stream, the plain would be a desert; with them, it is an earthly paradise, luxuriating with fields of the heaviest grain, and trees of the finest fruit.

We heard here (though not for the first time) of a valley descending from Antilebanon, N. of the Berada and parallel to it, which takes the name of a village situated in the upper part of it, called Helbôn. This valley is celebrated for its fine grapes and vineyards; and from them is made the best and most famous wine of the country. Our friends had repeatedly visited the place. They are probably right in regarding this as the *Helbon* of Scripture, rather than Aleppo (Haleb). The 'wine of Helbôn' is still celebrated; while Aleppo, if it produces wine at all, has none of any special reputation.

On the Monday following (June 7th) Mr. Robson and myself left Damascus for Ba'albek, by the circuitous route of 'Anjar. We ascended the ridge back of Salihîyeh, and enjoyed from the Wely at the top the glorious prospect of the city and plain so justly celebrated; and also looked down into the remarkable gorge by which the river here breaks through the last ridge of Antilebanon. At Dummar, the direct road to Zebedâny leads over the bridge, and strikes across the great northern bend of the river. We, however, without crossing the bridge, took a road more to the right, which led us away from the river, until we turned and reached it again at Bessîma, whence we followed its left bank up to the great fountain of el-Fîjeh. The stream from this fountain is about the size of that at Bâniâs; it foams and tumbles down a rocky channel for about 120 yards, and joins the Berada. Here it is larger than the latter; its water is limpid, while that of the Berada is turbid. At the fountain are the remains of two ancient temples, one of them quite small.

We came afterwards to el-Kefr, also on the N. side of the stream, where near by are the ruins of a small temple apparently Greek, the capitals of the columns being Corinthian.

Here we crossed to the south bank of the stream, and came soon

to the village of Sûk el-Berada, near the mouth of the long gorge through which the river flows from above; and directly under the high cliff (800 feet) on which stands the Wely of Neby Abil. In the lower part of this gorge, and extending probably down to the village, was the site of the ancient *Abila.* It is marked by columns and other remains; while above are many tombs hewn in the rocks, and the ancient excavated Roman road with the inscriptions. Here the road again crosses for the last time to the left bank of the stream.

Just beyond the chasm, a smaller stream comes in from the S.W. from Wady el-Kŭrn, which drains the plain of Judeideh, lying beyond a ridge in the S.W. from Zebedâny. Turning more to the right the road soon enters the beautiful plain of Zebedâny, so called from the large village in its northern part. The great fountain of the Berada is in the S.W. corner of the broader portion of the plain; and the stream meanders through the narrower portion below. We pitched our tent here upon its green bank, not far from a mill and bridge. The plain is shut in by a steep ridge on the W., and by another on the E.; which latter, opposite Zebedâny, rises into the highest peaks of Antilebanon. On its declivity is the village of Blûdân.

The next morning we made a circuit northwards to reach the great fountain. It forms a small, narrow lake, out of which the stream runs first eastward and then turns southward through the narrow part of the plain. Thence we passed on S.S.W. along the base of the western ridge to Batrûny and its basin, at the extremity of which the road ascends in an angle formed by a spur. We came out on the top of the high western ridge, and looked down into the plain or basin of Judeideh below. The view extended also over and beyond the lower ridge still further W., and took in the snow-capt summits of Lebanon. As we looked down, we could see the outlet of the basin, the beginning of Wady el-Kŭrn, at some distance on our left.

Descending into the plain we found it a perfect desert. Not a drop of water, not a spot of verdure, not a tree, not a human dwelling was anywhere to be seen. How different from the green plain of Zebedâny, which we had just left! We crossed the basin obliquely, and on its western side, at the mouth of Wady Zarîry, fell into the usual road from Damascus to Beirût. A short and gentle acclivity brought us the water-shed; whence we descended very gradually by the much longer and somewhat winding Wady Harîry to the Bŭkâ'a opposite the village of Mejdel 'Anjar.

Here terminates a range of elevated hills, which, running from the S. along the eastern side of the Bŭkâ'a parallel with Anti-

lebanon, encloses between the two a narrow and somewhat higher valley. This may be considered strictly as a continuation of Wady et-Teim; the hills on the west of that valley running on and terminating here. Further S., and opposite to the village of Sultân Yâ'kob, there is a depression or basin in this higher valley, which is drained through a gap in the western hills into the Bŭkâ'a. This gap is known as Wady Fâlûj.

Mejdel is remarkable for one of the finest antique temples now existing. It stands on the summit of the northernmost hill, looking northward along the magnificent vista of the Bŭkâ'a; having the lofty wall of Antilebanon on the right, and the still loftier snow-capt ridges of Lebanon on the left. The temple is simple, massive, and beautiful, and obviously of a severer and earlier type than those at Ba'albek. Nothing can be finer than its position.

Forty minutes N.E. of Mejdel lie the ruins now called 'Anjar; they are in the plain, which slopes gently to the north towards the stream from the great fountain of 'Anjar. Here are the ruined walls and towers of an ancient fortified city or citadel, in the form of a square, about a quarter of an English mile on each side. An examination of the place left no doubt on my mind, that, as I have formerly suggested, this was the site of *Chalcis* in Lebanon, the seat of Agrippa's kingdom, before he was transferred to more southern territories. We encamped at the great fountain, fifteen minutes distant, at the foot of Antilebanon.

Further N. another line of hills begins, parallel to Antilebanon and near it, which runs on with little interruption quite to Ba'albek. They seem almost a continuation of the hills further S.; as if the latter only terminated here for a time in order that the low meadow-like tract from the Bŭâ'a might set up between and receive the waters of the two great fountains 'Anjar and Shemsîn.

Neba' Shemsîn is twenty minutes N. of Neba' 'Anjar, and is much less copious. Beyond it our road lay next day (June 9th) between the line of hills and Antilebanon; the slope of the narrow valley at first ascending and then descending for a time; with occasional intervals between the hills, affording fine views of the great plain in the W. After three hours we saw, at Deir el-Ghŭzâl, the massive substructures and scattered ruins of another temple. An hour further was the stream of Wady Yahfûfeh, coming down from Serghâya, and here breaking through the last low ridge of Antilebanon, by a deep chasm to the Bŭkâ'a. Not far N. of the chasm, this low ridge of Antilebanon has its end in a promontory, which we crossed to reach the village of Neby Shît. Still further N., the high ridge which we had seen on the E.

of Zebedâny comes out and forms the eastern wall of the great valley. N. of Neby Shît, the space E. of the line of hills becomes rather a high narrow plain, through which several ravines from the mountain break down to the great plain below. Around the last of the hills the great plain sends up an arm to the fountain of Ba'albek; and the city itself, with its gorgeous temples, is situated at the N.W. base of the same northernmost hill. The quarry, in which the immense block lies hewn out, is scarcely ten minutes S.

This is not the place to speak of Ba'albek. Its temples have been the wonder of past centuries; and will continue to be the wonder of future generations, until earthquakes shall have done their last work. In vastness of plan, combined with elaborateness of execution, they seem to surpass all others in Western Asia and the adjacent regions. Such massive grandeur, and at the same time such airy lightness, seem nowhere else to exist together; certainly not in Egypt. Yet the very elaborate and highly ornate character of the structures appears to militate against the idea of any remote antiquity. The simplicity and severity which reign in the temple at Mejdel are here no longer seen.

N. of Ba'albek the Bŭkâ'a becomes gradually narrower as far as to Râs Ba'albek, and its character changes. The fertile portion becomes contracted to a narrow strip near the western mountain; while from the eastern side an immense slope of hard gravelly soil extends down more than half across the valley, broken occasionally by ravines from the mountain and small offsets from the lower plain. This gravelly tract is everywhere little more than a desert; and this character becomes more and more marked as we advance northward almost to Ribleh.

We started next day much later than usual, and came in less than an hour and a half to Nahleh, where is a temple older apparently than those at Ba'albek. The way was dreary, and we stopped for the night at the great fountain of Lebweh. An hour previously we had passed the water-shed in the Bŭkâ'a, on a ridge where we found the waters of a brook carried along so as to run off in both directions, N. and S.; and where too we obtained our first extensive view northward. The fountain of Lebweh is as large apparently as that of 'Anjar. It rises out of a tract of gravel at the foot of a ledge of limestone rocks, and several streams are carried off from it in various directions. One of them is conducted along the hard and barren slope, northward, for a great distance. The main bed of the stream runs off N.W. and keeps along not far from the western mountain. Further N. the desert slope extends quite across the whole valley, and the stream finds its way through it by a deep and narrow chasm. At

least, this is its character in the neighbourhood of the fountains of the Orontes.

We passed next morning for some time along the canal from the Lebweh, and then turned more to the right between still another line of hills and Antilebanon. Râs Ba'albek lies near the northern extremity of these hills. In it are the remains of two ancient churches; showing it to have been once a place of importance under a name now probably lost. Here the eastern mountain begins to retire and sweeps round in a curve on the E. of Ribleh and the plain.

From this place we took a course about N. by W. and crossed the Bŭkâ'a obliquely to the fountains of the Orontes and the monument of Hŭrmul. From the moment we left the gardens of er-Râs, until we reached the said fountains, every step of the way was a rocky desert. We crossed the canal from the Lebweh, here as large as at first, and driving three mills; but the soil was too hard and stony to be affected by the water, and not a trace of verdure clothed even its banks. It runs on to the vicinity of el-Kâ'a. We followed the road to Hŭrmul; and after two hours turned more to the left, without a path for half an hour, and so came to the chasm of the Lebweh and the fountains of the Orontes.

These burst forth within the chasm, from under its eastern wall. The Lebweh is here no mean stream. It seemed to us larger than at its source, and may receive accessions from fountains in its course under Lebanon. But here the size of the stream becomes at least threefold greater. From the largest fountain it sweeps round a high rocky point. In the precipice on the other side of this high point, on the S. side of the stream, and looking northward, is the excavated convent of Mâr Marôu now deserted. The river continues in its rugged chasm northward for a considerable distance, then sweeps round eastward into the lower plain, and passes near Ribleh.

We took a direct course, without a path, to the monument, an hour distant. It is a remarkable structure, square and solid, terminating above in a pyramid, the whole being from 60 to 70 feet high. On the four sides hunting scenes are sculptured in relief, of which the drawing borders on the grotesque. They are too much defaced to be fully made out. We looked for some inscriptions, but not a trace of any exists. The monument stands here on a lone projecting hill, far out in front of the western mountain; but its founder, and the event it was intended to commemorate, are unlike unknown. From the monument we struck a direct course without any road, and through a region of trap, for Ribleh, which we reached after dark. It is a poor village on the south bank of the Orontes, here running E.

From Ribleh we would gladly have extended our journey northward to Hums, Hamah, and even to Antioch. But the season of heat was already at hand, and, under existing circumstances, it was advisable for me to leave Beirût by the steamer of June 22nd. Very reluctantly, therefore, on my part, we turned next day towards the coast, by way of the great fortress el-Hŭsn, bearing from Ribleh about N. 30° W.

Having crossed the great plain of the Orontes, we ascended very gradually the low broad slope here running down northward from the end of Lebanon. Further N., about opposite the lake of Hums, the ground is much lower. We struck at length the right bank of Wady Khâlid, a deep ravine coming down on our left from the S.E. with a stream, the remotest source of Nahr el-Kebîr. Following down this valley it brought us to the southeastern part of the beautiful oval basin, called el-Bŭkei'a, three hours or more in length from N.E. to S.W., and an hour and a half in breadth. It is skirted on the S.E. by the last low points of Lebanon, and the west side of the great slope we had crossed; and on its N.W. side by a ridge running S.W. from the Ansarîyeh mountains. At its S.W. end this ridge sinks to low hills, and here the river el-Kebîr breaks through into the western plain. In the northern part of this ridge there is a gap, formed by two Wadies running out one on each side, with a low water-shed between, affording a very convenient and easy passage for a road. Here is still the road from Hamah to Tripoly and the south, and it must always have been a pass of much importance. Above it, on the S. side, stands the fortress el-Hŭsn, completely commanding it. The castle has no very definite mark of high antiquity, yet we can hardly doubt that so important a position was very early occupied. From the castle there is a view of the waters on both sides—the lake of Hums on the E., and the Mediterranean on the W.

A little more than half an hour down the western valley stands the great Greek convent of Mâr Jirjis (St. George), where we stopped for a few minutes, and were very courteously received. Twenty minutes further westward down the valley is the great intermitting fountain. This is unquestionably the Sabbatical river described by Josephus, which Titus saw on his march from Arca to Raphanæa towards Hamath. The Roman general naturally led his army through this pass. According to Josephus, the fountain ceased to flow on the Jewish Sabbath; the present popular belief of Muslims regards it as resting on the Muslim Sabbath, or Friday. It was first identified by Mr. Thomson.

Our wish had been to proceed from el-Hŭsn to Ehden and the cedars of Lebanon, by some direct route leading up through the

northern parts of the mountain. But we were not able to find that any such road exists, on account of the sharp ridges and deep chasms which intervene. Even to reach 'Akkâr, it was necessary to make a circuit to the Jisr el-Abyad far in the S.W. As our time was limited, we felt constrained to give up even this route. Nothing, therefore, was left for us, but to proceed for a time on the way to Tripoly, and then strike across to the usual road from the latter place to the cedars. This we did, visiting on the way the site of Arca, and passing E. of Jebel Turbul to Zŭghlarta, situated on the said road an hour and a half from Tripoly.

This road follows up at first the Ju'ait, the middle branch of the Kadîsha; then leads up a steep ascent to the first plateau of the mountain, and afterwards up another still steeper, along the wild and difficult Wady Harûny, to the second plateau, on which is Ehden; this extends to the base of the high unbroken ridge, the backbone of Lebanon. We encamped for the night by a solitary fountain in Wady Harûny, a little off the road, and enjoyed the cooler and delicious climate which we had already reached.

Ehden has a fine situation, and the tract around it was well tilled. The harvest in the plains below was over; here it would not begin for two or three weeks. The *silk*-harvest was equally behind that of the plains. In these high parts of the mountain the potato is cultivated; we saw several fields of this plant arranged and irrigated like gardens.

The cedars are not less remarkable for their position, than for their size and beauty. They are situated at the head of a vast amphitheatre, looking W, surrounded by the loftiest ridges of Lebanon, which rise from two to three thousand feet above them, partly covered with snow. From this amphitheatre issues the great chasm of Bsherreh, perhaps the wildest and grandest of all the gorges of Lebanon. In the midst of this vast temple of nature, the cedars stand as the lonely tenants, with not a tree nor scarcely a green thing besides. We passed on, and encamped at Hasrûn, on the southern brink of the great chasm of Bsherreh.

Our road next day (June 17th) kept along as near as possible to the base of the high ridge, crossing the heads of deep valleys and also the ridges and spurs which lay between. We came at last to the highest spur of all, where our road led over snow, and then descended at once into the great basin of 'Akûra, where are the sources of the Nahr Ibrahîm, the Adonis of the ancients. We came for the night to Afka, situated in the S.E. branch of the basin, in an amphitheatre resembling that of the cedars, not so vast, indeed, but verdant and beautiful. Here a fine fountain bursts forth in cascades from a cavern; and directly in front of these are the shapeless ruins of a large temple. This was the

temple of Venus at *Apheca*. In it were two massive columns of Syenite granite; but how they could ever have been brought to this high part of the mountain, is a mystery.

Our route next day was similar, keeping along as high as possible, and crossing a very steep and high ridge into the basin in which are the fountains of the Nahr es-Sŭlîb, the northern branch of the Nahr el-Kelb. There are two of these fountains, Neba' el-Asal and Neba' el-Leben, both of them large, and sending forth copious streams from under the foot of a ridge close under Jebel Sŭnnîn. The stream from the latter fountain very soon enters a deep chasm in the table-land, the sides of which have almost an architectural regularity. Over this chasm is a natural bridge, having on its south side an almost perfect arch of more than 150 feet span, and 70 or 80 feet above the stream. The width of the bridge on the top at the narrowest point is 120 feet. Our road led across this bridge, and a traveller might easily pass this way without becoming aware of this wonder of nature.

We passed on to the ruins of Fukra, situated in another valley which runs to the southern branch of Nahr el-Kelb. Here are the remains of another temple, and also a square tower apparently intended for a military purpose. The road now led in a very direct course towards the mouth of Nahr el-Kelb. W. of the long straggling village Mizra'ah, we descended into and crossed the very deep chasm of the northern branch es-Sŭlîb, resembling greatly the gorge of the Lîtâny above Belât. Beyond this chasm, we pitched our tent for the last time, in the western part of 'Ajeltûn.

The next morning (June 19th) we continued to descend gradually, till, coming out on the high northern bank of the valley of el-Kelb, we found a very steep and difficult pass, which brought us down to the stream, five minutes above the bridge. We reached Beirût soon after noon. On the 22nd of June, I embarked to proceed by way of Smyrna to Trieste.

Such is an outline of the second journey which I have been permitted to make in the Holy Land. I desire it to be distinctly understood, that the one great object of all these investigations has been *the historical topography* of that country, in its relations especially to the Holy Scriptures, and less directly to the writings of Josephus. To this one object, all other observations have been only subsidiary.[b]

[b] The above paper has appeared in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* in a more extended form, too long for insertion in the *Journal*. We have given the substance of Dr. Robinson's investigations.

THE RIVERS OF DAMASCUS.[a]

ARTICLE II.

The river Pharpar is neither so interesting nor important as its sister the Abana. The scenery along its banks is not so grand; and no city of historic celebrity or architectural beauty has ever stood near it. It is, however, next to the Abana, by far the largest river that descends the eastern slopes of Antilebanon, or waters the vast plain along its base. The district watered by the Pharpar is extensive, and the population supported by it not a few. The notices of this river in the works of modern as well as ancient travellers and geographers, are fewer, briefer, and less definite even than those of the Abana. Its sources have never been described or explored; its course has never been traced; the country through which it flows has never been accurately defined; and the lake into which it empties its waters has never been so much as named, except in one solitary instance. Dr. Smith, in the Appendix to 'Robinson's Researches in Palestine,' speaks of the river *'Awaj*—the ancient Pharpar; and though he gives the name of its lake, yet he confounds it with the other lakes into which the ancient Abana flows. Under the head of Wady el-'Ajam, Dr. Smith thus writes:—'It lies chiefly on the W. of the Haj-road between Damascus and the Hauran. Through it runs the river el-'Awaj; which rising in Jebel esh-Sheikh, runs eastward, and ends in the lake called el-Heijâny.' He adds in a note: 'This name (Heijâny) I find in Tannûs' notes, but have no recollection of it. Abulfeda speaks of a place in the Ghûtah called Merj Râhit, in which a celebrated battle occurred, A. H. 64, between the Keisîyeh and Yemenîyeh; which I suppose to be the neighbourhood of the lake called by him, in another place, the lake of Damascus. He says of it, "The lake of Damascus is to the east of the Ghûtah of Damascus, bearing a little to the north. Into it flows the remnant of the Barada, and other rivers. It enlarges in the winter, so that the rivers are then not needed; and in the summer it diminishes. By it (or in it, لها غاب قصب) is a thicket of canes, and (in it) are places that protect from an enemy."—Tab. Syr. pp. 16, 156.' Before the close of this article I shall have occasion to show the correctness of Dr. Smith's statement, that the 'Awaj flows into the lake Heijâny, and the correctness of Abulfeda's description of the lake of Damascus, *so far as it goes;* and yet, at the same time, the incorrectness of the conclusion, that these two lakes are identical. I shall have occasion to

[a] Concluded from vol. iv. p. 262.

show, that instead of one there are three lakes, quite distinct and separate.

It is somewhat strange that the topography of the beautiful plain of Damascus, so often visited, and so widely celebrated, should have remained so long unknown. The roads through it are among the best in Syria, and, except in times of civil war, perfectly safe. The scenery too presents a pleasing contrast to the parched desert to which the eyes of the wanderer in this land soon become accustomed. Travellers, however, seem to have their beaten track, which one after another follows and describes; and thus even those whose express object has professedly been to visit and explain Bible lands, have hitherto been satisfied with a vague conjecture as to the probable extent and nature of the lake into which the rivers of Damascus flow. It might surely be an agreeable variety, if nothing more, to vary the scene a little, and strike out a new line of route. A visit to the lakes would not be more monotonous or dreary than the ride from Jisr Benât Yakûb to Damascus; and it would have all the charm of novelty attached to it. Most heartily would we recommend this idea of change to future travellers, not merely in reference to the plain and the lakes of Damascus, but to other parts of Syria and Palestine. There are nooks and corners in Antilebanon for example, that would still afford a rich harvest to the antiquary; and there are scenes of grandeur too that would form fine subjects for the poet's pen, and the painter's pencil. Who has ever described the wild passes and the almost innumerable sepulchral caves of M'alula and Jubb 'Adîn? Who has ever heard in the West of the frowning cliffs, and crumbling ruins, and *vine-clad* slopes of *Helbôn*, whose wine the merchants of Damascus carried of old to the rich marts of Tyre? (Ezek. xxvii. 18.) These are tempting subjects; but alas! we possess not the poet's power; we are but little skilled in the painter's art, and we have no time for antiquarian lore.

Dr. Robinson, in the 'Bibliotheca Sacra' for May, 1849, has collected in a brief note the substance of all that has been hitherto written on the river 'Awaj. It has been referred to by many writers, some calling it by one name and some by another; but none giving any satisfactory details. Burckhardt, for instance, when he crossed it at Kesweh, on his way to the Haurân, calls it the 'Awaj; but farther up, near S'as'a, he calls it the Sabirâny. He describes it also as flowing from the neighbourhood of Hasbeiya, and watering the plain of Jaulân (!) Hasbeiya is separated from it by the whole ridge of Hermon, and the province of Jaulan is far to the south of the 'Awaj. (Travels in Syria, p. 53.) Munro appears to have been the first to identify the ancient Phar-

par, though he makes only a short allusion to this river. Dr. Wilson rejects this opinion on the ground that the Awaj does not water the *city* of Damascus. Naaman does not say it did; and if it watered the territory of Damascus, that will sufficiently illustrate his statement. Dr. Wilson remarks, however, that the 'Awaj is 'rather notable in a geological point of view. The basaltic and cretaceous rocks meet at it on the same level. The first of these forms its right bank, and the second its left.' (Lands of the Bible, vol. ii. 324.) I may here just observe, that this notable feature is only true of a very small part of the 'Awaj. Above S'as'a both branches of the river run for the most part through limestone strata; while from Khan esh-Shîh to the lake, more than one-half of its whole length, the banks on both sides are basalt.

Of all those who have hitherto referred to this river, Burckhardt appears to be the only one who has visited Beit Jenn; and he merely mentions the fountain a quarter of an hour below that village, not referring to any higher up. (Trav. in Syr. p. 45.) The Rev. Mr. Thomson, though he speaks in his article in the 'Bibliotheca Sacra,' of having traced to its sources the river 'Awaj, gives just as vague and scanty information as Burckhardt had given forty years before. The only source he traced was that of Menbej, which at best sends forth but a mill-stream, and towards the close of summer is completely exhausted. This fountain is no doubt curious as a natural phenomenon, and is made still more so by the exaggerations of the Arabs; but as a source of the Awaj it is of little importance. Mr. Thomson indeed adds that the water of the Menbej unites with the Nahr Jennany, which comes down from Beit Jenn, a village high up in a wild gorge of Jebl esh-Sheikh, an hour and a half from Menbej, a little south of west, and the united stream passes by S'as'a.' This we knew already from Burckhardt. Mr. Thomson says, in another place, that as he journeyed along the banks of the 'Awaj, from Damascus toward S'as'a, 'during the last hour, the perfect level of the plain is broken by low hills and abrupt gullies; and small tributaries from Jebl esh-Sheikh begin to fall into the 'Awaj. The largest of these tributaries is called the Sabirâny, from a village at the base of the mountains called Beit Sâbir.' Here again we are left in ignorance as to the sources of the river. In fact, Mr. Thomson, during the journey he there describes, was more than ten miles from one source of the 'Awaj, and nearly half that distance from the other. (See Bibliotheca Sac., May, 1849.)

Such, then, is the amount of information we find in books regarding the river 'Awaj. It is just sufficient to prove that such a river exists; and that its size and position might warrant us in

concluding that it is the 'second river of Damascus.' But its sources, its scenery, its length, and its termination, are altogether undefined, if not unknown. The country watered by it is, in maps, either a blank, or what is worse, a fancy sketch, filled up with villages placed at such distances as pleased the eye of the artist. It will be my object in the present article to give a brief description of the river from its sources to its mouth, with such short notices of the surrounding country as may tend to elucidate the topography of the district.

It has been my privilege to spend part of two days and a night on the summit of Mount Hermon. I ascended the mountain from Rasheiya on the morning of August 31st, 1852, and passed the remainder of that day in looking over the vast panorama that was opened out before me. The whole scene and circumstances impressed me deeply with wonder and admiration and awe. A death-like stillness pervaded all visible nature. Not a sound of life or animation fell upon the ear, as I stood on that lofty peak, gazing over that vast expanse of earth and ocean. The solemn thought rose mysteriously in my mind, that such must have been the aspect of nature as Noah looked down from the top of Ararat on a deserted world; and that thus the world would be if the wrath of God should again pass over it as in days of old. The fragments of columns and sculptured stones that lay in confused heaps around the peak on which I stood were the only traces of human agency the eye could distinguish; and these were emblems of its feebleness. The finger of time had worn away the bold relief of the sculpture, and had marred the symmetry of column and capital. Nature itself, too, looked as if it were growing old. The cliffs and rocks on every side were rent and shivered, and the mountain sides furrowed deeply by torrents; while the snow wreaths here and there resembled the scanty locks that streak but do not cover the head of old age.

But there were other things in that scene calculated to attract the attention, and recall the stirring memory of ages and events celebrated in the annals of the world. Hermon is situated at the southern end of Antilebanon, and likewise considerably south of the loftier peaks of the Lebanon range. It rises up a regular and beautiful cone, nearly five thousand feet above the neighbouring mountains: and thus it commands a view of almost the whole land of Israel, from the Mediterranean to the Jordan, and from the Jordan to the desert. Looking westward, that expanse of water now gleaming like burnished gold beneath the rays of the sinking sun, is the 'Great Sea,' the border of the 'promised land.' That low promontory which juts out into it behind those intervening hills is the ancient Tyre, 'the queen of the sea;' and those hills

are called 'Lebanon.' A little distance from it is a bold white cape—it is the 'Promontorium Album;' while that blue ridge far away to the south is 'Carmel.' There too is the broad plain of Esdraelon, stretching along the base of Carmel, with Jezreel, and Shunem, and Endor, and Nain, and *Nazareth*, on its borders; and that little graceful conical peak beside it is Tabor. Here, on the south, deeply depressed, are the still waters of the sea of Galilee; and the narrow vale running away beyond it marks the course of the river Jordan. That picturesque group of hills on the eastern bank of the Jordan is Gilead, and the elevated plateau on this side of it, which stretches far eastward, is the land of Bashan. On the north are the lofty parallel ridges of Lebanon and Antilebanon, extending peak after peak, far as the eye can see; and enclosing between them the long valley of Coelesyria. At the eastern base of Antilebanon may be seen a broad plain, covered with verdure; a bright spot appears in the centre of it—it is the ancient city of Damascus.

What a multitude of wondrous events does memory crowd together in this narrow space! Through those hills and vales roamed the patriarchs with their flocks and herds. There a race of giants was conquered and exterminated by God's chosen people. In that land was witnessed the prowess of Samson, the valour of David, and the wisdom of Solomon. In that land God's people were cheered by revelations of eternal Truth from on high; and they were awed and solemnized by wondrous manifestations of Divine power and love. That land was trodden by the feet of the Son of God and Saviour of the world: it was witness of His miracles, of His sufferings, and of the heavenly purity of His life. In that land was consummated the glorious work of man's redemption, when God's eternal Son gave his life for sinners upon Calvary. In that land death and Satan were vanquished, and life and immortality secured for man. Of incidents venerable for their high antiquity, of events celebrated for their display of valour and patriotism, and of acts hallowed by the loftiest manifestations of Divine power and Divine love, that land was thus the scene.

But what has all this to do with our subject, will be asked, perhaps somewhat impatiently, by the matter-of-fact geographer? Simply this, we reply, that if Hermon did not stand here, Naaman would never have praised the Pharpar; and if we had not stood on Hermon, its sources might still have remained a mystery. Mount Hermon contains the great reservoir that supplies the Pharpar's never-failing stream.

As I stood on the loftiest summit of the mountain, looking toward the east, a long serpentine line of verdure, here and there broken, intersecting the plain before me, attracted my attention.

I could trace it from a flat expanse in the far distance, now winding between low hills, and now meandering through the plain, till it reached the base of the towering cone on the top of which I stood. This is the river 'Awaj, the ancient Pharpar. A valley of great depth here runs up into the very heart of the mountain, from east to west. It does not run exactly toward the summit, but to a point a few miles south of it; yet from the summit there is an unbroken descent to the bottom of the valley. Though this descent must be at least six thousand feet in perpendicular height, one would think he could almost throw a stone into the vale below. In the very head of this valley, in a direction from the summit south by east, I could see a number of small fountains, whose waters, after flowing through fields and meadows, unite beside the village of 'Arny, half an hour below: this is the principal source of the 'Awaj. The stream which is called Nahr el-'Arny (the river of 'Arny) flows in a swift course down the picturesque and rugged valley, passing the villages of Rîmeh, Khirbet es-Sauda, and Bŭk'asem. It enters the plain a little below the last, about five miles from its source. The portion of the plain along the eastern base of Jebl esh-Sheikh is undulating, and deeply furrowed by the tracks of winter torrents. The river at this place runs in a deep and winding bed, in a general direction of S. 64 E. to Beitîma. Here I had again a view of the river, and took bearings of its course, and of the positions of the few villages along its banks. Beitîma is a small half-ruined village, built on the slope on the north bank of the stream, half an hour from the foot of the mountains. On the opposite side, on a level tract, is the much larger and more populous village of Kefr Hauwar, containing some ancient ruins. Its gardens and orchards clothe the bank with their rich foliage. Beside the village is a small conical hill, and on its summit a modern building. To this I ascended, and from it obtained a commanding view of this section of the plain, extending eastward to the hills, called Jebl el-Aswad, and Jebl Mâni'a. The whole of this plain is barren-looking and monotonous. There are no trees save the few which line the banks of the stream, and surround the villages. The soil, however, is in many places fertile, especially toward the east. The river from Kefr Hauwar pursues a winding course to Sasa, distant some six miles south by east.

Such is the northern branch of the 'Awaj; let us now take a glance at the southern.

From the summit of Mount Hermon I journeyed to the fountains of the Jordan at Hasbeiya, Tell el-Kâdy, the ancient Dan, and Banias, the Cæsarea Philippi of the New Testament. From thence I passed over the mountains, near the little lake Phiala, to

the eastern plain. After descending the principal ridge, I entered a wild ravine, with ragged precipices of white limestone on each side. I rode down this till it opened into another ravine, wider and wilder still. Instead, however, of the white and bare rocks that strewed the bottom of the former, there was here the graceful poplar and the wide-spreading walnut, shading a clear, sparkling rivulet, that dashed along between them. A small village stands here; and a few excavated tombs in the sides of the overhanging precipices bear testimony to its high antiquity. This village is Beit Jenn, and this river is Nahr Beit Jenn, the southern branch of the 'Awaj.

The name Beit Jenn may either be translated the 'House of Paradise,' or the 'House of the Genii.' The Jann or Gin, as it is sometimes written, is a kind of spirit, which, according to the creed of the Muslem, takes a great interest in the affairs of mortals. They act a conspicuous part in many of the stories of the 'Thousand and One Nights.' A belief in them constitutes a part of the Mohammedan faith, since the 'Prophet' affirms that some of them were, by his preaching, converted to Islâm. (See Koran, ch. 72.) The retired situation, the wild glen, and the beetling cliffs, might well suggest to the imaginative Arab that this was a chosen retreat for spirits. But still as shade and water constitute leading features of every Eastern paradise, I incline to the former signification.

The glen, I was informed, runs up toward Hermon about an hour beyond the village, and there is the fountain gushing out from the mountain side. About two miles, therefore, west by north, above Beit Jenn, is the second fountain of our river. This branch is called Nahr Beit Jenn. The Wady runs S. 75 E. to the plain. Fifteen minutes below the village is a fountain, bursting forth from a clump of trees on the right bank, called 'Ain Beit Jenn. Its waters are about equal to those of the stream, with which it at once unites, and flows down to the plain into which the valley opens twenty minutes below. A few houses which serve to shelter the flocks of Beit Jenn are here erected on the left bank. From hence the Nahr Beit Jenn flows across an undulating plain to S'as'a, about five miles distant, where the two tributaries unite and form the 'Awaj.

The distance from the entrance of Wady Beit Jenn to Kefr Hauwar, is about six miles; and this is the greatest divergence of these two branches. Farther up they approach somewhat closer. Their valleys are separated by a lofty ridge of the mountains, naked and barren.

The province in which are situated the fountains of the 'Awaj is at present called Aklîm el-Bellân – the 'district of Bellân.' It

comprises the whole eastern slopes of Jebl esh-Sheikh, and a section of the plain extending nearly to S'as'a. It contains twelve villages, with a mixed population of Muslems, Druzes, and Christians. Originally it formed a portion of the territory of the ancient Maachathites (1 Chron. xix. 6). Under the Romans it appears first to have been part of the kingdom of Chalcis, and was afterwards annexed to the Tetrarchite of Abilene, under Lysanias. (Joseph. Ant. xv. 10, 1, and 3; also compare xix. 5, 1, with Luke iii. 1.)

The village of S'as'a, near which these streams unite, was in former days a kind of fortress, one of a regular series, built at intervals on the ancient caravan road from Damascus to Egypt. At present, however, it is in a great measure ruinous and deserted. The 'Awaj runs from this in a general direction N.W. by N. On its right bank is an undulating plain, thickly strewn with large boulders and broken fragments of basalt, which give it a barren and savage aspect. The left bank is less stony, where the limestone takes the place of the volcanic rock, but this whole district is forbidding and monotonous in the extreme. The river continues in the same course to the large caravansery called Khan esh-Shîh, distant seven or eight miles from S'as'a. The features of the country on the south bank continue the same the whole way. From thence the river turns nearly due east, and runs in a very tortuous and deep channel to the village of Kesweh, about six miles farther. On the north side, a short distance below Khan esh-Shîh, commences a range of low hills with conical peaks. These hills extend to Kesweh, leaving a fertile plain about a quarter of a mile wide, along the side of the river. This range is called Jebl el-Kesweh, and also Jebl el-Aswad. Several villages stand near the river; and the banks are lined with poplar and other trees, the dark green foliage of which relieves the monotony of the surrounding scenery.

Kesweh is built on the northern bank of the 'Awaj, and forms the first halting place on the great pilgrim road from Damascus to Mecca. It is reckoned by Abulfeda twelve miles from the former city (Tab. Syr. Ed. Reisk. p. 97); but I think this distance too great, as I have ridden it more than once in two hours at a fast walk. It cannot be more than *nine* Roman miles at the utmost. The Haj road from this place to the city runs nearly due north, keeping first for half an hour along the eastern base of the range of hills above mentioned. It then crosses a low neck which connects these hills with another lower, but more regular range, called Jebl el-Aswad—the black hills—which commences here and runs eastward for some miles, separating the plain of Damascus from the valley of the 'Awaj. Jebl el-Aswad, and Jebl es-Kesweh,

are completely barren. They are wholly composed of volcanic rock, whence the name 'Black Hills,' which is generally applied to both ranges. Their sides have a gentle and easy slope, and are thickly covered with fragments of basalt.

The road crosses the Awaj by a substantial bridge of several arches. The bridge was commanded in former times by a small castle, the ruins of which still stand above it on the north bank. After crossing, the road ascends the southern slope, and then continues over the elevated plateau called Ard Khiyârah. On this side of the river, and nearly east of the village, suddenly rises up another range of mountains, more bold and rugged than the former. One peak, like a cone with the top cut off, is in part isolated, and forms a conspicuous object from every part of the plain of Damascus. It is crowned with the ruins of a fortress of considerable extent and high antiquity. From its summit I obtained a commanding view of the windings of the river and of the whole plain to the foot of Hermon. I was also able to look over the rugged surface of the Lejâh—the ancient Trachonitis—to the mountain region beyond, now called *Ard el-Bathanyeh*, which is unquestionably the Batanaea of Josephus, and which brings down the ancient name of Bashan to modern times. A recent journey to that interesting region, during which I traversed it from north to south, and went as far as Busrah and Salkhad, has convinced me of the truth of the above statement. I visited the ruins of a town called *Bathanyeh*, and near it another called *Shuka*—the Saccaria which, according to Ptolemy, stood in the eastern part of Batanaea. From travelling over also nearly the whole of Trachonitis, with a part of Auranitis, I was enabled to ascertain, with some approach to accuracy, the boundaries of these provinces.

This peak is called Tell Mânia, and the range of hills which, beginning here, run about ten miles to the eastward, has the same name.

The 'Awaj at Kesweh turns sharply to the north-east for more than half an hour, sweeping round the base of Mânia. It then again resumes its former course through the fine vale between the parallel ridges. The large villages of 'Adalîyeh and Hurjilleh are here on its southern bank, and are supplied with water by a canal, led off from the river at Kesweh, and carried along the slopes. Two other canals are taken from the 'Awaj near Khan esh-Shîh; the one on the south side waters two or three villages in the Ard el-Khiyârah, and the other on the north runs to Darâya near Damascus. Still, notwithstanding these drains upon it, when passing Kesweh, it fully equals in volume the half of the Barada above the fountain of Fîjeh. The banks of the river between the hills present

a pleasing and rich appearance. Verdant meadows and finely cultivated corn-fields cover the vale through which the stream meanders, and a fringe of poplars and willows marks its course.

The range of Jebl el-Aswad sinks down at a small village called Nejha; and from thence the 'Awaj flows through an undulating plain to the lake, about eight miles eastward. This plain near the river is almost wholly uncultivated. It is covered with clumps of the tamarisk and other smaller shrubs. On the southern side, opposite Nejha, Jebl Mâni'a sinks into a broad swell, and gradually descends to the level of the plain. On this side below the fields of Nejha there is no cultivation. The vast plain stretches away unbroken to the distant slopes of Jebl Haurân. Over this roam the children of the desert, and here they feed their flocks when the rains of winter have ceased, and the tender grass springs up luxuriantly from the refreshed soil.

Toward the close of summer the waters of the 'Awaj seldom flow far below Nejha. Two canals carry the greater part of what remains into the neighbouring plain of Damascus. When I rode along this in November last, ere the rains set in, the bed of the river was quite dry; but when I crossed the bridge at Nejha in the end of January, on my way to the Haurân, there was a deep and rapid stream. When here in November last the fertile plain round Nejha presented a gay and animated appearance. Eight battalions of Turkish soldiers, with a field-battery, were here encamped, to check the incursions of the rebel Druzes of the Haurân, against whom some eight or ten thousand men had been sent by the Government. A large force of irregular cavalry was also posted here. Little parties of these were scattered over the plain, engaged in the exciting exercise of the jerîd, and displaying by their sudden and graceful evolutions, not less the matchless speed and docility of the noble animals they rode, than their own dexterity in managing them. But the steady discipline of the regular soldiers, and the skilful evolutions of the Kurdish light horse, were not always sufficient to resist the impetuous attacks and fierce determination of the warlike Druzes. Once and again were villages plundered; and to the very gates of the city the daring rebels sometimes penetrated. Often have I heard the booming of the cannon and the dropping fire of the musketry during the stillness of the night; and there was something solemn in the thought that each deep sound was, perhaps, the death-knell of a human being.

The whole district through which the 'Awaj flows from Aklîm el-Bellân to the lake, is now called Wady el-'Ajam, which is generally understood to signify the 'Vale of the Persians.' But why this name is given to it I cannot tell. Wady el-'Ajam

embraces the country extending from the walls of Damascus westward, along the base of Antilebanon to the borders of Jeidur beyond the 'Awaj. The breadth is here about thirty miles. As it extends eastward it gradually contracts until it reaches the lake Heijâny, where the breadth is not more than four or five miles. The extreme length is about thirty-two miles. It contains fifty-one villages which, with the exception of three or four, are all inhabited. The aggregate population is a little over 18,000, of whom 651 are Druzes, 694 Christians, and the rest Mohammedans. With the exception of the section in the neighbourhood of Damascus, the soil of Wady el-'Ajam is much inferior to that of the Ghûtah. The greater portion of it is volcanic; and the two parallel ranges of Jebl el-Aswad and Jebl Mânia are wholly volcanic. The whole district is bleak, and wants features; nothing can be more dreary and uninteresting than the greater part of the road from S'as'a to Damascus.

Among the villages of Wady el-Ajam there is no name of historic interest, and there are no ruins of any importance. It has indeed been thought that the village of Kaukab, about two hours from the city, is the *Kokaba* of Epiphanius. Kokaba, however, Epiphanius says, is in Bashan, beyond Adraa, and the position of the present Kaukab does not at all accord with this statement. It is far north of the ancient border of Bashan; and, except to the inhabitants of Arabia, it certainly could not be described as beyond Adraa (See Reland, Palest. p. 202). There can be little doubt that the whole country watered by the 'Awaj was originally included in the territory of Damascus. Ancient canals from that river carry the water to several places in the vicinity of that city; and there is no natural boundary between the two provinces; the whole, with the exception of the hills, forming one vast plain.

On the south-west Wady el-'Ajam is bounded by Jeidur, and on the south-east by part of the Haurân. Jeidur is the ancient Ituraea—a province which, by some writers, and even by Reland and Lightfoot has been confounded with Auranitis (Rel. Pal., p. 106; Light. Hor. Heb. Chor. s. v. Ituraea). These provinces, however, were not only distinct, but considerably removed from each other. Auranitis was one of the provinces into which the kingdom of Bashan was divided after the captivity. Ituraea was never included in that kingdom. It is the country of the descendants of Jetur the son of Ishmael. 1 Chron. i. 35, & v. 19. It is mentioned by Pliny; and Strabo places it on the borders of Chalcis (lib. xvi.). To establish these assertions satisfactorily to the general reader would require more space than is now at my disposal. I merely give these incidental references as the

results of a careful examination of authorities, and of the country itself.

That portion of the Haurân which lies on the south-east of Wady el-'Ajam is the fine plain north of the Lejâh, with part of the low mountain range of Jebl el-Khiyârah. This was formerly included in the province of Trachonitis.

Reference has already been made to the lake Heijâny into which the 'Awaj flows. This lake is quite distinct from those mentioned in the previous article, and known by the common name of Bahret el-Merj. The Bahret el-Heijâny is, properly speaking, only a winter lake, as the lower part of the 'Awaj is only a winter river. From a small hill beside the village of Heijâny, I obtained the best view of this lake and of the country round it. From this point it extends to the south and south-east, and is, as nearly as I could estimate it by careful bearings, about seven miles long from north to south, by four and a-half from east to west. This whole expanse is covered with water during the winter and spring; but sometimes, though very rarely, it dries up altogether toward the close of summer. Its dimensions can be taken at all seasons from the reeds by which it is covered. The river 'Awaj enters it at its north-west corner below the Tell Heijâny; and the Nahr el-Liwa at its south-east corner. The latter stream descends from the mountains of the Haurân, or Ard el-Bathanyeh, flows along the eastern side of the Lejâh, and then across the plain to the lake. It only runs, however, for a very short period, while the snow is melting in the mountains. I travelled along it in January to near its source, and only found water in pools.

North of the lake Heijâny is a broad swell in the plain, from three to five miles wide, dividing this lake from the Bahret el-Kiblîyeh, one of those into which the Barada flows. The soil here is rich and deep. At intervals are little tells similar to those found throughout the Haurân, but much smaller. In some of these the black basaltic rock crops above the soil. The large Tell Heijâny is covered with immense boulders of basalt.

It is thus seen, that instead of one lake which is laid down on all maps of this region, and into which all the rivers are carried, there are in reality three lakes, namely, the Bahret esh-Shurkîyeh, and Bahret el-Kiblîyah into which the Barada empties its waters; and the Bahret el-Heijâny, supplied by the 'Awaj and Liwa. The two first never become dry, though a great portion of them is mere marsh in summer, with little spots of clear water at intervals. Gigantic reeds, some of which are more than twenty-five feet high, grow in all the lakes, and render it extremely difficult to ascertain where there is water and where dry ground. Wild swine are very plentiful in these thickets; and myriads of wild

fowl, including geese, ducks, storks, herons, and numerous others, swim along the surface, or stalk through the marshes. The neighbouring villagers are expert in the chase, and with their long guns can bring down the birds from a great distance. There are paths by which they can penetrate during the summer months into the midst of the marshes. These, however, are so intricate, that it is with difficulty even those accustomed to them can follow them. I went some distance into the east lake, and my guide informed me that he had on one occasion lost his way near the place where we stood, and was three days and three nights among the marshes ere he could find his way out.

The country round the lakes has a gently undulating surface. Beyond these it slopes up to the foot of a range of hills with graceful, conical peaks, distant about four and a-half hours. In this district there are no villages and no inhabitants; but I could see the ruins of three large castles, of the beauty and strength of which the peasants spake in glowing terms. I was anxious to visit them, but could get no guide; all were afraid of wandering parties of Arabs, with whom they wage a constant warfare. The range of the *Telul*, for so the hills referred to are called, terminates at a point about due east from Tell Heijâny, and from thence to the Jebl Haurân on the south there is plain far as the eye can see. One solitary blue peak rises up a little to the south of the Tellûl, but much more distant. This, I was informed, is in the centre o. the Safa.

THE INSPIRED CHARACTER OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

The four Gospels are received by the Church, not merely as authentic records of the facts which, viewed in conjunction with the miracles and teaching of Christ and his apostles, constitute the essential basis of Christian faith and practice, but also as sacred writings inspired throughout by the same 'Spirit of Christ' which spake by the Prophets.[a]

We have, then, to distinguish between the characteristics of *authenticity* and *inspiration* predicated by the Church of these writings. The former denotes their historical character as records of supernatural events which actually took place; whilst the latter indicates, in addition to this, an infinitely higher degree of perfection, originating in a divine design in reference to which they are throughout constructed, both as a whole and in their several details.

In this paper we propose to attempt the application of the argument from analogy, to the support of the external testimony of the Church in favour of the inspired character of the Gospels. Such an investigation will include, to a certain extent, the vindication of the historical truth or authenticity of these records, but is properly concerned with the analogy of the *mode* in which the received truths and facts of Christianity are there exhibited and expressed, to what we observe in the constitution and course of nature and of providence, and of the general scheme of revelation viewed as proceeding from the same Divine Author.

Two opposite views of the scheme of Christianity have been conceived and disseminated amongst us, tending to impugn the early Church's view of the inspired character of the Gospels. On the one hand there are those[b] who deny the *completeness* of the

[a] 1 Pet. i. 10, 11, 12. Hooker asserts, in regard to the inspired character of the prophetical writings, that the prophets 'neither spake nor wrote any word of their own, but uttered syllable by syllable as the Spirit put it into their mouth;' so that the result is as really to be attributed to God as its author, as the various sounds of an instrument are to be referred to the volition of the performer; the difference being that, whereas the instrument is an unconscious subject of the external operation, the prophets as inspired *men* were conscious to the fullest extent of the secret mind of the Spirit which spake by them, 'the arm of the Lord being mighty and strong upon them.'—Hooker, Serm. V., §§ 5, 6.

[b] Viz., the Romish advocates of that theory of 'Development' which is based on the assumption that 'Christianity came into the world as an idea rather than as an institution' (*Newman on Development*); according to which, therefore, the unchangeable truth of the Gospel, regarded as the final dispensation of religion, is capable of improvement and actual change as the mind of the Church is exercised on its subject matter, and by meditation moulds and shapes it accordingly, so as to produce and *create* the precise dogmas which meet the newly discovered wants of

evangelical history as such, by alleging the necessity of supplementary truths, the additions of after ages, to the foundation of faith in the Gospels. Such thinkers impair the *sufficiency* of the historical basis of Christianity already fixed and determined. The tendency of an opposite train of thought is to supersede or replace that central object of Christian faith called by St. Paul 'the mystery of godliness,' 'God manifest in the flesh,' &c., by partial or merely subjective views of truth which are conceived to comprehend all that is essential to be believed,[c] thus virtually nullifying more or less the testimony which the Gospels throughout bear to that great object of faith the *Incarnate* LORD who was conceived and born, who suffered and died, and rose again for our redemption.

In contradistinction to both these trains of thought, the inspiration predicated of the Gospels by the early Church, is a *plenary* inspiration, such, that is, as allows nothing either to be supplied or taken away from them by the supposed progressive enlightenment of after ages of the Church, whose office is simply to guard and transmit them, whole and entire, as constituting one unchangeable record of truth.

In order to survey the framework of the history from the right point of view, and so to enable ourselves to form any adequate conception of the nature and extent of the inspiration predicable of them, we must premise some considerations tending towards the determination of the proper position to be assigned to these writings in the scheme of natural and revealed religion, viewed as proceeding from the same Divine Author. We may thus be enabled to infer the probable *design* of God in the gift of inspiration to the Evangelists, in relation to man, whether Jew or Gentile, as the subject of His moral government, and to the various and changing circumstances and relations of the Church and the

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the Christian mind. Among the legitimate results of this process of thought, Dr. Newman classes the deification of the Blessed Virgin in a sense which constitutes her not only in common with other saints a recipient of divine grace, but also an original dispenser of it. The contrariety of this result to the plain teaching of Scripture, that 'the man Christ Jesus' is the 'one Mediator between God and man,' is obvious. The late Professor Butler has shown, in his answer to Dr. Newman's work, that by a moderately skilful application of the rules by which this process of thought is to be conducted, almost anything, however absurd and impious, might be developed from some known truth. He deduces sun-worship from Scripture on Dr. Newman's principles.'—*Butler on Development*, Letter III.

[c] That view, for instance, which resolves the revealed truth of God incarnate in the person of Jesus Christ into the opinion that he was *the Man* whom the Divine Word most perfectly inhabited, and who most realized the idea of the union of man with God. The gradation from this view, which may not be inconsistent with the recognition of the historical basis of the Gospel history, to that of the infidel German school, which resolves Jesus Christ into an ideal or mythical personification of human nature, in the perfection to which it can of itself attain, is easy.

world. The internal indications of this design, which our proposed analogical survey of the Gospels may then present, will be the measure of the presumption which the argument affords in favour of their plenary inspiration by the spirit of Him whom natural religion teaches us to recognise as the absolutely wise and perfect Creator and Disposer of all things, and who having 'in sundry times and in divers manners' spoken in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days, *i. e.* in the final dispensation of Christianity, spoken unto us by His Incarnate Son.

For this purpose, viz. the determination of the relative position to be assigned to these writings in the scheme of natural and revealed religion, a further preliminary inquiry suggests itself, viz. whether there be any leading *idea* to which the whole scheme of religion may be referred as the ultimate object of the faith to which revelation is addressed, and which by comprising in itself the essence of moral and revealed truth, unites in one 'desire'[d] or expectation the subjects of every dispensation whose faith has been directed accordingly; and secondly, whether, and in what form, that idea is fully developed in the final dispensation of Christianity, and exhibited accordingly in the Gospels.

The former branch of this inquiry is interesting, whether we regard it from the same point of view as that occupied by the investigator of the history of the past, whose business and concern it is to trace and estimate the influence of so powerful an *element* (as he may term it) as religion, upon the moral, social, and political condition of the world in the manifold scenes and relations of society and of governments which the vast range of history presents to view; whether, with the mere political director of the present and future concerns of society, we trace the influence of the same cause upon the progress and extension of science and civilisation under the Christian era; or whether, lastly, we join the faithful of every age and under every dispensation, in extending our view through and beyond the visible results of religion, to that which is the proper scope and end of a revelation as such, viz. the drawing back the curtain which separates things visible from things invisible, the unfolding to the inward vision of faith the objective realities of that unseen world for which this stage of our existence is a probation and a preparation. Theologically speaking, however, it is, from the nature of the case, impossible that a true conception of the idea which natural and revealed religion was intended to germinate and unfold should be formed by those in whom implicit faith, at least, is not the basis and starting-point of their philosophical inquiries respecting the form of its develop-

[d] Hag. ii. 7.

ment; who choose to view the scheme of revelation much as they would any great fact in the world's history, as something external to themselves, and which they survey only in its particular relation to the favourite object of their pursuits. The design and scope of revelation cannot, from the nature of the case, be thus limited. 'The general design of Scripture,' says Bishop Butler, 'which contains in it this revelation, considered as historical, may be said to be to give us an account of the world in *this one single view as God's world.*' To assign therefore any *finite* purpose or end as comprehending the design of revelation, and as the realisation of the teaching and tendencies of natural religion, is a subversion of a first principle of religion, for it is virtually a denial of the *infinite* perfections of the Creator.

This consideration excludes all those answers to our inquiry, *What, if any, is the leading idea of natural and revealed religion which revelation was intended to unfold?* which are based upon partial or merely subjective views of its tendencies and effects, as one out of many elements by which the course and affairs of the world are affected. Revelation claims to be to the moral, social, and political world what the sun is to the natural world—the centre of life and light to which all the circumstances and relations of men in every form of society have a fixed and definite, but subordinate, relation; the original source of whatever degree of truth and wisdom the minds of men and the dark places of the earth have been gifted and enlightened with.[e] In the comparatively small number of events which Divine wisdom saw fit to select and embody in a revelation, we see notwithstanding, as in a mirror, an exact image therein reflected of the character of man under all the circumstances of life and in the various forms of society, and are thus enabled to trace the design of God in the divine œconomies concerning him, and the correspondence of that design to the infinite wisdom and goodness of its Divine Author.

Those therefore are not to be heard who, in attempting to assign to revelation the development of any leading idea, limit their field of view to the present visible sphere of its operation; and judging from the known effects of Christianity on the world, are led to infer that the progress of universal benevolence and of civilisation, of arts and science and general freedom of intercourse, tending towards moral and material perfection, constitute the design of revelation, and comprehend, far more than any objective truth does, its essential idea, and the ultimate form of its full development.

If, then, no answer can be regarded as theologically correct

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[e] See Dr. Waterland's Charge on 'The Wisdom of the Ancients borrowed from Divine Revelation,' vol. v., Oxf., 1843.

which is based merely upon subjective views of religion, or upon partial and limited views of its tendencies and effects, it only remains for us to consider whether there be any *objective* truth which realises in its form and its *subjective* operation upon the mind of the faithful recipient, what was akin to truth in the speculations of Gentile philosophy, and in the corrupt systems of heathen mythology, as well as the inspired predictions and anticipations of patriarchs and prophets?

The results of the speculations of heathen philosophy show that pride and sensuality are the two extreme forms of evil between which the nature of man, when left to itself, oscillates continually; *that man, when he ceases to be the slave of his passions, becomes too readily a god to himself;* and the distinctive teaching of the opposite schools of Gentilism proceeded accordingly upon the principle of indulging one of these tendencies and thereby counteracting the effects of the other. This is the explanation of the opposite conceptions of the highest good by which men were actuated either to aspire to equality with the Deity, or, with Epicurus, to view Him as indifferent to the acts of His creatures, who were thus left to the unrestrained indulgence of the natural propensities in the other direction. Between these extreme views the better heathen moralists, as Aristotle and Plato, were guided by the light of natural religion into that *via media* view of subjective truth which enabled them to adjust the balance of these conflicting tendencies; and at the same time that they recognised the contemplation of an eternal object as the highest good of man (the highest that could be presented to the understanding), to connect with this, as tending towards its ultimate attainment, the practice of moral virtue, according to the voice of natural conscience suggesting the probability of a future state of rewards and punishments; according also to the appreciable *tendency* of God's natural providence towards the reward of the good and the punishment of the bad.[f]

When, again, we turn to the traditional notices of objective truth which heathen mythology embodied, it is easy to discern in the practice of demonolatry, which constituted the basis of Gentile worship, a distinct and universal recognition, amid whatever perversions, of the fundamental idea of the union of God and man in the persons of the *dæmons* (corresponding to the *avatars* of Hindoo mythology), to whom was assigned the office of *mediation*[g] between the Supreme Deity and His reasonable creatures. Such was

[f] Cf. Butler's Analogy, part i. ch. iii.

[g] The well-known passages, Hesiod. Op. et Dier., i. 120, and Plato, Sympos. § 27 (vol. v., Bekk. 1826), may be referred to. The recognition by St. Paul of the idea of mediation in connexion with dæmon-worship, appears from his juxtaposition

the universal, however obscure, prefiguration which Gentilism exhibited of the idea of God incarnate for the deliverance of man, through the process of mediation, from the opposed forms of evil to which he is exposed; and thus might the virtuous heathen, who used the measure of light afforded him and responded to the law of God written in his heart, find expression in such language as St. Paul puts into the mouth of the unregenerate man seeking deliverance from the tyranny of the carnal will,[h] and be justified by implicit faith in an object which, though not externally revealed, he was taught dimly to apprehend as the 'desire of all nations.'

In the greater light which revelation affords, the convergence of the whole and every part of the Old Testament dispensation towards one great objective reality, consummated in the mystery of the incarnation, is obvious to every well-instructed Christian. When from our survey of the gradual development of this idea under the patriarchal and Mosaic economies, in the continuous train of types and prophecies growing in clearness and minuteness of detail until in the 'fulness of time' they meet and centre in the person and mediatorial offices of Jesus Christ, we turn to the list of worthies who, in the Epistles to the Hebrews,[i] are commended as memorable examples of the genuine operation of that faith which is *the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen*—we find that it was not to transitory promises that their implicit faith had reference. When, for instance, Abel offered unto God a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain, it was because by it, he 'being dead,' would leave on record, in the blood of his accepted sacrifice, the expressed testimony of his faith in the promise that the divine seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, should by death destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil. Thus was Abraham justified by implicit faith in the same substantial 'promise' which, as St. Paul declares, was to him 'the Gospel'[k] in germ; his faith being directed to a divine object which he 'rejoiced to see' afar off, the death and resurrection of the future victim (and his consequent office of mediation) being prefigured in the mystical sacrifice, and the return again 'as in a figure' to life, of the Beloved Son of the promise; whilst the site of the prospective sacrifice and the materials carried by the mystical victim, joined in completing the correspondence of the type and antitype. The same essential idea may be traced, whilst

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of the Lord's Supper with the things which the Gentiles sacrificed to dæmons (1 Cor. x. 14. 20, 21). In both cases there was the idea of a sacrifice, and a feast upon a sacrifice; in the former, communion with Christ through the sacramental elements which represented His one sacrifice upon the cross; in the latter, a corresponding communion with the dæmon, who was thereby supposed to be propitiated.

[h] Rom. vii. 22, 23. [i] Chap. xi.

[k] Gal. iii. 8. ἡ γραφὴ — προευηγγελίσατο τῷ Ἀβραάμ.

it was yet undeveloped, in all the various types and details of the ancient economy, in Moses, Joshua, David, and their successors. These holy men of old typified in their deeds and persons the several functions of his mediation, the full revelation of the will of God, which, as a *prophet* in the highest and most eminent sense, He should convey to the future people of God; their conquests, for instance, typifying those by which, as the anointed 'Son of David,' He should acquire the *throne* which a spiritual seed should also inherit in its proper seat, the heavenly Canaan, into which, as the Holy of Holies, He has also entered as an eternal High *Priest;* dispensing through His meritorious intercession the blessings of pardon and grace, and repeating the several functions of His threefold mediatorial offices through the 'ministration of the Spirit'[m] which He has sent to inhabit and to organise His mystical body until it shall have arrived at 'the measure of the stature of the fulness of CHRIST.'

It is thus that in the Christian dispensation we see the divine purposes towards man fully developed in the great fact of the Incarnation, the centre of the manifold cycles of types and prophecies, of miracles and parables in connexion with which it is there presented to us. Explicit faith in this objective truth (comprising necessarily in the same view the reception of the doctrine of Christ's mediation) now holds the place of that implicit belief by which the faithful of old were *justified*, who, without us, could not be *perfected*.[n] And since it is in the Gospels that this idea is exhibited under the *final* form in which it is there historically presented to us, it follows from the catholicity which is the attribute of Christianity, that this form must not merely be adapted to the Jewish and Gentile minds, according to the various phases and attitudes in which those minds presented themselves to view at the first publication of Christianity, and of these its historical records. That adaptation must, from the nature of the case, be extended throughout the whole interval of time between the first and second advents, so as to comprehend, in its ever-widening cycle of manifold applicability, generation after generation, until at the second visible coming of Christ (of which the Incarnation is the germ, and with which accordingly it is closely associated in the teaching of Scripture and of the Church)[o] the divine purpose in the Gospels shall have been fulfilled.

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[m] 2 Cor. iii. 8.

[n] That the τελείωσις of Christians arises from their faith being directed to the incarnation and mediation of Christ, of which the Promise was the germ and the Law the shadow, is one of the grand points of the Epistle to the Hebrews. See ch. vii. 11. 19; ix. 9; x. 1. 14; and xi. 40.

[o] As in the Collects, &c., and proper Lessons appointed for the Season of Advent, in the service of the Church of England. Cf. Mal. iii. 1-5; and iv. 1, 2, 4, 5.

The course which we have pursued in opening this subject has now conducted us to the desired point of view for determining those points of analogy between the framework of the evangelical history and the constitution and course of nature and of providence, and of the general scheme of natural and revealed religion, on which depends the strength of the presumption in which the argument results. The subject now resolves itself into an analogical examination of the relative bearing of the whole and every part of these writings, on the development of the essential idea of religion in the fact of the Incarnation as there revealed, and of the form in which that truth is proposed to the acceptance of the different classes and characters of which mankind is composed, viewed in different stages of moral and intellectual development, and under the various circumstances of education, association, natural temperament, &c., which contribute, in the course of God's natural providence, to mould and fashion the human mind, and to prepare it for the full and explicit reception of revealed truth.

In the preceding remarks, the leading feature implied in the development of the divine purposes towards man in the divine economies, is the *progressive* character of that development by slow, successive steps towards the final result, the human mind being so constituted as to be unable to apprehend the import of facts of Christianity without requisite moral preparation and preliminary training; so that four thousand years had to elapse before the minds even of the faithful among Jews and Gentiles had been sufficiently prepared, by the combined effects of natural and revealed religion, for the full manifestation of the divinity in the person of Him who is at the same time the light of the world (reproving its darkness, as such) and the glory of the Church in which He mystically dwells. The correspondency of this feature to what we observe in nature and in providence is obvious. The law of God herein is, *that the perfection of any design should be the final result only of a slow and gradual process.* This law holds, *e. g.* in the changes of day and night and of the seasons, in the ripening of the fruits of the earth, in the growth of a plant and the training of a flower, in the development of the bodily and mental faculties. The recognition of this feature is of course implied throughout this investigation, and will be noticed both in the *analytical* portion of the inquiry, in which we shall endeavour to exhibit the connection of each separate part of the evangelical history with the main design, and in the *synthetical* portion, when the result of the former may enable us to infer, to some extent, the *perfection* of that design in the combined representation of the great fact of revelation which the Gospels, as a whole, present. The bearing of the logical difficulties and discrepancies in the

Gospels on the main design will also be considered, and their analogy to what we observe in nature and in providence, and in the general scheme of religion, pointed out in such a way as may best tend to illustrate the subject. Nothing more can, from the nature of the case, be attempted than to sketch the outline of such a view of the Gospels as may tend in some measure to elucidate that design of God, in the gift of inspiration to the Evangelists, which our preliminary discussion now leads us to infer to be as follows:—*The manifestation to mankind as represented in the various classes of men to whom the Gospels were first addressed, of God incarnate, as perfect man, in the person of Jesus Christ, for the discharge of the office of a mediator*, the Evangelists, in delineating His person and offices, being supposed to proceed, under the plenary inspiration of the Holy Spirit, upon the recognition in Him of the ideal type of humanity, the χαρακτὴρ or stamped copy of God,[p] restored in a higher order of perfection than its original one; and to have exhibited Him under such aspects as might best serve to win men of every variety of character and constitution, and under all conceivable circumstances of life, to the full recognition and saving reception of the great fact of the incarnation, and herein of the doctrine of Christ's mediation.

Let us now apply the analytical method, already alluded to, to a consideration of the genealogy of Christ and the circumstances of the nativity as recorded in St. Matthew's Gospel.

Viewing this portion of the evangelical history in its adaptation primarily to the faithful Israelite, and secondarily to the Christians of every succeeding age versed in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, to which the first Gospel has a special relation, we have to point out the adaptation of the peculiar form and structure of the narrative to the natural, moral, and spiritual requirements of such minds, and its consequent *tendency* to develop the internal principle of faith (supposed to exist either initially or in progress) and concentrate it on its proper object.

Now when we consider the associations connected in the mind of an Israelite versed in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, (1) with Abraham, the head and representative of Israel, in whose 'loins'[q] was contained the seed to which the Abrahamic promise had a special reference,[r] and which was to 'grow' out of Judah, who with 'his brethren' represented the nation as subsequently settled in the land of their inheritance; (2) with 'David *the King*' (ver. 6), who, as such, is assimilated and even identified, in the language of the Scriptures,[s] with the Messiah; and when we re-

[p] Heb. i. 3.
[q] Cf. Heb. vii. 10.
[r] So St. Paul reasons, Gal. iii. 16, and ch. iv.
[s] 1 Sam. ii. 10; 2 Sam. xxiii. 1; Ps. ii. 2: xviii. 50, &c.

member, (3) the close juxtaposition also in prophecy with the rise and progress of Messiah's kingdom, of His conquests among the Gentiles who should become His willing tributaries,[t] the *general* adaptation of the form of the narrative is obvious, connecting as it does all these associations with the spiritual '*generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.*' Accordingly we find that the genealogy is traced from the 'father of the faithful' primarily, and secondarily from the head of royalty in Judah; and it is divided so as to include three double hebdomads, or six weeks of generations, from Abraham to Christ; comprehending the full period of the preparatory dispensation towards Israel, a period which was to terminate in the seventy weeks of years reaching from the rebuilding of the temple to the coming of the 'Messiah the Prince,'[u] who is 'the everlasting Father,'[x] *i. e.* the father of the age or generation reaching from the incarnation to the end of the world, and denominated accordingly by the prophets 'the latter days,' 'the time of the end,' viewed as it was by them in relation to the beginning and end of the final dispensation of Christianity, viz. the first and second advents, which are, in the language of prophecy, conjoined and viewed in apparent identity with each other.[y] Now when we consider the typical connection in which the seventh day of creation stands related in Scripture to this latter period,[z] as the figure and memorial of the rest of Israel from the bondage of Egypt in the land of Canaan, culminating in its antitype, viz. the spiritual deliverance of his people from their sins wrought by Christ, followed by that eternal rest in heaven which is the final inheritance of the saints, we can hardly fail to infer the corresponding relation of the six days of creation to the preparatory period of six weeks of generations. *Seven* times six generations would appear therefore to have been analogously chosen (agreeably to the mystical import of that sacred multiple)[a] to measure the '*fulness* of time' during

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[t] Isa. xlix. 6; lx. 1, &c. &c.; Ps. xlv.; lxii.; lxviii. 29, 30; lxxii. 10, 11.
[u] Dan. ix. 25. [x] Isa. ix. 6. [y] Cf. note [o], p. 64.
[z] By comparing Deut. v. 15, with Exod. xx. 11, it will be seen that the hallowing of the seventh day (Gen. ii. 3) had a prospective reference to the deliverance out of Egypt. It is remarkable also that of the seventh day alone is no evening recorded; as if to indicate its further expansive reference to that eternal rest which remaineth for the people of God (see Heb. iv. 9). In connection with the argument of that chapter we may observe, that since the spiritual deliverance completed by Christ's resurrection is the antitype of the Egyptian deliverance, and precedes the rest in heaven, even as the latter did the rest in Canaan, the principle of the divine injunction in Deut. v. 15, is applicable, under the Christian dispensation, in support of the practice of the Church in celebrating the weekly festival of the resurrection.
[a] In Isa. xxx. 26, it is said, in order to denote the plenitude of the blessings of Messiah's kingdom, that the 'light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of

which the divine purposes in respect to the new creation of humanity in Christ were gradually developed by means of the divine economy which originated in the call of *Abram*, and in the promise made to him as *Abraham*, the representative of the natural and spiritual Israel. The design of that economy was to unfold, by means of the various dispensations towards the *natural* seed '*kept under tutors and governors until the time appointed by the Father*,'[b] that idea of the Messiah's work which was to be finally reached through the images of captivity and return, the idea of which the incarnation and mediatorial work of Christ is the objective realisation, and of which the law contained the shadow. Accordingly by the juxtaposition in ver. 17 of David and the Captivity with Christ, as the last terms of the two first series of generations which define the periods of the government by Judges and Kings, the Messiah is presented in a relation analogous (when viewed in connection with ver. 21) to what we read in the prediction of the prophet of the captivity, who describes the coming king as 'the righteous branch'[c] which should spring forth from the house of David to be the Saviour of Judah and mankind, and should accomplish a deliverance and restoration for his people in which the memory of the redemption out of Egypt should be merged, and of which the first settlement in Canaan under Joshua was a type, by bringing up and leading the spiritual seed of the house of Israel out of the north country and from all countries whither the Lord had driven them; a result which has yet to be consummated by the gathering of the remnant of the natural seed dispersed throughout the world into the one Church of Christ.[d]

The tendency, however, of the early associations of an Israelite and of the traditions and prejudices of his nation, was to attach to the kingdom of Messiah, as portrayed by the prophets, a worldly and visible glory, and to limit the full benefits of the promise to the natural seed of the house of Israel. Had there been nothing in the record of Christ's genealogy to neutralise this tendency, the

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seven days.' So we read of the seven gifts of the Spirit; of the seven candlesticks in the book of Revelation, with Christ walking in the midst, representing the universal Church, which is His body, the *fulness* of Him that filleth all in all,' &c. &c.

[b] Gal. iv. 2.

[c] Jer. xxiii. 5. Cf. Isa. xi. 1, which is very significant, the word *stem* being equivalent to what woodmen term a *stool*, and serving to propagate its kind when the parent stock has become apparently extinct and dead. Thus was Messiah to sprout forthas a twig out of the stem of Jesse, and as a branch to grow out of his roots. (Cf. ch. liii. 2). Immediately afterwards, in the tenth verse, He is called the 'root of Jesse,' the benefits derived from which are represented as universal. Cf. Jer. xxxiii. 15; Zech. iii. 8; vi. 12.

[d] See Rom. xi. 25, 26, where the distinction in the original between τῷ Ἰσραὴλ (the natural Israel), ver. 25, and πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ, comprehending 'the fulness of the Gentiles,' and the remnant of the natural seed, who, 'if they abide not in unbelief, shall be grafted in again' (ver. 23), is lost in the English version.

result might naturally have contributed to blind the eyes of an Israelite to the spiritual fulfilment in *Jesus* Christ of the types and prophecies of the Old Testament. In juxtaposition therefore with the leading ancestors of the Messiah and of his royal progenitor, the Holy Spirit suggests a collocation of names tending effectually to check the above-mentioned tendency and to prepare the faithful Israelite to discern the spiritual character, and through it the universality of Messiah's kingdom. In the recorded connection of the incestuous Thamar with the head and representative of the line of Judah (in the mention of whose twin sons there is no doubt a mystical significance),[e] of the heathen and harlot Rahab and the Moabitess Ruth with the progenitors of David, and of the adulterous wife of Uriah with the royal ancestor of the Messiah himself, and in the pre-eminent relation to the Messiah thus assigned to such naturally polluted and accursed mothers above the virtuous matrons of the same line, the faithful Israelite would be constrained to look for some spiritual purpose, extending to and indicating the gathering[f] unto Messiah of the Gentiles as what could alone, from the nature of the case, explain the historical circumstance of such natural aliens and transgressors of the divine law being engrafted into the royal stock out of which the '*righteous* branch'[g] was to grow. For the rites and ordinances of the system of worship by which Israel was distinguished as a holy people unto the Lord, implied and enforced on every Israelite, separation and purification from all natural uncleanness or pollution, and the absence accordingly of all intercourse (especially by marriage) with the accursed nations of Canaan and the heathen; whilst on the part of those destined to sacred offices a special unction and consecration were also requisite.

Now in regard to the two Gentile mothers whose names appear in the list, the well-known circumstances which attended their adoption into the royal line were suited to unfold this spiritual purpose in a manner harmonising analogously with the general tenor of the narrative. Rahab and Ruth are recorded as the wives respectively of Salmon,[h] the Prince of Judah and first

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[e] Gen. xxxviii. 27-30. The mention of both Phares and Zara in the record may indicate the *two* classes of the natural and spiritual seed, *divided* by the covenant of circumcision (perhaps denoted by the red thread), but *united* in the one covenant of the blood of Christ, who has 'made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of *partition*,' &c. (Eph. ii. 14).

[f] Gen. xlix. 10.

[g] See note [c], p. 68.

[h] Nahshon, the father of Salmon, Salmah, or Salma (as he is variously termed in the Old Testament authorities for this portion of the genealogy, viz., Ruth iv. 18-22, and 1 Chron. ii. 9-15), is recorded in Num. i. 7, vii. 12-17, as prince of the tribe of Judah in the desert, two years after the passage of the Red Sea. That Salmon, born to him in the wilderness, should be among the leaders who invaded Canaan under Joshua, and one of the captors of Jericho, synchronizes therefore in the natural order of things with his marriage to Rahab; a circumstance which supplies

lord[i] of Bethlehem during the conquest of Canaan under Joshua, and of Boaz, the lineal heir of the same house in the peaceful times that followed the conquest of the land. Viewed in this connection, the relative position of the two Gentilesses in the divine economy of which the conquest and occupation by Israel of Canaan constituted a leading part will be apparent. The name of Rahab was associated with the destruction of Jericho.[k] Now that event was characterised by circumstances of an obviously mystical character, and such as justify us in assigning to it a typical relation to the destruction of the empire of sin and Satan, of which this visible world is the seat—a destruction which, in the mind of the spirit, as expressed by the prophets, was to precede and accompany the establishment of the throne of Messiah and his seed, prefigured in the conquest and possession of Canaan, especially under the alternately warlike and peaceful reign of David and his successor, whose kingdoms signified that of the Messiah under its several aspects of conquest and peaceful prosperity following in the train of the 'most mighty' Prince and Conqueror. *Six* days were the divinely allotted period during which the walls of the accursed city were to be encompassed *seven* times by the *seven* priests bearing the *seven* trumpets, and followed by the ark of God, whose presence was to be manifested in judgment and mercy, in the destruction of the accursed city, with its idolatrous inhabitants, and in the salvation of the faithful Rahab, with her family, as the type of that future Church of the redeemed whom the mystical Joshua should save from their sins, and thus from the final destruction of the world, when accomplished in the sevenfold fulness of divine vengeance, the measure of its iniquity being then full.

In the marriage of Ruth with Boaz, the peaceful heir of the house of Bethlehem, the Gentile Church is exhibited under another aspect, as voluntarily renouncing the idolatrous worship of heathenism, and also as approved of by the contrast which her faith and obedience under trial presents to that of the reprobate or apostate sister Church. Ruth and Orpah had been alike favoured with the calling of adoption into the family of Abraham; but when adherence to the worship of the true God, and to his adopted family, involved the renunciation of natural kindred and of earthly

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a very sufficient historical foundation for a tradition of the Babylonian Talmud that she was espoused to Joshua himself.

[i] We know from the books of Samuel and Ruth that Bethlehem was the patriarchal seat of Jesse, Obed, and Boaz; the presumption from which is, that it must have been the seat of Salmon also (see 1 Chron. ii. 11, 51). Dr. Mill suggests, as a 'most probable supposition,' that Caleb, here mentioned, may have adopted Salmon the son of Nahshon as heir of Bethlehem; Caleb being the patriarchal occupant of the cities of southern Judæa.—*Mill's Vindication of Our Lord's Genealogies*, 1842, pp. 129, 130.

[k] Josh. ch. vi.

home and relations, Ruth alone 'clave' unto her mother-in-law, under whose guidance and training she was destined, in the order of Divine providence, to become the great-grandmother of the Messiah's most eminent type. In her, accordingly, we see a fitting representative of the elect Gentile Church, under the aspect in which that Church is so frequently presented to us in Scripture, as hearkening[m] unto the voice of the celestial Bridegroom, 'forgetting' and forsaking, at His call, 'her own people and her father's house'—an aspect which is more fully developed in those devotional and prophetical portions of the Old Testament which exhibit Pharaoh's daughter, the renowned queen of Solomon, the 'peaceable' successor of the warlike David, under a similar relation to her antitype, the spouse of Christ, the daughter of the mystical Pharaoh of this world, 'all glorious within,' of whom should spring a spiritual progeny of 'princes in all lands,' as the stars of heaven in multitude, and as the sand which is by the sea-shore innumerable.

Whilst then, in those unclean mothers of Judah whose names are recorded in this list as ancestresses of the Messiah, we see historical indications of the truth to which the sacrifices and rites of purification under the law pointed, and which the prophets inculcated, viz. that Messiah should take upon himself the sins of his family and nation, and deliver his people from them and their consequences, we infer at the same time, from the marked introduction into the record of the names of the two eminent Gentile proselytes, the spiritual character of the Messiah's person and office in this respect, and herein the universality of his work of salvation, as extending to a spiritual race of which he is the head and representative Father, even as Abraham was the father of the natural seed.

In connection with this survey of the structure of the genealogy, it is now easy to discern the congruity of the narration of the supernatural conception and the nativity, and of their circumstances, with the view of the Messiah and his office, which the ancient economy was intended to unfold to the mind of the faithful Israelite, not 'looking only for transitory promises.' The consideration, in their relation to the divine design, of the logical difficulties and discrepancies connected with the genealogy, cannot now be entered upon. In connection with the foregoing remarks, it only remains for us to point out that the general structure, and the details of the subsequent record of the nativity and its circumstances, correspond to the view which has been taken. The conception of Christ 'by the Holy Ghost,' in the womb of a virgin mother connected with the genealogical race only by the purely external bond of

[m] Ps. xlv., &c.

legal marriage[n] or espousals, harmonises with the spiritual character of the Messiah which the historical details of the genealogy indicate. It was fitting and agreeable to those ideas of the divine government inculcated by the prophets, under a system of worship which in its standing rites of purification bore witness to the defilement of natural birth, at the same time that by its bloody sacrifices it pointed to that spotless victim whose blood should avail to purge away and expiate sin, that the restorer of Israel should be exempt from the stain of original sin inherited by natural generation, in order that he might be competent to reverse the sentence pronounced and inflicted upon the natural seed. In immediate connection, therefore, with the angelic communication, in a dream to Joseph, of the miraculous conception—accompanied by the divine sanction and approval of that providential relationship of Joseph to the Virgin and her Child respectively as a legal husband and father, which was for obvious reasons necessary in order that the Virgin Mother might find in Joseph a fitting guardian of herself and Child against suspicion and violence, and that the name of *Jesus*, to which the latter was predestined, might be regularly conferred—we observe, by the angel's direction, the appropriation to Messiah of the Hebrew name of the successor of Moses, the destroyer of the Canaanites and the apportioner of the land of their inheritance to the tribes by lot, 'who, according to his name,' says the Son of Sirach, 'was made great for the saving of the elect of God,'[o]—a name the expressed import, as well as the historical associations of which, harmonise with the idea of the spiritual work of Messiah, to which it is accordingly referred: *αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν*, the accumulated sins of seven times six generations, for which the law of Moses, 'ordained by angels in the land of a Mediator,' pronounced the penalty of the curse. *Τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν*, continues the Evangelist (after narrating in order, as introductory to the nativity, the miraculous conception, and the consequent angelic communication to Joseph in connection with it, a narration accompanied throughout by the recognition of Joseph as the legal father), *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, λέγοντος· Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱὸν καὶ καλέσουσι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ ὅ ἐστι μεθερμηνευόμενον, μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός.*[p] Accordingly the next two verses represent the completion, in the fact of the nativity, of the historical development of the idea of the incarnation, indicated (1) by the absence of human paternity, and (2) by the legal appro-

[n] Accordingly St. Paul speaks of Christ as *γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον* (Gal. iv. 4).

[o] Ecclus. xlvi. 1.

[p] 'Well hath the Evangelist,' says Bishop Pearson, 'conjoined the prophet and the angel, the angelical *God the Saviour* being in the highest propriety the prophetical *God with us*.'

priation to Messiah as the antitype of Joshua, and therefore, in all its fulness of import, of the sacred name implying the union in his one Person of the two natures of God and Man.

We have (3) to connect with the above view of the historical development of the spiritual character of the Messiah, which the narrative was adapted to unfold to the minds of those conversant with the ancient Scriptures, and which finds its realization in the fact of Christ's nativity, the collateral narration of Messiah's manifestation to the Gentiles, which the Church regards as having received its first historical exemplification in the miraculous guidance of Gentile magi from the East to Jerusalem, and subsequently to Bethlehem. It is in connection with this event that we are struck with the first mention of the birthplace of the son of David; which appears to have been hitherto deferred as not bearing upon the congruity, with his spiritual character and office indicated in the manner already considered, of his asserted conception of the Holy Ghost, and the divinely ordered legal appropriation to him of the sacred name. Now it is observable that the names of the two *Gentile* ancestresses of the Messiah are alone associated by the genealogy with Bethlehem, the seat of David's family, of which Salmon, the husband of Rahab, was the first lord,[q] and Boaz, the husband of Ruth, the lineal heir. Accordingly the circumstance is now introduced (chap. ii. ver. 1, &c.) in a form which presents the birth of Christ at Bethlehem in juxtaposition with the coming of Gentile magi from the East to Jerusalem, a form well calculated to suggest the fulfilment herein of the prophecies which connected, with the rising of the Sun of Righteousness, the contemporaneous coming of the Gentiles to His light[r]—a rising of which the meteor in 'the east' was an appropriate and significant herald, associated as it would be with Balaam's prophetic symbol[s] of the Messiah, and well calculated therefore to unfold the true import of those passages in the Psalms and Prophets which, under various imagery, embody the manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles, whose representatives here attend as willing tributaries[t] of the new-born King, recognising, by their threefold symbolic offerings, the mysterious union, in his person and office, of sovereignty, divinity, and sufferings. The starlike apparition (vouchsafed, it has been observed, to 'an order whose study of the powers and principles of nature was fitted to attain the best knowledge of God within the reach of the Gentiles of old,' and 'in whom the errors of their system were latent and undeveloped, while the good that God imparted to them

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[q] See note [i], p. 70.

[r] Isa. lx. 3, &c.

[s] Num. xxiv. 17-19. Dr. Mills observes, that 'the general consent of the ancient Church connects the prophecy of Balaam with the Magi's star.'

[t] See note [t], p. 67.

was cultivated and willingly followed'[u]) does not guide them directly to the Saviour, but first of all to Jerusalem, the local seat and centre of the visible Church of God, to whose official representatives—the body of 'the chief priests and scribes of the people,' whom Herod convened—'the oracles of God' were 'committed.' It was through the medium of the external testimony thus educed from those to whom were intrusted the 'lively oracles of God,' by means of the interference of a worldly potentate whose counsels and designs *against the Lord and against his anointed* were overruled to the accomplishment of the divine purposes, that the end and object of the devout Gentiles' search after the highest good, even though divinely directed, could alone, according to the analogy of the divine dispensations, be finally attained; for 'salvation is of the Jews.' It was only through the light of revelation, of which these were the original recipients and dispensers, that the subjects of natural religion, whose duty it was to 'seek after the LORD, if haply they might feel after him and find him,[x] could attain to the discovery of the great objective reality which is the ultimate desire of all nations. When, therefore, the star had guided the Gentiles to the depositories of the Word, its course is changed; the lights of natural and revealed religion combine towards the full manifestation of Christ to the faithful worshippers whose pursuit of the object of their search proceeded throughout upon the belief that 'God *is*,[y] and that He is the rewarder of those that diligently seek Him.' 'The star which they saw in the east

[u] Mills' Christian Advocate publication, 1844, p. 366. These Magi were not of such as were commonly known by that term among the Greeks, professors of *magical* arts, whose Oriental designation had a different origin, but of those whose distinctive and proper appellation before Hystaspes and Zoroaster was that of *Magh*, viz., the sacerdotal caste of the Medes and Persians; and who at the period now in question were dispersed in various parts of the East, throughout which, says Suetonius, 'percrebuerat vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis ut eo tempore Judææ profecti rerum potirentur.' Their proper country (whatever may have been the particular region from which these individual Magi came) was Persia; and from the testimony of Greek and Latin authors (Mills, p. 377, note), it may be inferred that the comparative purity of the religion of that nation, and their general abhorrence of idolatry in its grosser aspects, are to be ascribed mainly to the influence of the Magian order, 'whose worshipful invocation of fire, air, &c., ever carefully distinguished those elementary powers from the Supreme Deity; and whose error respecting the origination of evil from Ahriman, and his share with Ormuzd in the formation of the world, was unaccompanied, in their most ancient authorised books, with any of that ascription of independence to the evil principle which imparts the chief malignity to that error; it being reserved for after times, when the great light had been fully promulgated, to draw out the falsehoods of their system into that actual enmity to the truth, which made the Magi, under the Sassanide sovereigns, the most virulent persecutors of the faith of Christ.'

[x] Acts xvii. 27.

[y] Dr. Mills refers to one of the Magian books, where it is 'strongly laid down, as in the true faith, that there is One necessarily existent, in whom all contingent essences have their subsistence; and that there cannot be two self-existent principles;' the false doctrine of a principle and creator of evil being kept out of sight. Cf. Rom. i. 20.

went before them,' southwards from Jerusalem, 'till it came and stood over where the young child was; and when they saw the star they rejoiced with exceeding great joy,'—the earnest of that joy of the whole Church which will be consummated in the fruition of the glorious Godhead of the eternal Father, through the manifestation of his only begotten Son. The history of the Epiphany is completed by the adoration of the Magi, accompanied with the tributary offerings of the threefold symbolic gifts indicating the divinity of his person and the mystical character of his mediatorial office; the freedom of the Gentile subjects of the new-born King being perhaps indicated by their divinely ordered return to 'their own country' by 'another way' than that through Jerusalem, by which they came.[z]

Such then is the historical development of the idea of revelation which St. Matthew's record of the genealogy and nativity exhibits, viewed in its adaptation to the mind of one conversant, in the first instance, with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, in the sense in which they were received generally amongst the Jews, and also with the divine purposes as there revealed, and who is at the same time morally prepared to embrace the truth when sufficiently proposed to him. A mind thus informed and disciplined would, if already Christianised by oral teaching, be established in the faith by a narrative which gathered round an object all the associations of early education, and so enabled it to view in its true relation to that central object, 'God manifest in the flesh,' the subordinate and preparatory teaching of the old dispensation; whilst one to whom the substance of Christianity had not been orally proposed, would, with corresponding preparation of heart and mind, meet with the object of his implicit faith in a form adapted (so far as we are competent to judge, and therefore we may presume perfectly adapted) to promote his salutary reception of it.

We must now conclude. The adaptation of the history to other classes of mind might be pointed out, in connection with the consideration of the objections which have been urged to the inspired character of the record. To these topics we may probably recur at no distant period.

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[z] The Magi might have been under an obligation to return to Herod, who had sent them to Bethlehem, and through whom the knowledge of Christ's birthplace had been elicited from the proper authorities, had not a higher authority (as χρηματισθέντες indicates) cancelled that obligation, thereby conferring on the Magi the privilege of the vision of Christ, which was hidden from the heads of the church and nation of which He came. Augustine, Ambrose, and others, recognise a mystical meaning in the circumstance.

ON CLERICAL EDUCATION,

IN RELATION TO SACRED LITERATURE.[a]

WHATEVER difficulties may surround the subject indicated by the title of this paper, its importance will be universally acknowledged; it cannot indeed be well overrated when it is remembered that the work of the Holy Ministry concerns the honour of God and the immortal interests of man.

It might appear, at first sight, that a clergy thoroughly furnished with all that constitutes ripe biblical scholars, would be recognized by all Christians as a prime necessity of the Church. Our religion, dogmatically, resides in documents; those records are antique, various, and in many particulars intricate in their character; and the clergy have to understand them, act upon them, and explain them to others. One word *should* not be wanted to gain assent to the proposition that the Holy Scriptures ought, in every practicable way, to be fully understood by Christian Ministers. Nor perhaps is this doctrine, theoretically enunciated, questioned by many, while by most persons it is fully admitted. But, as in many departments of ethics, in this matter our doctrine and practice do not agree: our theories do not square and harmonize with our conduct.

In all affection, and from a desire faithfully to discharge a duty we feel incumbent upon us, to employ our mental energies in the service of Christ's Church, we ask, How many of the clergy of this country are able to draw water from those wells of salvation, the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments —how many do daily drink at those living fountains—how many habitually quench their thirst at those ancient springs which revolving ages and a changing world have yet left undefiled? That the number of those who can thus refer to the fountain-head of truth is actually large we gladly admit; but when we affirm that they are relatively rare when the great extent of the body is considered, we neither act uncharitably nor censoriously, for, who claims for the great bulk of Christian Ministers this intimate knowledge of the original Scriptures? It will be well to dwell on this statement a little, and to establish what we believe can scarcely

[a] As this paper was written by a member of the Church of England it refers necessarily to its clergy. But the whole of the subject applies equally to ministers of any society of Christians.—Ed. J. S. L.

be doubted—that clerical acquaintance with the bible is more often formed from translations than from the originals—before we proceed to point out the extreme undesirableness of this second-hand application to the sources of divine truth.

The best proof that can be given of what we thus state as a fact is, that no provision is made in the education of the clergy for this great and desirable attainment. Indeed, with the exception of a few subsidiary arrangements, rendered necessary by the improved feeling of the present day on such matters, the clerical office receives no special training at all. Its *general* education, it is at once admitted, is mostly of a high character, coming, as the candidates for holy orders more frequently do, from the training of our great public schools and universities. In classical and mathematical learning, and especially in that requisite preliminary of high scholarship, a thorough grounding in the first principles and minute niceties of grammar, no class of men, probably, stands higher as a whole than the clergy of this country. Only wilful ignorance, or a feeling of envy, can deny to them, as a body, an essential soundness in these respects, which is most favourable if properly employed, for the erection of some degree of completeness of clerical training. But, as we have said, training there is none deserving of the name, and to the fault of a system more than to their own, is the defect we are speaking of to be attributed.

It may be thought that a general knowledge of the Greek language, such as is necessary for graduating at a university, together with the special requirement made by the Bishops of a certain degree of knowledge of the Greek Testament as a condition of ordination, is sufficient as regards the Greek Scriptures; but such a conclusion can only be arrived at by those who entirely differ from us as to what constitutes *sufficiency* in the matter before us. It is true that a general knowledge of Greek is the very best, indeed the only *foundation* for a complete acquaintance with the Greek Testament and for its scholar-like criticism; but it is far from being the *only* requisite, since a special and peculiar application of such general knowledge is wanted, before that valuable art can be possessed. To illustrate our meaning, let us take the case of a youth who has been confined principally to Attic Greek prose writers, being called upon to study Homer. Here, at first, his scholarship would fail him. He would find himself in a new region with the peculiar products of which he is unacquainted, speaking Greek, it is true, but whose dialect, modes of thinking and customs, are widely different from those of Plato or Xenophon; so that, in many respects, a new grammar, and certainly a new critical apparatus, would be indispensable. Much more is this the case with the language of the New Testament, in relation to the classic

Greek to which so much attention is properly given in schools. The dialect is different, and is very peculiar ; but this is not the only difficulty. The very acquaintance with the English version of the Scriptures, while a wonderful help to dulness or mediocrity in a partial *vivâ voce* examination, is really a stumbling-block in the way of real improvement, by blinding the mind to difficulties, and making that appear easy, which, without any such deceitful assistance, would be found replete with hard questions. Then the whole subsidiary literature of the Greek New Testament is extensive and various, and remote from the early associations of the school and the university. Classic ideas and images, and the facts of profane history, effect an entrance to the shrines of heathen divinities ; but a different style of thinking, and a holier and better order of associations, can alone open the gates of the Temple of Jehovah, and admit to the Holy of Holies.

Hence it is that many excellent general scholars find the New Testament examination a serious matter, when they present themselves to the Bishop as candidates for the sacred office. They could manage to translate Aristotle's Ethics, and would not quail before a play of Æschylus or Aristophanes. They would not, in some cases, shrink from a few hours' exercise in composing Greek Iambics, and yet might be disconcerted when asked to render literally into English a few isolated passages from the Epistles of St. Paul. Such must be the result when the Greek Scriptures are temporarily studied for a purpose, instead of forming an essential part of the prolonged education demanded by the Christian ministry ; or when, in fact, they do not receive an attention equally thorough with that given to profane authors. Let it be borne in mind that our observations are to be taken as applicable to the case *as a whole*, and admit of very many exceptions. In some quarters more solid instruction is given in the Greek Testament than in others, as a branch of general education, and higher attainments are demanded by the Bishops.

But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that a large and increasing number of the clergy have not that sound early education which we have attributed to the body. God, in his choice of instruments to do his work in the world, knows no respect of classes and conventionalities, and often endows with gifts and graces those who perhaps up to manhood are destitute of a learned training, and whom their own desires and the wishes of discreet friends point to the Ministry. And further, apart from any such indubitable call, various causes and motives bring into the service of the Church a number of men from the lower orders of society, greater every year ; so much so, that in regard to learning, the *character* of the order threatens, if this state of

things is perpetuated, to be different from what it has hitherto been. Nothing has tended more to bring about this scholastic deterioration than Sunday schools on the one hand, by exciting a desire for the Ministerial office, and, on the other, the often unnatural growth of manufacturing towns and districts, which almost compels the Bishops, *nolentes volentes*, to ordain candidates of a far lower status than was formerly usual. Far be it from us to discourage the rising desire of any one for a station of such potentially pre-eminent usefulness as the Ministry, or to do anything but rejoice when difficulties are overcome, and a young man rises by his talents to a sphere higher than his station in life usually gives. Our wish is that men should be well qualified, and if so, we shall not regret that they come from the masses of our countrymen; but *we do require* in this argument that a full qualification *should be demanded*, come men whence they may. However excellent a thing it may be for a poor man, without any regular education, to become a candidate for the clerical office, that affords no sufficient reason for the admission of his claims, until they are shown to be well-founded.

The desire being excited for the Ministry by the various public performances in which the Sunday school often allows young men to engage, the Church has, in modern times, provided for them *an education*, in itself far below anything like completeness, though it may give the requisite position from which genius or industry may make almost any incursions into the field of learning. In various institutions, inferior to the universities, a very small portion of classical learning is required, and, as a necessary consequence of this, no adequate knowledge of the Greek New Testament is possible in those they introduce to the clerical order. In the college of St. Bees, for example, no Latin is required but Grotius De Veritate, and no Greek but some portions of the Gospels and Epistles. It is true that the Latin treatise of the Dutch theologian contains some pieces rather difficult of digestion, even by a competent scholar; and that the Gospels and Epistles, take them where we will, require some skill properly to construe them; but, after all, can such a meagre curriculum put a man in possession of anything worthy of being called scholastic fitness for the office of a biblical expositor? The bare idea is a burlesque and an absurdity, and cannot be soberly entertained for a moment.

And yet we anticipate at this stage of our observations an objection in some such form as the following. Because the students of St. Bees and similar colleges give most of their time to divinity and the Greek Testament, are they not, therefore, better qualified to be Christian Ministers than men who have had

only the general education of one of the universities, however high their standing there may have been? We reply, first, that we are not now inquiring which system makes the best biblical scholars, but rather denying that either can make them, in any competent sense; and secondly, we affirm that a little delusion lurks under the rather specious inference drawn from the men *only* studying the Greek Testament, to the neglect of other Greek authors. We know very well that a mere popular, and therefore hasty and imperfect view of the matter, will at once decide that a man who devotes two or three years to the Greek New Testament must be *ipso facto* a competent biblical scholar. But we deny the truth of this conclusion, and, as the subject is deeply important, and forms an intimate portion of our present investigation, we beg leave to examine it more closely.

If a man enters St. Bees because his imperfect education forbids his entering the Christian ministry in the Church of England in any other way (which is the case with most, although certainly not all), he will probably know but little of the Greek grammar. He studies it, and at once begins to apply its rules to the Gospels, which henceforth become the only subject of his study in the Greek language. Any one who knows anything of what an attainment a moderate knowledge of Greek really is, will see that two or three years thus spent, with Latin to grapple with and divinity lectures of various kinds to attend and study into the bargain, must leave the student very superficially endowed with the means of interpreting the Greek Testament for himself. And yet a man in such circumstances, gifted with a good memory, and early trained to an acquaintance with the English bible, can easily persuade himself and others that he is a Grecian of no mean abilities, because he can turn most parts of the original text of the New Testament into his mother tongue, and *vice versâ*, tell you what Greek terms correspond to the peculiar phrases of Christian doctrine and practice in common use. Let it be remembered that what we now attribute to the student is only realized in very extreme cases; but we will admit that it does occur, and make it the ground of what we have to say in reference to the necessary superficiality of the attainment we allow to be taken for granted.

Let it be inquired what is really gained when a man is able to turn the Greek Testament into English, part for part, and word for word, the English equivalents for the Greek words and phrases being the corresponding ones of the English Bible. Is it not evident that the gain is just nothing at all, when the feat is stripped of the mystification which the labour of the task and the appearance of scholarship throw around it? After all, the student translates the Greek by the English, and, for all purposes of inter-

retation, is in precisely the same position as the more humble man he has left behind at his worldly calling, who is satisfied with the rendering of our translators, without turning it back again into Greek characters and words. Yet how often is the ability thus to Græcise the English translation confounded with a knowledge of Greek New Testament language! And how readily do thoughtless persons decide at once that such mental transmutation constitutes deep learning! As a popular preacher we remember hearing some time ago passed for a highly erudite divine when he told his wondering and delighted auditory that the WORD of St. John's Gospel was LOGOS in Greek!

Let us guard against its being thought that we are undervaluing the attainment we are speaking of, when its measure and capacity are properly understood. As a mental exercise and a source of pleasurable satisfaction it is highly to be prized, and, as a foundation for higher acquisitions, it can scarcely be too much appreciated. To read the Greek Testament fluently, so as to take it with us into our closets and use it at our devotions, is, as we shall presently notice, the ποῦ στῶ, admitting the application of a force of almost any strength, provided the position be rightly estimated and improved. But in itself considered, as an isolated thing, and apart from all knowledge of the *why and because* of the Greek text being rendered into English in any specified manner, the acquisition we are speaking of is useless to an expositor. Well will it be if it is only useless, or only employed to assert a character for erudition not possessed. In too many instances *such* a knowledge of the Greek Testament has proved an occasion of the statement of crude and unsupported theories and doctrines. For our own part, we had much rather trust a preacher or interpreter who knew no language but his native English, than one who had the additional attainment of being able to tell every corresponding word of the New Testament in Greek—his philology extending no further.

If we now turn from the Greek New Testament to those Hebrew Scriptures, respecting which St. Paul reminds Timothy that they *are divinely inspired, and profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness*, we find the want of acquaintance with them even more indisputable and universal. For *some* knowledge of Greek a claim is *always* made on those who seek to ascend the pulpits of the Church of England and officiate at her altars; but, with some few slight exceptions by certain Bishops, no requisition is made of even a knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet. There are, indeed, some professorships of Hebrew, and various premiums and scholarships excite to an acquaintance with the language at our universities; and a testimony is thus borne to

the fact that some have been found who have attended to the neglected and remembered the forgotten. But since ordination is in no way, ordinarily, dependent on a knowledge of the language, the consequence is plain—it is complimented as valuable, but scarcely any labour to attain it. We are not far from the truth when we state that most Hebrew scholars are self-taught, simply from the want of any efficient system of training in the language, owing to the greater importance attached to other studies. At Oxford, and Cambridge, and Dublin, some machinery exists, with deeply learned men ready to bring it into use; but, unfortunately, there is little demand, and the study of Hebrew, though on the advance, is far from being in a state of prosperous efficiency.[b]

We think, then, the real state of the case in reference to the competency of the clergy as Biblical scholars is this:—Some of them are highly gifted, both as regards the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament, but the number is small; very many are complete masters of the latter, but quite ignorant of Hebrew; a considerable proportion can employ the Greek Testament judiciously when a controverted matter comes before them; but the largest proportion of all have never so far mastered the subject as to find it easy and productive of pleasure and profit, and it is consequently neglected. Expositions and comments take up the time which might be so much more profitably employed, both for themselves

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[b] We have had some reason to suspect that the Hebrew rewards are given, at Oxford at least, for a very slender knowledge of Hebrew; but we would not draw such a conclusion from an isolated case. We refer to the fact that, in a provincial magazine intended to furnish intellectual food for Sunday-school teachers and others, the editor of which styles himself '*Late Hody Hebrew Exhibitioner, &c., &c., Wadham College; and Pusey and Ellerton Hebrew Scholar, Oxford,*' the following paragraph occurred in July last:—

'1 Chron., i. 3. "Adam, Sheth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalaleel, Jared, Henoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah." It is sometimes asked, of what service to mankind are (*sic*) the frequent occurrence of long genealogies in our sacred books? Perhaps it has never occurred to our readers that one of the most remarkable prophecies respecting our Saviour is latent under the names of the Antediluvian patriarchs. The translation of their names from the original, substituting the proper vowel points, runs as follows. *Man being rendered miserable, shall still be a gainer; the mighty God shall descend, teaching that by his death he shall bring unto the weary rest.* The occurrence of such a prophecy, so incapable of being forged, is to us a stronger evidence in favour of revelation than the most laboured arguments resting upon purely metaphysical grounds.'

As the editor under whose supervision this piece of utter ignorance is promulgated for the benefit of Sunday-school teachers, *may* have let it slip in unwittingly, and as we believe him to be a well-meaning man, we will no further reveal the matter. The gross violation of all Hebrew grammar which must take place before anything like the verbiage of such a prophecy could be gained is bad enough; but it is worse, as a clerical friend observed on reading the paragraph, to make the Almighty utter solemn and affecting truths in the form of *conundrums*. Such nonsense, we dare say, *never had occurred* to the editor's readers, and it is a sad pity he should have taken pains to supply their lack of knowledge.

and the Church. Remote streams, often so much mixed with baser matter as scarcely to maintain a perceptible relation to the original waters, supply the place of an application to the living fountain as it gushes from the rock. This is to be lamented for the sake of those whose personal loss is so immense, and also for the sake of the influence of such a deprivation on their ministrations.[c]

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[c] We insert here some admirable remarks by the venerable prelate, Dr. Maltby, the Bishop of Durham. They occur in a Charge delivered in Durham in the month of August last. Most of them refer to topics kindred with those discussed in this paper, and all of them are nearly related to our object.

'Here, again, I must enforce the advice I have felt it my duty to urge upon all candidates for holy orders as to the importance, indeed the absolute necessity, of devoting as much time as possible to the improvement of their minds, and the acquisition of knowledge suited to their profession. I believe that some of the hours which are given up to visiting in the houses of the parishioners—except in case of illness, and where the presence and advice of a clergyman may be otherwise required—would be passed in a manner more profitable, and more conducive to the effective discharge of their professional duty, if they were devoted to a wide and systematic course of theological study. Such a course—varying, no doubt, according to taste, opportunity, and facility, should embrace the whole body of the Scripture in its two original languages—the subjects and occurrences of the Old Testament, as leading to a more intimate acquaintance with the peculiar Greek of the New, Scripture History, Chronology, and Geography, with the best critical and practical commentaries upon the language and meaning of Holy Writ. I confine my remarks to Scripture itself, and to the most available method of arriving at a knowledge of its true meaning in contradistinction to the superficial and false habit of aiming at a knowledge of religion from books of controversy—from pamphlets or periodical works on the disputed questions of the day, or from the popular but delusive representations of those who appeal to the imagination rather than to the reason. I strongly urge upon the clergy the importance of cultivating these studies, for otherwise they cannot be acquainted with what it becomes a clergyman to understand, and because if they do not employ their time thus rationally, and thus profitably, there may be a danger in some few but melancholy instances of their degenerating in taste from low companions, or still lower habits.

'There is, moreover, another reason, at the present time more especially, why the clergy of the Established Church should labour to acquire such an amount of knowledge as may enable them to maintain the character for learning, and for a wise and useful application of it, which was attained by our forefathers, and which has made the name of an English divine so highly honoured. Our dissenting brethren of the present day are, greatly to their credit, sensible of the value and the influence of knowledge, as applied to the service of religion, and have become, many of them, not only entitled to the praise of lofty attainments, but also of a most proper anxiety to extend similar advantages to the youth with whom they are connected. The seminaries which they have founded, are not only conducted by learned and able teachers, but are so entirely conducted under such wise arrangements, that they promise healthy and promising scholars. If, therefore, our own clergy are as assiduous as they ought to be in maintaining the superiority which they formerly possessed, or even desire to rank upon any point with theologians among the dissenters, they will feel it incumbent on them not to reject any opportunity for strengthening their minds, and extending the sphere of their knowledge, and so becoming worthy of the profession to which they belong. I am well aware, and heartily regret, that from the increase of population, and from other causes, the time of the clergy has become much more occupied—from one cause, indeed, highly creditable to them, from a keener perception of duty, and a more intense determination to discharge it; so that there is not that equal

Having thus, as we imagine, made good our position, we shall endeavour to indicate what we think may be done to remedy the defect thus established. We desire to avoid all Utopian and impracticable schemes, and shall merely point out what, in our opinion, may be reasonably expected of the clergy in reference to sacred literature. We deprecate Optimism, in this, as well as in other matters, and hope to mark out a path, not accessible merely to soaring geniuses, who can raise themselves above the rough places of the way, but which may be comfortably and successfully trodden by all men of ordinary minds. Excuses for idleness we will not admit, nor allow the circumstance that what we seek has seldom been attained to entail the conclusion that it is generally impracticable.

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amount of leisure, perhaps, which was formerly enjoyed. Nevertheless, in all cases there must be some hours to be employed in study. I have already endeavoured to guard against one cause which may tend to diminish the amount of available time; yet much more would I deprecate all unnecessary waste of time by unprofitable reading, or by an inconsiderate desire for recreation and amusement. I can assure my younger brethren, that as there is nothing more insipid than mere reading, so is there nothing more delightful than hours past in meditation upon what the Almighty has been graciously pleased to reveal to us, and in the study of the precious volume in which his will is written.

'It must be unnecessary for me to say, that in thus earnestly directing my younger brethren to the means of obtaining sound Scriptural learning, my object is to preserve them from what is superficial and unsound. I believe that the greater part of the controversies on religious subjects, which have even from the first distracted the peace of the Church and impaired its usefulness, owe their root to the imperfect and erroneous views of the meaning and intention of this most gracious boon to mankind. Alexander and others, in the days of St. Paul and Timothy, were but the prototypes of many others who, in every succeeding age of the Christian dispensation, have overthrown the faith of some. To the early perversion of the designs of the Gospel from the secular motive of aggrandisement may we ascribe the origin of the Papacy, with all its unscriptural tenets and its practical mummeries. From a notion of a similar kind, but yielding as it would seem to an abstract love of error, we may impute that most unhappy and uncalled for rupture in the peace and unity of our Church, against which I have felt it my duty, and still feel myself strongly impelled, to lift up my voice. I expressed my apprehension of its consequences long before, and though it is a matter of comfort and congratulation to ourselves that the evil has been felt far less in this diocese than in many others, nevertheless, even here it has been experienced in more than one parish, in the withdrawal of confidence from the clergy, in heart burnings amongst the parishioners themselves, and in the diminished influence and comfort of our blessed religion. I must, therefore, impress upon your minds the seasonable admonition delivered by the Church herself at the time of ordination:—"Consider how studious ye ought to be in reading and learning the Scriptures," "that by daily reading and weighing of the Scriptures, ye may wax riper and stronger in your ministry." If all who are employed in the work of God, not merely in this diocese, but throughout the kingdom, would lay to heart this weighty advice, and carefully follow it, the differences unhappily existing would speedily abate—our thoughts would no longer be perplexed by the reasonings of men who, however eminent, and however well-intentioned, are still fallible, but we should have recourse with increased diligence and increased faith to the unerring word of God—we should be enabled to give more undivided attention to the duties of our sacred calling, and labour with more effect in the glorious endeavour to prepare human souls for Heaven.'

We remember an adage somewhere, *Expect great things, and perform great things;* and nothing is more true than that a high standard is sure to elevate those who are around it, or, in other words, that our aspirations after excellence are the measure of our success. We will even go further than this (for it may be said with some correctness that if the *aspiration* is formed the work is virtually done), and say that the higher the requirements demanded of men, the more they will be proportionably stimulated to master them. If then we should propose more than can be found to be attainable in practice, our labour will not be thrown away. If the mark is not quite reached, it will be something to have brought men to a nearer approach to it.

Now, remembering that the Bible is THE BOOK of the clergyman, and that, though a somewhat extensive collection, it is but small compared with the written authorities which have to be mastered by a student of the law, is it unreasonable to expect that he should be thoroughly master of its languages, its contents, and its literature, so far, at least, as to be able himself to criticise and explain it, or to judge of the interpretations of others? Surely, as the *professional authority*, so to speak, of a Christian minister, as much as this is demanded by it; and the consideration is made stronger when we remember that the highest possible interests depend upon it, that the clergyman takes it as his own guide and that of his flock to immortal happiness. Further, there is claimed for this book, by itself, and generally by those who take it as their guide, an inspiration of a character which makes it of the utmost importance to know the *ipsissima verba* of the writers. If inspiration only meant, what some contend for, a general truthfulness of the statements of the Bible in regard to the religion it reveals, the value of the precise words of the writers would not be so great as when a verbal inspiration is admitted. But as all clergymen take what may be called the orthodox view of this subject, and are presumed to believe in the full guidance of the Holy Ghost both of the thoughts and pens of the sacred writers, by the *argumentum ad hominem* they are compelled to attach importance to the original documents. We confess that there is an irreconcileable contradiction, in our minds, between this high and proper claim, so universally made by the clergy, of a full inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, and their very general neglect of the original texts for translations, in which no such complete inspiration can reside.

The celebrated J. D. Michaelis, in his Introduction to the New Testament, gives us his idea of what should be expected of a clergyman in relation to Biblical knowledge, and we quote the passage to show that we are not singular in our opinion. Having treated of the language of the New Testament, he gives what he considers

the requisites for a fundamental and critical acquaintance with it, so that a man may decide for himself, and not rely on the opinions of others. These are, 1. An intimate acquaintance with the Greek classics; 2. A knowledge of the inestimable treasures which lie hid in ancient inscriptions; 3. The close study of the Septuagint; 4. A knowledge of Hebrew and Syriac, of which he says, 'Divines who confine their studies to the Greek Testament alone, and, without learning the Oriental languages, aspire to the title of theologians, lead not only themselves astray, but those also to whom they undertake to communicate instruction; and I may venture to affirm that no man is capable of understanding the (Greek) New Testament, unless to an acquaintance with the Greek he joins a knowledge of, at least, Hebrew, Syriac, and Rabbinic.' He then proceeds to sum up what he has said on the subject in the following way:—

'It may be replied, that if requisites like these are indispensable, it is no easy matter to attain a knowledge of the Sacred writings. The fact is not to be denied, and few profane authors are so difficult as the New Testament. But I shall be less exposed to the charge of derogating from the perspicuity of the divine oracles, as a very learned Theologian, the celebrated Esnesti, has maintained the same opinion in his "*Dissertatio de difficultate interpretationis grammaticæ Novi Testamenti.*" It may likewise be objected that in delineating the character of a Theologian I have laid down qualifications as necessary which lie beyond the reach of common abilities. Now every artist in forming an image which is to serve as a pattern of beauty endeavours to render it as perfect as possible, although its excellencies were never united in a single object. But the description I have given of a consummate Theologian is by no means ideal; the qualifications I have enumerated have been attained by many, and ought to be attained by all who undertake to expound the Word of God. If proper alterations were made in the public schools, the students in divinity might, on leaving the university, be provided with a sufficient fund of Biblical Literature. It is true the knowledge acquired in these seats of learning must be considered only as a beginning, which future study must bring to perfection; but when a good foundation has been laid, the scholar will hardly suppose that idleness is to be the reward of former industry. Even the clergy who reside in the country might prosecute these studies with advantage, and make great advances in the knowledge of the Bible, if a faulty education threw no obstacles in the way, which they have no inclination to surmount.'

'Those who have neither opportunity nor abilities to acquire sufficient knowledge to investigate for themselves, must at least be in possession of so much as is requisite to enable them to profit by the learned industry of others, and to apply to the New Testament those treasures of Græcian and Oriental literature which their predecessors have presented to their hands. But a man unacquainted with the Septuagint

and Classic authors, can form no judgment of the critical remarks which have been made on the language of the New Testament, nor determine whether the word be literal or figurative, the sense in which it is usually taken, or only such as extensive reading can ratify by the authority of but two or three examples. He can have no idea of interpretative probability, and is unavoidably exposed to the danger of giving the same credit to a false interpretation as to the true one. In short, he can see only with foreign eyes, and believe only on the authority of others, but can have no conviction himself; a conviction without which no man should presume to preach the Gospel even to a country congregation.'—(*Bishop Marsh's Translation*, vol. i. p. 180.)

There is a fine spirit in this passage, although we may be disposed to make some deductions from its generalizations. Some persons will at once exclaim against the whole tendency of it, and try to prove it erroneous by talking large on the trite topics of the sufficiency of Scripture in the hands of the most illiterate, and the non-necessity of what they call human learning for its success in the great objects it contemplates. But the fact is, all men are not called upon to understand the Bible in the sense we are now treating of, and to them it will be sufficient, doubtless, if they use it according to the measure of their ability. The mistakes committed by ordinary readers of the Holy Scriptures are innumerable and constant on all matters which demand education and knowledge for their solution, and yet by a faithful use of what they *can* understand (which, by an admirable arrangement of Divine benevolence, is the saving and essential part of them) they become wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus. But one who is called, or who stands in the place and office of one called, to be a teacher of others, and an interpreter of the Bible, is in a widely different position. He has not only to save his own soul, but the souls of his hearers. He is to defend the outworks of God's temple, as well as to officiate in its secret recesses; and to him is intrusted the honourable task, as a scribe well instructed in the kingdom of God, of bringing out of his treasury things new and old. He is to be the solver of doubts, the remover of stumbling-blocks, the builder-up of the people of God on their holy faith. There are treasures in the Bible which no vulgar eye can discover and no ordinary labourer can bring to the light of day. The minister of the sanctuary is to detect the golden vein, to bring it to the surface, and to use it to enrich men's minds, and make the holy place more splendid and illustrious. The sufficiency of Scripture for a man whom his position in life makes ignorant, is a tender provision of his heavenly Father for his unavoidable deficiencies, but is far from being an excuse for the idleness and apathy of those whom circumstances oblige to be wiser and better

than their poorer neighbours. It is high time that our Lord's own maxim should be understood and applied by those who take upon themselves to instruct others, and are enriched by Providence with golden opportunities of intellectual advancement, *Unto whom much is given, of him shall be much required.*

Such a measure of knowledge as enables a man to escape the humiliation of taking everything Biblical at second hand and on the faith of others, *has* been acquired by clergymen of moderate intellectual capacities, and what has been often done may be done again. It is excessively mortifying to think how small a portion of mental treasure may be possessed by a man, who shall yet, through the reflected light of his honourable calling, pass for a decent scholar and a useful minister. This cannot happen in other and kindred professions, which demand, for any measure of success in their disciples, a special, and at this day, a sound and thorough training. The candidates for the professions of law and physic must have *a general education* equally good with that demanded for the clerical office. But there is this remarkable difference in the two cases, that when the training of the future physician or advocate is but beginning, that of the clergyman is considered to be ended, or nearly so. The two former pass from the public school or the university to the actual labour of the office or the surgery, and, through long years of progressive labour, acquire a fitness for their responsible destinations; but the latter, the aspirant for a profession far higher than either of the other two, goes at once to the desk, the altar, and the pulpit, to acquire *in* his sacred office, as he best may, or to neglect to acquire altogether if he chooses, that fitness which we venture to affirm is indispensably necessary. This is a sad state of things, and there is nothing to remedy or counteract it as there would be in case of the like want of knowledge in the lawyer and the physician. The patient and the client can detect, generally, the deficiencies of the latter; but how incompetent are the masses of Christian congregations to see through the shallowness of their instructor! Let him have a little tact in applying to his own use the stores of more industrious brethren, and keep at hand some respectable commentator to preserve him from gross errors, and he will pass through the world with as good a character as the man who strives to realise in himself the independence pleaded for by Michaelis. He may even be popular by acting on the principle—

> 'Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves,
> Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes'—

and thus, laden with the spoils of other minds, bear away the palm from his more industrious, but less plausible and showy neighbour.

But what does conscience *now* say to this vicarious procedure—what *will God finally say?* [d]

There is no delusion more common, and at the same time more unfounded, than the alleged reason for resting contented with an imperfect intellectual training, viz., that the Clergy *have no time to acquire it.* We admit the excuse in one case—that in which men are daily labouring like confessors and missionaries in the early ages of the Church, in self-denying acts of kindness to their parishioners, and endeavouring, alas! in many cases hopelessly, to repair the ruins produced by the cupidity and recklessness of those, who while becoming rich by the sinews of their poor fellow creatures, have neglected their souls. Such men, if it were lawful, we could almost deify and worship, coming close as they do to the unapproachable Saviour of men, in their labours of love. We know some such, who would gladly find time, if they could, for the amenities of literature, and the solid acquisition of Biblical learning, but who are *constrained by the love of Christ* to deny themselves, and take up the Cross and follow him in his weary prilgrimage to the homes of poverty which none else care for. Like Howard, as described by an inimitable Essayist, they have a soul to appreciate what is refined and beautiful, but dare not stay to admire while more pressing interests demand their attention.[e] But we cannot admit the excuse on the part of those

[d] It is to be feared that the use of other men's sermons in pulpits is becoming more, instead of less common, if we may judge from the very bold way in which MS. sermons for all occasions are offered for sale. Just at this moment a bookseller's catalogue has reached us, in which are the following items:—

MANUSCRIPT SERMONS, &c.

1029 ——— 12 ORIGINAL EVANGELICAL, written by a Clergyman in 1853, £2 10s.

1029* ——— 12 ORIGINAL FIRST RATE EVANGELICAL SERMONS, written during the last two years by an Eminent Clergyman, £4 10s.

1030 ——— 80 ORIGINAL SERMONS, *Lithographed in imitation of MS.* A Course for the Year, the Festivals, &c. Evangelical in sentiment, and adapted for Country Congregations. By an Eminent Divine, written in the Spring of 1852, £4 the set.

1031 ——— 20 in lithograph, on the Principal Festivals of the Church, 8s.

1031* ——— 12 VERY SUPERIOR EVANGELICAL SERMONS, in lithograph, written in the course of the last three years, 9s.

A large collection of MS. Sermons on various subjects always on sale.
Sermons supplied to order.

Although our present purpose is to promote Biblical learning rather than original preaching, yet the two objects are somewhat connected. We blame no man for the occasional use of sermons written by others; the practice may be commendable in many cases, *but then there should be no deception in the matter.* The Church of England provides in her own open and honest way printed homilies for occasional use, and why should not printed sermons, of which her divines have furnished a matchless collection, be used with the name of the author honestly given? We do not hesitate to say that the *lithographing* pulpit compositions for general use is a deception practised on a congregation which nothing can justify. We confess the above advertisements look to us as allied to those of "Moses and Son," &c., in London and elsewhere.

[e] 'But not less decision has been displayed by men of virtue. In this distinction no man ever exceeded, for instance, or ever will exceed, the late illustrious Howard.

'The energy of his determination was so great, that if, instead of being habitual, it had been shown only for a short time on particular occasions, it would have

who can find leisure for anything which fancy or inclination may prompt, and waste some hours every day on frivolous pursuits. Let us consider a little closer the two contrasted impediments which thus lie in the way of the acquisition of sound Biblical knowledge.

Now, with all the sincere respect we feel for the laborious pastor who gives the whole of his time to reclaiming and comforting his flock, we must doubt that it is proper for any minister of the Gospel to neglect one duty for another, however intrinsically important it may be. None could feel more deeply than the apostles, how active a life it behoved them to lead, since they had to convert the world; and yet the reason they gave for the appointment of the seven Deacons implied that they felt the necessity of retirement and study—'*But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word.*' The fact is, that the study of the Scriptures is the first object the clergyman is called to attend to throughout his professional career, as the foundation of his usefulness. This is clearly stated in the Ordination service of the Church of England, by the Bishop in his exhortation to the candidates for the office of presbyters. After reminding them of the great responsibilities and difficulties of the charge about to be received, the Bishop adds:—'And seeing you cannot by any other means compass the doing of so weighty a work, pertaining to the salvation of men, but with doctrine and exhortation taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and with a life agreeable to the same; consider how studious you ought to be in reading and learning the Scriptures, and in framing the manners both of yourselves, and of them that specially pertain unto you according to the rule of the same Scriptures; and for this self-

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appeared a vehement impetuosity; but, by being unintermitted, it had an equability of manner which scarcely appeared to exceed the tone of a calm constancy, it was so totally the reverse of anything like turbulence or agitation. It was the calmness of an intensity kept uniform by the nature of the human mind forbidding it to be more and by the character of the individual forbidding it to be less. . . . The law which carries water down a declivity was not more unconquerable and unvariable than the determination of his feelings towards the main object. The importance of this object held his faculties in a state of excitement which was too rigid to be affected by lighter interests, and on which, therefore, the beauties of nature and of art had no power. He had no leisure feeling which he could spare to be diverted among the innumerable varieties of the extensive scene which he traversed; all his subordinate feelings lost their separate existence and operation by falling into the grand one. There have not been wanting trivial minds to mark this as a fault in his character. But the mere men of taste ought to be silent respecting such a man as Howard: he is above their sphere of judgment. The invisible spirits who fulfil their commission of philanthropy among mortals, do not care about pictures, statues, and sumptuous buildings; and no more did he, when the time in which he must have inspected and admired them would have been taken from the work to which he had consecrated his life.'—Foster's Essays —*On Decision of Character.*

same cause, how you ought to forsake and set aside, as much as you may, all worldly cares and studies.' What the views of the compilers of the Liturgy were as to what constituted the study of the Bible on the part of the clergy, is plain from what we know of their history and personal habits, and from the extant monuments of their sanctified genius. They did not mean the reading of an occasional chapter, or the consultation of some commentary on the Bible, but the mastering of the difficulties inherent in the original texts by the aid of as extensive a critical apparatus as could be secured. Such men as Cranmer, Goodrich, Ridley, and their coadjutors, knew how to find time to attain to depth and solidity of learning, although placed in the midst of arduous public duties and cares. We may safely affirm that they never contemplated such a thing as a clergy so oppressed with home missionary work in their parishes, as to have no time left for those peculiar studies by which the clerical office is both strengthened and adorned.

In former times a clergyman was placed over a flock of such proportions, that he could discharge his duty to them without neglecting his own mental cultivation and advancement; and if his parish outgrew such a moderate size, further aid was obtained. But now we have the sad spectacle, in England, of great districts growing up almost on a sudden, filled with manufacturing populations, which by past neglect are as rude and ignorant as heathens. In such places, churches are built, and ministers located, who find that if they are to make any head at all against irreligion, it must be by giving their whole time to out-door work, as men do in a heathen country. It is granted that *if* ministers are placed in such positions, they must work in that way; but, at the same time, we think the Church should strive to lessen the evil as much as possible, by sub-dividing such districts, and by appointing inferior officers to take from the clergyman the mere drudgery of his parish. Nothing that can exist of the kind we have mentioned can assail the impregnable position we have taken, and which is defended by Scripture and reason, and the teaching of the Church, viz. *that the Clergy should be men thoroughly learned in the Scriptures.* Let but this idea gain hold of the public mind, and all other things will bend to it. A minister not capable of handling the original text will be considered unfit for his office; and it will be seen that whatever amount of pastoral labour has to be done, it must be so distributed that every clergyman shall have time for reading and meditation, and mental advancement.

But the exhaustive labour of heavy pastoral duty can only be alleged by some, as forming an interruption to Biblical studies; by far the larger proportion of men, who allege want of time, will

be found to sacrifice a substantial scholar-like character for matters far less important. Unprofitable visiting, attendance on unnecessary committee meetings, and a voluntary taking on themselves matters better attended to by laymen, will be found more often the cause of the study being neglected. We must add to these, the growing practice of light and miscellaneous reading, as a sad canker-worm at the root of biblical knowledge. The newspaper, especially when it mixes with politics the vexed questions of the Church; the new novel; the reviews and magazines, good in themselves, yet highly pernicious when read in excess; make another serious deduction from the precious hours which should be given to higher objects. Let those hours be counted every week, and we think it will at once appear to the deeply interested calculator, that if he had only the *will*, the means are not wanting for making him that highest of all characters, *a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.* We purposely leave out of account less innocent pursuits which devour up golden hours as the ill-favoured and lean-fleshed kine consumed the well-favoured and fat ones by the river of Egypt; partly because we believe such recklessness is comparatively rare, and partly because we have generally found that on such mental spendthrifts advice is thrown away.

We think, therefore, we indulge no wild fancies nor unreasonable desires, when we wish that the Clergy as a whole should be Biblical scholars, if not all to the extent demanded by Michaelis, yet in various degrees approximating to, and aiming at the highest standard. We would have them able to read the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures devotionally, so as to employ the English version only in public, or in the family, and for the purpose of assisting in the study of the originals. This high attainment could be gained by young men, if adequately trained to it, and what is of more importance, *if they were expected to possess it.* When once acquired, this practice would soon render versions unsatisfactory, and would lead to a daily increase of skill, and draw along with it the study of the whole range of Sacred Literature, for the purpose of explaining difficulties, and illustrating the text. We shall devote the remainder of this paper to an exhibition of the immense advantages such a status would possess; and to a few suggestions as to the best modes of securing its general attainment.

We will *first* mention the great pleasure derived from Biblical science and literature—a pleasure unalloyed by any drawbacks, because it arises from the performance of duty, independent to a great degree on external circumstances, and admitting of constant addition and increase. No honour that could be conferred on a

clergyman could be so valuable as the formation of a taste for these studies; and if there were no higher object contemplated by them, he deserves to be called benevolent who endeavours to impart it. By a law which gives us a high conception of the consummate union of skill and kindness in the divine arrangements, man's *duties* are almost always the sources of his *pleasures*. This is true of the woodman who wields the axe in the forest, who finds in the very labour of his calling, when not abused by becoming excessive, a present satisfaction, to say nothing of the consequent sweetening of his humble meals, and the undisturbed completeness of his repose. The same is true, in a higher sense, of intellectual labours when duty calls to them, for all mental exertion has not that pious and hallowing sanction. A reading man may be wrought up to high excitement by a tale skilfully contrived by the hand of genius, and yet, on after reflection, may feel that he has really gained nothing by the long expenditure of time which he has incurred. But what unpleasant reflections can ever follow the hours dedicated to the study of the divine oracles?

In many departments of science, important and highly interesting investigations have to be carried on *in vili corpore*, on subjects themselves useless, and even disgusting; but in the case before us the very things to be studied have an attractiveness which cannot be easily overrated, being no less than the mental productions *of holy men of old, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*. Voices proceeding from ancient oracles; songs uttered by men who were rapt up to the third heaven in their extatic meditations; the precious sayings of Him who spake as never man spake, and the exposition and development of His doctrines and precepts by His inspired followers: these form the substance of the Bible, to which we invite a close and life-long devotedness on the part of its professed interpreters. Then, apart from the subject-matter, how fair are the regions of thought which surround this central point of attraction, and invite the student to go forth like the bee, and to return laden with exotic sweets and choice unguents to enrich and honour this depository of heaven's own treasures! But this illustration fails in the most important point, for the bee is probably an unconscious instrument working by instinct, and seeing no beauty in the landscape through which she flies, or in the field and grove whence she collects her honey, while the student of God's Word is an intellectual excursionist, all whose powers are employed as he gathers materials to illustrate and explain it. History, chronology, the customs of the men of the East, the animals and natural productions the Bible speaks of, the discoveries of archæology, are a few of the minor topics to which Biblical science leads, to say nothing now of the more sublime

meditations on God's ways and man's nature to which it constantly gives rise. There is a pleasure of no ordinary kind in the learned philology connected with the mere letter of the Bible, but this is enhanced by the vast variety of subsidiary contributions which may be brought from every quarter to illustrate it.

The certainty of result, and consequently the dogmatic authority conferred by Biblical science, may be mentioned as a *second* advantage possessed by those who cultivate it. An empirical practitioner of medicine, who knows nothing of the nature of his simples, but merely compounds them according to some recipes handed to him probably by an older *quack*, appears to us, *mutatis mutandis*, in the position of a clergyman whose whole theology, passive and active, is derived from the English version and its commentators. On the other hand, the careful physician, educated for many years in all the departments of science associated with his calling, and knowing both the properties of his drugs and their relation to the complicated human structure they are to work upon, reminds us of the divine who strives to know all that is discoverable in the sacred science committed to his trust. The physician's predecessors and contemporaries may be as wise or even wiser than himself, and on that account it might be thought that he could not do better than take their prescriptions and blindly follow their practice. But what self-respect could such a man feel, or what moral *certainty* could he have in his experiments? In the human frame it is often important to know whether a portion of it should be excised or allowed to remain; and he is a mere charlatan who ventures either to use the knife or to withhold it without being able to give a reason for his procedure. But is not the clergyman often called upon to exercise a similar judgment on portions of the Word of God? Take, for instance, the once disputed passage concerning the heavenly witnesses (1 John v. 7). As a proof text this must often come under his notice: he knows its genuineness is questioned, and how is he therefore to judge respecting it? He may determine to retain it, because Bishop Burgess thought it genuine; or, if his mental character is less conservative, he may strike it out of the record on the authority of Griesbach or Tischendorf. But we ask what right has he to do one or the other on the faith of other men's judgments and opinions? His only safe course is to do what Bishop Burgess and Griesbach did: to judge for himself, after studying and weighing all attainable evidence. *Then* he may indeed be wrong after all, but he has at least done what he could, and cannot be charged with ignorant presumption.

This is only one instance out of a thousand disputed readings, which, although they leave all vital truth intact, even if they require to be pruned away, are all of them important, and cannot be lightly

treated without an inexcusable trifling with divine truth. If a man is really unable to examine the arguments on both sides, he should modestly and reverently abstain as much as possible from using such texts, and not allow himself to be swayed by the opinions of others, because they belong to his party, or take the same general views of theological matters as he does. Hence the *doubt and uncertainty* which a proper measure of Biblical training would tend to remove.

Freedom from the gross errors and foolish theories, in relation to the Scriptures, which prevail more or less in every age, is a *third* advantage possessed by the Biblical scholar. We do not mean to say that every one who can read the Hebrew and Greek originals must on that account be a sober critic, and superior to weakness of judgment and prejudices. We could not entertain such an opinion without blinding our eyes to facts around us, which refute such a general position; but it is quite clear that the *direct tendency* of sound Biblical science is to guard the mind against waywardness of thinking in theology, and to prevent it from being *tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive.* Many Christian sects in all ages have owed their existence entirely to false interpretation, and to the same source must be attributed many of the vagaries of public bodies and of individuals at the present day. Could half the nonsense now prevalent on the subject of prophecy be entertained, if a correct *exegesis* were employed? Or could Apocalyptic literature contain so much wild and crude speculation, if its perpetrators were better schooled in the art of interpreting Scripture?

How long did ignorance, under the garb of a pious zeal for the integrity of the Scriptures, oppose itself to geological science, and enact again, in the nineteenth century, the scenes between the Pope and Galileo in the sixteenth? We even now meet occasionally a grave divine who looks solemn and shakes his head and shuts his eyes, with a truly *vade Satana* air, when geology is mentioned; and at once suspects you are steeped to the eyes in German neology, if you refuse to sacrifice the certainties of inductive science to the *à priori* conclusions of himself and his grandfathers. It is very grievous, and yet very true, that persons can now be found who will tell you that the animal and vegetable productions imbedded in the strata of the earth were lodged there by the deluge in the days of Noah; or, if driven from that position, will affirm that God created the fossils when he made the rocks (the ravenous creatures with the prey in their stomachs and all), to try the faith of his obedient children in these last ages of the world, tempted and tried as they are by the plausible schemes of *science, falsely so called!*

Need we stay to point out the impossibility of such ideas as these being entertained for a moment by men who give themselves to an enlarged study of Biblical theology? How often is it the case that those who authoritatively warn their hearers against what they are pleased to call the errors of the times, are themselves inextricably entangled in the meshes of their own delusions, and incur, in a less immoral sense certainly, but not less surely, the condemnation of St. Peter, *while they promise them liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption!*

A *fourth* advantage is the production of true liberality of spirit, which necessarily is fostered by a personal acquaintance with the real difficulties attending the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. If men think that all there revealed is as clear as daylight, it follows of course that they will treat as blind all who cannot see as they do. This is the true source of bigotry and intolerance. Men confound infallibility of Holy Scripture, when what it really means is discovered, with their own subjective belief of what is infallible; or, in other words, they transfer what confessedly resides in the documents to their own interpretation of them. Then, acting on this mental hallucination, they put themselves in the place of the Almighty, and proceed to inflict upon those who differ from them some of the penalties justly threatened by God upon those who wilfully misconstrue and disobey his commandments. This deplorable state of mind, which transfers naturally mild and gentle tempers into cruelty and sometimes savageness, is fostered by placing traditional interpretation of the Bible in the place of that which is evolved by the study of it. What *has* been the conceived meaning of certain texts must *always be* the meaning. To doubt this is heterodoxy; and this is a crime which one possessed with zeal for the Lord of Hosts will punish in dark ages with fire and sword, and in more enlightened ones with frowns and rejection from religious communion.

But how do these evil spirits, generated in the murky cells of ignorant dogmatism, flee away before the calm and conscientious and industrious study of the letter of the Holy Scriptures! The student, in his early career, allows them to brood over him, and perhaps imagines them to be 'angels of light;' but one by one their true character is discovered, and finding no hospitable reception, they depart to find a more congenial home. While every fresh year given to the delightful task of finding out the meaning of God's law, developes more and more of its exceeding breadth and fulness, it also discovers the existence of difficulties where once all was thought to be easy. Perhaps geology had before been suspected as an enemy of the truth, and its disciples as dangerous companions; but a careful study of Genesis discovers that there is

nothing in its first chapter which militates against the deductions of that science. The Biblical scholar then feels ashamed of his former arrogant arraignment of the motives of others, and resolves for the future to be more charitable. His hatred of error is not altered, but he is more cautious in defining what it is. Having once discovered that he has *put good for evil and light for darkness*, he uses more discrimination in his estimate and comparison of the two.

Passing by many other benefits derived from Biblical studies by a clergyman, and through him communicated to others, we must conclude the list by dwelling a little on the bearing of them on the glory of God and on human happiness. By their relation to these high objects all human pursuits must be measured, to stand or fall as they contemplate or neglect them.

God has not made his revelations to reside in tradition which might be handed down to posterity without any special mental labour, but in written documents, exposed to the ordinary mischances of time and human ignorance and presumption. The original documents have long since crumbled into dust; and their existing representatives, scattered over the world, while having a substantive identity, exhibit many important variations. Unless therefore we imagine that God has become indifferent to the fate of his written word, and believe that the general traditionary idea of Christianity should be allowed to displace it, there arises a necessity for the application of Biblical criticism to restore the genuine text and to defend its purity. On whom can this task devolve with so much propriety as on the clergy, who, besides having the ordinary obligations of Christian men to defend God's cause as residing in his Word, are specially bound to do so by their professional character and their ministerial vows? To be indifferent to this important matter is to let the citadel crumble into decay while surrounded by enemies anxious to invade it; while, on the other hand, a solicitude respecting the integrity of the text repairs the rents and breaches as they occur, and thus repels and defeats the foe. The lessons of history uniformly teach us that the manifested vitality of religion has always been in direct proportion to the honour paid to its documentary records. It was so among the Israelites, who prospered as a people while they reverenced the written law, but declined when they allowed it to fall into neglect and desuetude. So under the Christian dispensation there is life and energy in those countries and ages which highly exalted the Scriptures, while their depression has always produced at best but a living death. Do not these facts prove what we have asserted, that the honour of God and the happiness of human beings are intimately connected with a high state of Biblical learning among the clergy?

But what solemn responsibilities does this fact lay upon all those who sustain or are about to enter on the office of the ministry, to

furnish themselves with acquisitions to which in all ages such importance has attached! What is there belonging to the clerical character which can have so clear a claim to time and labour and prayerful attention as the securing a competent knowledge of Biblical literature in the sense we have attributed to it? It might seem at first sight as if the acquisition of some degree of oratorical power demanded a clergyman's first thought, so as to make himself an acceptable preacher; but this thought is dissipated by the fact that no preaching can be *acceptable to God* which has not the truth of His Holy Word for its basis, and that He has most honoured with success, not those who have preached themselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord. Others may think that doctrinal orthodoxy is the prime requisite in a Christian minister; and so in reality it is; but then this qualification can be only gained by a correct acquaintance with the Scriptures. We might pursue the subject much further, but there surely can be no necessity. If it is true that the glory of a Christian country is its clergy, it is equally evident that the glory of the clergy is their *understanding and knowing* God, as he is revealed in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments.

It remains that we suggest some methods by which the desideratum we have been speaking of can be secured,[e] so that the coming ages of the Church shall excel the present in a thorough and scholar-like acquaintance with the Bible. We confess that we are only prepared with *hints* which in the hands of others may expand into practical movements. There are high authorities on whom it

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[e] While writing the above we have received a pamphlet entitled 'Theological Colleges and the Universities; or, What special training shall be given to the future Clergy? By the Rev. Charles Hebert, M.A., Rector of Burslem, and Rural Dean of Newcastle: 1853.' It is a well-written tract, and aims at calling the attention of the bishops, clergy, and laity to the present inefficient state of clerical education, and proposes theological colleges as a remedy. The writer does not enter into particulars as to what should be the curriculum or the minimum of attainment demanded, and, therefore, there is little we can quote as applicable to the specific design of this paper. He appears very anxious that certain theological sentiments *should not be taught*, and we respectfully suggest whether the best way to secure truly *Scriptural*, and not *party* doctrine, is not to enforce a high standing of Biblical knowledge. We extract the following as almost identical with some sentences in the foregoing pages:—

'Many questions are at issue which connect the past and the present; and among others, the question of special instruction for the candidates for holy orders, on the verge of which the nation stands, is both old and new: old on the one hand, as the schools of the prophets among the Israelites, and new to modern eyes, through long disuse during the dark period of the Reformed Church of England, of which the eighteenth century is the darkest part. So long, indeed, has the neglect continued that extensive doubts exist whether that which bears the noblest rank among human employments, and has the most arduous work of all to fulfil, requires any special training in the candidates for its offices. But no man so reasons regarding the various lines of earthly business, or the secular professions in particular. Each trade has its apprenticeship when the boy's schooling is over, and the future lawyer, and surgeon, and physician must go through their special instruction before they are allowed to practise in the arrangement of our estates, or the cure of our bodily disorders.'—pp. 5, 6.

devolves to carry into execution whatever may be thought to tend to the extent and increase of true religion and virtue; and we shall be repaid for our labour of love if our suggestions should lead, in only a small degree, to secure the happy consummation we pray for.

Now it appears to us that the object we are advocating will never be fully secured but by the production, in the mind of the Church generally, of a higher tone in relation to Biblical learning and science. There is a reflex influence of the laity upon the clergy which should never be forgotten, as forming a mental law, and also an evident part of God's government of his Church and the world. If the people are satisfied with low attainments, it cannot be expected that the clergy at large will aim at high ones. That the standard set up at the present day for the clergy is in every respect the right one, or if the right, that it is sufficiently high, may be well doubted. Let us ask what is a clergyman expected to be and to do in order to gain popularity, and be considered efficient in his holy calling?

Now we shall be borne out by all close observers of the character of religious society, when we say that the last thing necessary to raise a clergyman in general estimation is *sound Biblical learning*. This arises partly from the fact that the existence of such a qualification is not capable of being readily tested by a congregation, and partly from the general taste being more inclined to what pleases and moves the fancy and the passions, than to what instructs and edifies the judgment. It is lamentable both for preachers and hearers that such *should be* the character of the public taste; for preachers, because they thus have so little to check them and make them diligent and careful in their pulpit preparations in relation to Biblical knowledge; for hearers, because while such is the tone of their minds, real improvement is impossible. Let a man have a good voice, a ready utterance, and a flowery oratory, and he will fill his church, perhaps by emptying his neighbour's, who has only the ability or inclination to present sound Scriptural exhortation, in a plain and artless method. Further, let him attack popular errors, or what are conceived to be the errors of the day, whether they be papistical or political, and he will leave naked benches to his fellow-labourer, who prefers to fix the dart of conviction in the breasts of the immortal beings before him, to letting fly random shafts at mere imaginary personages. Others are found who care less about what a clergyman is in the pulpit, if he is what is called *a good pastor*, giving them a good deal of his company at social meetings, and always ready to attend committees, &c. Thus while various qualities are mentioned by different persons as raising their ministers in their esteem, we seldom hear a sound Biblical scholarship spoken of as one of them.

This is not as it should be, and is a clear indication that a distinction exists between the possessors and professed admirers of the Bible and those who really study it. It is perfectly astonishing to find how little intellectual labour is given to the Holy Scriptures by many good people; the Holy Book being to them rather the confirmer of their preconceived opinions than the stimulator of fresh thoughts and new ideas. While this state of things lasts, and characterizes the greater part of religious society, a scripturally learned clergy will not be appreciated, and, as a necessary result, they will not be found in such numbers as they ought to be. In the holiest of all offices the law holds good, that, to a great extent, the demand leads to the supply; and therefore nothing would tend more to produce a learned clergy than a laity more soundly instructed in Biblical knowledge. There will be many exceptions to this rule, for some men are endowed with a marvellous power of influencing their audiences, instead of being affected by them: but such instances are comparatively rare; a mutual reflex action on each other being the prevalent rule.

But while a higher grade of Biblical knowledge among laymen will tend to raise the clergy in the same department, the process must necessarily be slow, and we had rather suggest some mode by which the official teachers of others may take the initiative and exert more fully their legitimate influence. There are two things which might be done, both practicable, and capable of a great amount of efficiency—the establishment of a system of direct training for the clerical office, and the demand of a higher Scriptural scholarship by the bishops. These two should go together, and mutually strengthen each other, and the happiest results would immediately follow, although time would be necessary to bring their proper fruits to perfection. With regard to the first of these, the subject is now being agitated in the Church of England, and it will no doubt soon acquire some practical shape. Here, then, we may leave it, with this only observation, that such training will be a real blessing only in proportion as it creates or strengthens a taste and love for Biblical learning, and makes all other things but subsidiary to the acquisition of it. If this rule is neglected or reversed in any scheme, it will be shorn of much of its glory, and only accomplish in part the contemplated end.

The influence of the bishops upon the learned status of the clergy is all but paramount, since they can be compelled to ordain no man unless his attainments satisfy them. As a consequence of this, any bishop could at once, if he pleased, demand a considerable facility in reading the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, before he admitted a candidate into his diocese. We respectfully express a conviction that the reason sometimes given why this is not done, viz., that if the rule were insisted on,

sufficient men would not be ordained, is not well-founded; for we believe that any reasonable amount of learning would be speedily acquired, if the candidates knew that it constituted a *conditio sine quâ non* to their admission. We are sure that the difficulties in the way of competent scholarship are ridiculously magnified, to the production of this pernicious result to the Church, that she is deprived of a vast accession of sound knowledge which she might easily have in her ministers. Let the bishops resolve that the above attainment should be made necessary, and, although some might cry out against what they considered a hardship, the requisite diligence would be found notwithstanding. Hardship forsooth! to be compelled to avoid the mortification of entering on a professional career unprovided with what ought to constitute its indispensable elements.

We cannot conclude this subject without saying a few words to the clergy themselves, to urge those who *are* now engaged in the work of the ministry, to resolve not to be left behind in a course so honourable as that we have endeavoured to mark out. All we have written has been indited by a sincere respect and regard for their office, and under a solemn conviction that their happiness and usefulness will be best promoted by arduous efforts to gain all possible knowledge respecting the Bible, THE BOOK which is the collection of the Divine laws to the elucidation and enforcement of which they have professed to consecrate their lives. With such a foundation of general learning as most of them have, we assure them there are no real impediments in their way, and that a proper use of spare hours would soon enable them to throw second-hand theology aside, and go at once to its source. May we be excused for quoting an old saying, inspired in itself, and sanctified by the use of it through many generations: '*His delight is in the law of the Lord, and in His law doth he meditate day and night. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, which bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither, and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.*'

Christianity is old, but its conquests are not completed, and it has yet to put on strength and renew its youth like the eagles. Old enemies have retired from the field, but new ones take their place, armed with weapons of great strength and temper, which only *the sword of the Spirit which is the word of God* can cope with. At one time the foes of the truth stood without the fortress, as avowed strangers and aliens, and making no secret that they sought its overthrow. But now, become more subtle by experience, they profess friendship, and change the field of battle to the inside of the citadel. They study the Scriptures instead of treating them with contempt, and by a slow process of wily criticism, seek to do what sarcasm and open ridicule could

not accomplish. In this then will consist the strength and wisdom of the clergy yet to come, that they will allow to the disguised enemies no weapon which they cannot themselves wield, and whether they employ philology, history, or archæology, will determine to be a match for them. The real importance of the German neological schools is greatly over-rated, from the simple fact that they take advantage of the lower attainments of their opponents. Let the latter watch them, and dispute with them step by step in their industrious and truly learned acquisitions, and they will at once lose their power. It is neither Christian nor manly to treat erudite men, and who, we have reason to believe, are sincere believers in their pernicious errors, with scorn and contempt, because we cannot really grapple with them in their profound acquaintance with the literature of the Scriptures. Before we can tell the world of the heterodoxy of a De Wette, we should be prepared in a workmanlike way to expose his errors; and if we would really neutralize the heresy of a Strauss, we must study his mythical theory, and show its baselessness. The time has gone by when a man could be ruined by being arbitrarily branded with heterodoxy, as a poor decrepit woman could with witchcraft. We must meet learning with equal erudition, and urbanity and politeness in our opponents with the same qualities. Any other course than this may satisfy a bigoted and ill-furnished mind, but will convey no satisfactory refutation of error to those who stand by; and we verily believe that more error has been propagated by an arrogant and despotic treatment of its disseminators, than by all their own efforts.

The Church of England has the warm attachment of her clergy on various grounds, each of which justifies it; but there is nothing, next to her presumed possession of apostolic truth, which ought to make her more worthy of being loved, than the fact, that she has always been the patroness of true learning in her children. If she were to cease to exist to-morrow, and all her colleges and noble foundations to be levelled with the ground, she never could cease to be influential in the world, from the extent and richness of her literature, embracing every topic which has the most remote connection with revealed truth. Her divines, her philologists, her masters in casuistry, her defenders of the outworks of Divine truth against the assailants of hundreds of years, have formed for her a *monumentum ære perennius*, destined to instruct the remotest generations, and only to fall when time shall be no more. Surely a commendable *esprit de parti*, a laudable ambition to keep up the character of the community to which they belong, will make her clergy adapt themselves to the advanced literature of the times, and become champions for the truth, as zealous and competent as their forefathers.

SYRIAC LITERATURE.

Das Heilige Evangelium des Johannes, Syrisch in Harklensischer Uebersetzung mit Vocalen und den Puncten Kuschoi und Rucoch, nach einer Vaticanischen Handschrift, nebst kritischen Anmerkungen, von GEORG HEINRICH BERNSTEIN. Leipsig, B. G. Teubner, 1853; London, D. Nutt. (*The Gospel of St. John in the Harclean Syriac Translation, with the vowels and the points Kuschoi and Rucoch, after a Vatican manuscript, with critical remarks.*)

Das Leben des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers, aus dem Syrischen übersetzt, und mit erläuternden Anmerkungen versehen, von J. ALSLEBEN. Berlin, E. Mai, 1853; London, D. Nutt. (*The Life of St. Ephraem the Syrian, translated from the Syriac, with illustrative notes.*)

WE are glad to see Bernstein in the field again, and in so very attractive a dress. We know of old that he has a taste for elegant typography, since in his preface to the Chrestomathy of Kirsch, printed in the year 1832, he accounts for the delay of the work by the necessity he felt of procuring new Syriac types—'Quum autem prima libelli plagula Lipsiae typis exscripta esset, hi propter hebetudinem deformitatemque quâ laborabant, ita mihi displicuerunt, ut editoris munus deponere quam talibus formis depravari librum pati mallem.' In consequence of this demur he gained his object, and the Chrestomathy and Lexicon appeared in a form highly creditable to both the editor and the publisher. But this volume far exceeds the others in elegance; indeed, it is, without exception, the most beautifully printed Syriac book we ever saw. The shape of the letters, we think, can scarcely be improved; and there are two sets of them, one size intended for the text, and the smaller for the notes. This is an advantage which was well understood and employed by Assemani in the 'Bibliotheca Orientalis,' where the small Syriac type of the notes strikes the eye as very light and elegant; but it is not often possessed by printing-offices in England, where generally only one-sized type is used, often very inconveniently. The paper and binding are in keeping with the typography, and an illuminated title and head-piece to the Syriac text, copied, *we presume*, from the MS., leave nothing of external decoration to be desired.

The MS. from which this edition of St. John's Gospel is printed, was once the property of J. S. Assemani, and deposited, after his death, with many others, in the Vatican Library. S. Evod. Assemani thus describes it:—

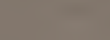
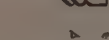
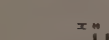
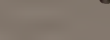
'A paper Codex in folio, of 635 pages, elegantly written in Syriac letters, marked No. 14, among the Syriac MSS. belonging to J. S. Assemani; in which are contained *the four Gospels* of the version of Philoxenus, the bishop of Mabug, examined by Thomas of Heraclea, and collated with three Greek copies. At the side there is a Carshun version, or Arabic in Syriac letters, which is seldom met with, and which is of great use for the understanding of the more difficult Syriac words. The Syriac text is furnished with the vowel points. This copy was written by Noë, a Jacobite, bishop of Phenicia, who had the name of Cyril, in the monastery of St. Michael at *Sadad*, a fortress belonging to Emesa, on Friday the 11th of July, 1483 (year of the Greeks 1794),' &c.

To these particulars Bernstein adds:—

'It is written beautifully and correctly in the more modern and plain writing, and has, like the Bodleian Codex used by White, neither the asterisks and obeli, nor the marginal annotations which in other manuscripts are found in greater or less number, as in White's edition, but only some critical remarks in the margin, which are quoted among the critical observations (appended by Bernstein to the Syriac text). But it is the only one among all the manuscripts of this version known to me which is fully furnished, not only with the vowels, but also with the points Kuschoi and Rucoch, which gives it a special value; whereas in other MSS. diacritic points are added only to certain words, or sometimes Greek vowels, as in the Codex used as the groundwork by White. It is this circumstance which has principally induced me to publish the Gospel of John according to this manuscript, believing as I do that it will be allowed to be not unimportant, not only for a beginner but also for one well initiated, to learn to know more correctly, from a considerable number of examples, the right pronunciation both of single words, especially those of rare occurrence, which the Gospel contains, and of the letters ﻫ ﺣ ﺩ ﺟ in their various situations.'

This, then, is the great object of the book, and this constitutes its value, that it is a help towards the fixing the right use of the vowel points, about which, from being used so sparingly in the MSS., considerable doubt may exist. This authority, as we have seen, goes only back to the year 1483, and is therefore comparatively modern; yet, as it follows a uniform system, it has much weight and importance. Bernstein collects a vast number of examples in which the punctuation of his copy differs from the printed books. He also gives great attention to the use of the points Kuschoi and Rucoch, by which the Beged-Cepheth letters are marked as aspirated or not. These are particulars in the language which are only considered unimportant when its study is recent and superficial, but which always receive attention when it advances to perfection. The Hebrew points are talked of as of no value by those who look only at the surface of the language, but, by those who go deeper, are found to enter into its very nature, as the traditional exponent of its finer and more phi-

losophical peculiarities. As the Syriac language has hitherto received but little attention, it was to be expected that its points would be thrown into the background, and the laudable and highly valuable dissertation on this subject is a step in the right direction. As our object is not to translate Bernstein's book, but to point out its value to our readers, we shall only give a few instances as illustrations of the different modes of pointing. We cannot help expressing a wish that all such works intended for the learned were written in Latin, the common tongue of literature.

Vatican MS. pointing.	*Common pointing.*
	
	
	
	

In the Syrian metrical literature, which forms so important a portion of the existing remains of the language, the ancient use of the vowels must have had a conspicuous place in regulating the measures. If any pointed metres of considerable antiquity could be discovered, they would have great value.

The words which occur in Assemani's description of this manuscript, '*Quatuor Evangelia, ex versione Philoxeni Mabugensis Episcopi, a Thoma Heracleensi recognita et ad tria exemplaria Græca collata*,' bring before us a point which has been disputed in Syriac Biblical criticism, some having doubted whether the Philoxenian and the Harclean are the same or different versions. The testimony of antiquity does not leave the matter *sub judice*, for Bar Hebraeus plainly says, 'The Peschito version of the New Testament was made in the time of Thomas the Apostle and Agbarus the King of Osrhoene; afterwards it was translated more diligently in the city of Mabug, in the days of the pious Philoxenus; and *thirdly* it was corrected (*recensitum*) at Alexandria by the labour of Thomas the Harclean.'[a] Further, in a

[a] The whole of the observations of Bar Hebraeus on the Syriac versions may be seen in Assemani Bib. Or., tom. ii. pp. 24, 279; or in Wiseman's Horæ Syriacae, p. 83.

postscript of the MSS. of what is considered the Philoxenian, Thomas of Heraclea says, 'This is the book of the four holy Evangelists which was translated from the Greek language into Syriac, in the days of pious Mar Philoxenus. But it was afterwards *collated* with much diligence by me, poor Thomas,' &c. This agrees with the account of Assemani, whose words, *recognita* and *collata*, certainly apply to correction rather than to an original translation. Michaelis also says (Introd. Bp. Marsh's Translation, vol. ii. p. 65), 'Thomas of Heraclea, from whom the Philoxenian version is sometimes called the Heraclean, undertook a critical *correction* of it, for which purpose he made a journey to Alexandria, in order to compare it with the best MSS. of the Alexandrine library.'

But the writer of the article '*Syriac Versions*,' in Kitto's 'Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature,' is very positive as to the *de novo* character of Thomas's labours. He says, 'It (the Harclean) was not so much a *new recension* of the Philoxenian, as an additional version of the New Testament, and accordingly it is described as a *third* translation by Bar Hebraeus.' But this observation proceeds on an entire misconstruction of the words of Bar Hebraeus. When speaking of the work of Philoxenus, he says the New Testament ܐܬܬܪܓܡ *was translated*, but his reference to the labour of Thomas is altogether different; by him the New Testament ܐܬܣܥܕ *was collated or compared.* In the same article it is afterwards said, 'From the preceding description it will be seen that what is usually called the Philoxenian, should be designated the Harclean Version; *the two are quite distinct.*' In Davidson's 'Biblical Criticism,' which is the latest authority on the whole subject, this reasoning in the Cyclopædia, apparently derived from Bernstein's *Commentatio de Charklensi N. T. translatione*, is discussed and refuted, the conclusion being the following:—'This reasoning, however plausible, will not bear examination. The postscript to the Gospels, already quoted, plainly alludes to a *revision* of the Philoxenian by Thomas, not *another translation.* It is the work *as revised* by Thomas of Harkel which is extant and has been printed.' (Vol. ii. pp. 188, 189.)

The other work mentioned at the head of this paper is the first contribution to a translation in German of all Ephraem's extant Syriac works. It is the life of that father, from an anonymous Syriac work, first printed by Assemani in the sixth volume of the Roman edition of Ephraem Syrus. It is there entitled 'Acta s. p. n. Ephraemi Syriaca, auctore anonymo, ex Codice Nitriensi Vaticano V., nunc primum eruta;' or, as it is in the Syriac, 'A History of the Life of the holy Mar Ephraem, the Teacher.' It occupies forty folio columns, with a Latin translation in the free style distinguishing the whole of the versions of Assemani and his

coadjutors in this edition. In the *Bibliotheca* (Tom. i. p. 24) Assemani says of this life, 'Syriaca S. Ephraemi acta nemo hactenus publicavit, aut illa apud Syros extare credidit. Hæc nos in optimo Codice Vaticano *annorum fere sexcentorum* nuper reperta, hic magnâ ex parte subnectere prætium operæ duximus.' The present German translation is very literal, and is accompanied by a few notes, and also an inquiry as to the chronology of Ephraem, which has always been a doubtful matter.

While Alsleben proposes to publish a translation of the whole Syriac works of Ephraem, he appears to confine himself to those which are printed in the Roman edition; but, as it is presumed others of his productions exist in manuscripts, and especially in Liturgies, it is hoped he will endeavour to make the collection as complete as possible. Many of the metrical pieces have already received a German dress by P. Pius Zingerle in three works—*Der heilige Muse der Syrer*, *Gesänge gegen die Grübler*, and *Die Reden des H. Ephraim gegen die Ketzer*;—*The Sacred Muse of the Syrians*, *Poems against the Scrutators*, and *Discourses against the Heretics*. These translations appear to be executed with great taste, and are accompanied by valuable notes. Alsleben, in the catalogues he gives of the Syriac works of Ephraem, mentions the *Exegetischen Hymnen oder Sermonen*, *Sermones Exegetici*, contained in the fifth volume of the Roman edition, and in a note conjectures that they are but fragments of a large exegetical work. He would probably be more correct in saying that they are remnants of a mode of pulpit address common in the Syrian Church in Ephraem's time, when long discourses in metre appear to have been delivered to popular assemblies. From these Discourses the piece is selected which Dr. Burgess is preparing for publication under the title of 'The Repentance of Nineveh,' referred to in the last number of the Journal, p. 392. It will not be out of place to insert here the specimen which has been circulated in a prospectus of that work, which is intended to throw light on the mode of pulpit address just mentioned.

'The King convoked his armies,
He wept with them and they with him.
The King rehearsed in their presence
The battles in which they had been crowned;
He also brought to their remembrance
In what perils they had conquered.
But now his soul was feeble, and he was humbled,
For there was none to redeem nor help.
He began thus to address them:—
"This, my friends, is not a war
That we can go forth and conquer as we have been wont,
And triumph according to our pleasure;

For even heroes are now trembling
At the mighty rumour which is proclaimed abroad.
One Hebrew now conquers us
Who have conquered many:
He hath made kings, even us, to tremble;
And his word hath greatly disturbed us.
We have overthrown many cities,
But in our own city he vanquishes us.
Nineveh, the mother of heroes,
Is afraid of a solitary feeble one.
The lioness in her lair
Trembles at the Hebrew.
Asshur has roared against the world,
But the voice of Jonah roars against her.
Behold! the race of Nimrod—the mighty one—
Is altogether brought low!"

* * * * *

"Who is there, my friends, who is not acquainted
With the overwhelming deluge?
The history is familiar to us
Of the inundation in the days of Noah;
When, by the breaking forth of Justice,
The whole human race was drowned.
Even then a voice made proclamation
Concerning the flood which was coming.
The ungodly who heard it, provoked to wrath,
They treated that voice with derision.
The sound of the axe and the hammer
Preached respecting that deluge;
The noise of the saw in its sawing
Cried aloud of the inundation.
They derided the voice of the axe,
They mocked at the voice of the hammer,
Till the ark being completed,
Then Justice was revealed;
And Justice being revealed,
Presumption was condemned.
The fountains were opened and roared
Against the wicked mockers.
Suddenly the flood cried out
Against the ungodly who had derided.
Those who scoffed at the sound of the axe
Were tormented with the voice of thunders;
Those who laughed at the sound of the saw
Were blinded by earthquakes and lightnings!"'

EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

Horæ Ægyptiacæ; or, the Chronology of Ancient Egypt. Discovered from Astronomical and Hieroglyphic Records, &c. &c. By Reginald Stuart Poole. Murray, 1851.

We introduce this publication to our readers with a rather strong opinion that it has settled for ever the whole outline of early Egyptian chronology. That it professes to do so is clear. That Sir Gardner Wilkinson, the Duke of Northumberland, and the gifted historian of the Rephaim think so too, they have, either by word or deed, themselves informed the public; and the only formal objection hitherto, as far as we know, brought against it—in the article, namely, in the 'Revue Archæologique' (Feb. 1853) by M. De Rougé—has by no means shaken our confidence.

If so great and so difficult a work as this has really been at last effected, and by so young a man too as Mr. Poole, we may well congratulate not only himself and his country, but even the world at large; for the chronology of the great early nations is a study not barren in results, but, on the contrary, fertile in fruit, and of very great importance to human disputations, human strivings, and human progress. On chronology hangs history; on history, to a considerable extent, hangs theology; and on theology hangs social no less than individual progress.

The result of Mr. Poole's system as a whole, is a very strong confirmation of the Septuagint chronology of the Old Testament; one of his alleged discoveries also, namely, that of the great panegyrical year, with its months and other subdivisions, throws considerable light upon the day-year system of dating, the use of which is so strongly affirmed and so strongly denied by different writers upon the Scripture prophecies. A few words, then, upon the first of these two subjects will serve to introduce us into the more difficult department, whence the chief of Mr. Poole's arguments are derived.

Now, for our part, as far as chronology is concerned, we own ourselves to be perfectly willing to use either the present Septuagint version or the present Hebrew text of the Old Testament, exactly as we should the records of any heathen early nation; and in saying this we say it simply because it is an undeniable fact that the present copies of both these authorities were made by fallible men like ourselves. There must most certainly have been some great human corruptions fallen into in handing down to us so many different readings, all of which cannot be the same as

what Moses originally wrote. Now a Jewish or Christian corruption or mistake, if it really be a corruption or mistake, is no more sacred in our eyes than if the copyist had been a very heathen; and it seems to us perfectly obvious that when manuscripts vary, people must do just the best they can with them, and that, by the very nature of the case, the art of going back to an original manuscript is one and the same, whether that original manuscript be an inspired book of God, or the work of a common historian.

Doubtless, knowing that Moses originally wrote truly, we may choose from among our many variations that one which makes him speak what we from other sources suppose to be right. But should we not do the very same thing with Manetho or Herodotus? Should we not reject a copy of Thucydides, which put the battle of Salamis a thousand years before Pericles? Why so? Because, if he wrote thus he wrote what was false, which we have no reason to suppose. May we not, then, in the same way reject a Hebrew date of Moses, if we happen to be sure that it is wrong, and if Greek versions, *very much older than our copies of the Hebrew text*, give a date which we are confident is right? Now this brings us to one of the very points which we would desire our readers most particularly to examine; for the common opinion doubtless assumes what, it seems to us, we have no business whatever to assume, namely, that the authors of the Septuagint had our *present* Hebrew dates before them, which they intentionally altered. The oldest of our Hebrew manuscripts is many hundreds of years junior to the Septuagint version, and how we can be sure that the translators had our present dates before them it is hard to say.

But we care not to dwell upon this matter. Either hypothesis will suit us equally well. Either the Septuagint writers altered advisedly our present Hebrew, or the present Hebrew did not then exist.

If the present Hebrew dates did not then exist, it follows that they have at present no lawful authority. But if they existed and the Seventy altered them, then Mr. Poole's system must have been accepted among them, for Mr. Poole and the Seventy are agreed. Which of these two hypotheses is most probable we know not; for, to say the truth, our reading is not extensive in this direction. The popular voice accepts the latter. Eadie's railway book on the subject is excellent of its kind, but 'such manifest corrections,' it says, 'are not in accordance with that honest and simple narration of dates which must have distinguished the original Hebrew chronicles. The Septuagint or Alexandrian version is corrupted by a similar system, and bears upon it the marks of its Egyptian origin; for to the period elapsing between

Adam and Abraham the translators have added 1460 years, or the famous Egyptian Sothic period. Perhaps this was an early attempt to synchronize the Hebrew epochs with the long and traditionary periods of Egyptian antiquity. On the whole, then, it is plain that, where Jewish masorets, Samaritan separatists, and Greek versionists have so plainly modelled their chronology according to a foregone conclusion, and where accounts of time have been so plainly "cooked," their dates, epochs, and intervals cannot be implicitly trusted.'

We really consider the argument we are now using to be a strong one. We assume certainly that the present Septuagint dates are identical with those originally written by the translators; this not being denied, we respectfully ask the advocates of a longer system of chronology than Mr. Poole's, how, on their supposition, the Seventy could have walked in the streets of Alexandria without being ignominiously pointed at? Their version was made for use among great bodies of men, and for six hundred years it was the vernacular Bible, which the Hebrew never seems to have been. They lived in a busy, intellectual period, in a metropolis of learning, among gigantic remains of antiquity, and among a people fully conscious of their own chronological history, or else all our modern Egyptology, drawn from sources visible to them, is a mere delusion. If, then, all Egypt coincided with Mr. Bunsen in their date for Menes, how could these translators make so small an alteration while they were about it? Though six hundred more years would have cleared them, they made no scruple of flooding the Chevalier's pyramid builders, and dispersing the whole of mankind about four hundred years afterwards.

We think, then, that if these Greeks might easily have 'cooked' the chronology of Moses and did not do so, the fact shows that Moses has *since their day* been corrupted, and if they might have done so *and did so*, then they have thus testified to what the Egyptians themselves soberly believed.

We now hasten to explain some few of those alleged discoveries by means of which Mr. Poole has either greatly advanced us if they be substantiated, or greatly delayed us in our search for truth, if they be but mere fancies after all. And that our readers may know at once the worst that has been said of him, we quote here the words of a redoubted champion—who would fain hew our warrior to the ground—as an encouragement to him to arise and contend once more:—

'After these great works I have yet to make mention of a recent attempt which seems to have found some favour in England. Mr. Poole, a young "savant" attached to the British Museum, while studying the lists of festivals engraved on the tombs (the arrangement of

which I will explain presently), has believed himself to have found the trace of a new cycle which he calls *the panegyrical month*, together with complete dates in this cycle. Not content with this discovery, Mr. Poole thinks he has found several other cycles with their respective dates. I own that I cannot possibly understand how in the face of such important pretensions Mr. Poole has not considered himself obliged to prove the truth of his assertions by minutely analysing the inscriptions which he alleges. Far from this he contents himself with referring to them, and sometimes even without giving the text in his plates. One cannot lean upon an Egyptian inscription as upon a passage from Titus Livius, without new explanations, and I will say frankly that I believe in none of the cycles, and in none of the dates of Mr. Poole. The absolute deficiency of proof would authorise me to end the discussion here, but I will nevertheless show what consequences Mr. Poole is brought to by his tropical cycle. According, then, to this young archæologist, the group *dagger and palm branch*, or its variant *head and palm branch*, which Mr. Lepsius has translated "beginning of the year," and which every disciple of Champollion would translate in the same way, signifies *first year of the cycle*, and will serve to give the date of the monuments where it is found. Mr. Poole had only remarked it in two or three monuments far separated one from the other, but if he will look through the first sheets of Mr. Lepsius's great work he will find these words in the lists of festivals of almost all the tombs successively built under the Memphite kings, and from this he would have to conclude that all these tombs were constructed in the same year. Happily this difficulty does not exist, for there is no indication here of anything but of a festival at the *beginning of the year*. The same may be said of the new great panegyrical month. Mr. Poole finds a notice of the festival named the *Festival of Six*, which is known to us from the funeral rituals, and was celebrated on the birthday of Osiris. This number six becomes for him a date of one of these great months. Then, too, there are the twelve festivals of the first of each month, and the twelve festivals of the middles of the months, where again the number twelve is equally metamorphosed into a date. It is evident that by manipulating numbers thus, without controlling their signification, or the way in which they are introduced into inscriptions, one may come to imagine as many cycles as one pleases, and give them a certain degree of verisimilitude in the eyes of persons who can only discuss the results. A labour based like this ought to be considered as nothing, and if I have mentioned it here it is because this young "savant," notwithstanding the ill thesis he has developed, has been enabled to show a great deal of ingenuity and talent, and that this false beginning does not prevent us from recognizing in him a future distinguished archæologist.'—*Revue Archæologique*, Feb. 1853.

Now we will say at once that we quite agree with M. De Rougé in his criticisms upon Mr. Poole's *style*. M. De Rougé is himself so excellent a model of a clean, sharp, French style of writing, that he has been repelled by the rather awkward way in

which our young author has produced his arguments. Still, to insinuate that there is nothing brought forward by him worth examining is, in our opinion, quite unjust, and this thesis we now proceed to maintain. We beg our readers, however, at once to understand that we are no 'authority' upon these subjects. We have but such general knowledge upon Egyptology as country students may attain to. We judge of an argument *pro* or *con* when we see it, being competent to know the difference between a good and a bad one; but, with M. De Rougé, we decidedly think that the *periods* of Titus Livius are more comprehensible at present than even those of the Phœnix or the Dog-star.

Mr. Poole then affirms, and M. De Rougé denies, that from the very earliest times the Egyptians dated events on the day-year system. Just, then, as modern writers on prophecy use the phrase prophetical year for 360 Julian years, and prophetical month for 30 Julian years, so had the Egyptians (says Mr. Poole) their panegyrical year for 365¼ Egyptian years, and their panegyrical months.

The importance of this discovery, if the fact can be established, is obvious. We would mention that each panegyrical month comprised 30 Egyptian years; but the smaller division was not into panegyrical days of a year each, but into 20 'divisions of a month,' of a year and a half each.

To familiarize our readers with the use of this cycle, let us suppose that Menes, the first Egyptian king, was formally first named as king in the archives of the priesthood B.C. 2717, in the first month of the first panegyrical year, in the first division of the month. Let it be next supposed that Shufu, a king of the fourth dynasty and builder of the great pyramid, could be proved to have been on the throne in a first month and division also of a panegyrical year. This, Mr. Poole asserts, is actually the case; and, if so, it would follow that we might place him at once in B.C. 2352, which Mr. Poole has done. So if Amenemha II., the second king of the twelfth dynasty, reigned in the 12th division of a 12th panegyrical month, as Mr. Poole affirms is the case, we may date him B.C. 2005. Thus much to show the use of this period, if it be a reality.

M. De Rougé would imply that he does not consider the evidence adduced to be worth examining. We can only say that since we have read how little such a first-rate authority has to say against it, we must consider it to stand firmer than it did before.

Mr. Poole has given us certain inscriptions in which any one may recognize some full-length and some abbreviated expressions, the meaning of which constitutes the point in dispute. Now M. De Rougé, it appears to us, has done two unfair things in his argument, and has then, in his own interpretation, given us as mere an *ipse dixit* as he complains of in Poole.

First, we say, he has argued upon an abbreviated expression

only. We would ask him at once, Does he deny that the full-length expression reads as follows?—'Sidereal and solar month of the solar panegyry.' Unless he can do so, and can give some better explanation of the very obvious and expressive symbols in question, it is unfair to take the abbreviated form and say it merely means a common month. A writer on prophetical months and years would not always think it necessary to repeat his adjective *prophetical.*

Secondly, since there are twelve common months in the common year, and twelve *middle days* of these months, it is unfair, we say, for M. De Rougé only to notice those particular abbreviated inscriptions, which might possibly mean middle days; for in one case a *fifteenth* middle day (as De Rougé would translate it) is named. And this seems to us fatal to M. De Rougé's interpretation of the symbols.

The impression, then, left upon our minds is, that Mr. Poole has fastened upon a certain set of hieroglyphics; that he has translated them in a particular way; that after two years of publicity no one has suggested any better translation; that his rendering is of very great importance if true; and that it has been apparently accepted by some good English authorities.

Hitherto we have made a mere hypothesis;—we have merely supposed or postulated that the beginning of the first panegyrical year should be placed B.C. 2717; and, in fact, we think that if any one is convinced by Mr. Poole's book, it will not be by following out his arguments one by one in the way he has put them, but by mentally granting this postulate; by granting his system, to begin with, as a whole; by drawing out his dynasties side by side on paper; by appending to the different kings all the dates he can fix upon as settled; and by then challenging facts, new or old, to invalidate this connected system if they can.

We must own that, if the panegyrical periods are to be fastened on to known chronology *only* by the one hook Mr. Poole has hung them upon, and *only* by the arguments from which he justifies this decisive operation, we should be unwilling to guarantee them against dropping off under M. De Rougé's or somebody else's attempts to dislodge them. The extreme ingenuity, however, of the 'manipulation' commands our admiration, and we owe it to our discoverer to sketch slightly what this point of junction is, as it appears in his pages; though we are pretty confident that in his own mind he must look upon it, with ourselves, as a strongly suggestive indication rather than as a sufficient proof by itself.

The reader, then, must understand, to begin with, and realize to himself the fact that the Egyptians had no leap-year. If this were the case among ourselves, it is clear that our month June would, for four times in about every 1500 years, begin on the

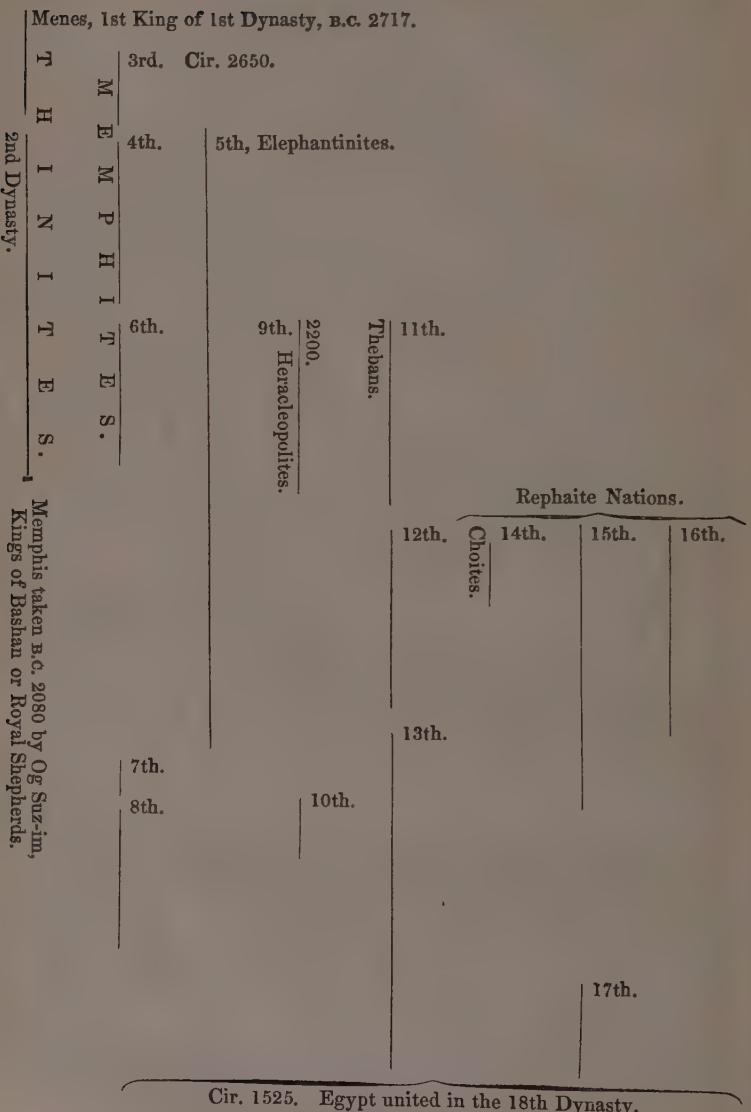
longest day; four times it would begin on the shortest day; for about 120 years in the 1500 it would have the longest day in it, and for about 120 years it would contain the shortest day. Thus, with respect to the fixed phenomena of the seasons, our year would properly be called a moveable year, or vague year, as Mr. Poole more shortly but less comprehensibly names it. Now Egypt is of all countries in the world that one where the fixed phenomena of the seasons are most important to the people, and most carefully to be watched and attended to. It may then, we think, be at once granted that, among so very civilized a people as the Egyptians, this 'tropical cycle,' or period of about 1500 Gregorian years, in the course of which the seasons (as named in the ordinary or vague year) would come round again, was from very early times indeed well understood.

There is, then, no difficulty at all in granting that, as what we call December 28 B.C. 507 was the winter solstice or beginning of the tropical or *season year*, and coincided with the 1st of Thoth or beginning of the moveable or vague year, so 1500 years before the same coincidence took place, namely, what we call January 7th,[a] B.C. 2005, was the winter solstice, and was the first day of Thoth at that remote period. Of this fact itself there is no doubt, but the question is whether the Egyptians knew they were then at the beginning of such a cycle? And to this we, for our part, cannot hesitate to answer Yes. We grant it to Mr. Poole and to the nature of things. The rate of the progress of their vague year among the fixed seasons was a mere matter of very easy and necessary observation.

Now, it is very obvious, that by granting the Egyptians to have known of the tropical cycle, we are no nearer the knowing how they expressed it, if at all, in their hieroglyphical inscriptions. Mr. Poole, however, carries us with him in his first step, namely, his most ingenious proofs that the 'little Rukh,' or 'swallow Rukh,' is the vernal equinox, the time when the swallow returns to Egypt.

Here, however, as far as direct arguments go, we must stop. He adduces two inscriptions of the reign of Amenemha II., each dated in the twelfth panegyrical month, the twelfth division, and each containing a long list of panegyrics, the great Rukh, the little Rukh, the great year, the little year, the five Huru of the year, &c. We should but betray our ignorance if we either accepted or refused this as a proof, in itself, that the documents date from the beginning of the tropical period B.C. 2005. If they do, then the panegyrical month mentioned gives us the all-important dates we named a few pages back. If they do not,

[a] The reason why we do not call this Dec. 28th is that all chronologists have agreed to date in Julian years for the times before the Gregorian correction. This causes a change of name of three days every four centuries.


Menes, 1st King of 1st Dynasty, B.C. 2717.
THINITES. 2nd Dynasty.
Memphis taken B.C. 2080 by Og Suz-im, Kings of Bashan or Royal Shepherds.
MEMPHITES.
3rd. Cir. 2650.
4th.
5th, Elephantinites.
6th.
7th.
8th.
9th.
2200.
Heracleopolites.
10th.
Thebans.
11th.
12th.
13th.
Rephaite Nations.
Choites.
14th.
15th.
16th.
17th.
Cir. 1525. Egypt united in the 18th Dynasty.

then the direct documentary proof fails, but even then we think that indirect proof enough remains to show that Mr. Poole's general system cannot be very far wrong.

The prefixed synopsis will show what Mr. Poole's method of arrangement is. It comprises all those dynasties on which there has been any dispute, namely, the first seventeen. After this, all agree that they proceed consecutively. It is within the limits of these seventeen dynasties that authors have differed hundreds and even thousands of years in their results.

While then we still linger wistfully at the date B.C. 2005, and are waiting for some assistance to keep this system up there to its one support, we are completely brought over by Mr. Poole to the substantial internal accuracy of the system itself.

We now proceed to mention very many distinct proofs of the very important point of its correctness. The arguments divide themselves of course into two divisions, viz., the testimony of authors, and the testimony of irrefragable stone monuments. First then for the authors. It remarkably illustrates the lists of Eratosthenes. The Chevalier Bunsen informs us that Eratosthenes was, next to Aristotle, the most illustrious among Greek men of learning, and far superior to him in the extent of his knowledge. He was for many years director of the Alexandrian Library, and made Egyptian Chronology his particular study. We possess his list of 38 'so called Theban Kings,' beginning from Menes, and with the signification of every King's name translated by him into Greek. One great value of this list lies in the fact, that while it is clearly not a copy from Manetho, it is as clearly derived from similar authentic sources with his more full enumeration. Let, then, the reader look at our synopsis, and he will find that while Manetho names all these seventeen dynasties in a way which prevents us knowing whether he considered them contemporaneous or consecutive, Eratosthenes, on the contrary, dismisses two of our columns altogether, in such a way as to show that they must have been contemporary with those he did name. He begins, as all did, with Menes the Thinite, but instead of following down the petty chieftains of a city which afterwards was as nothing in Egypt, he goes straight down our second column, taking the third, fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth Memphite dynasties in order, and giving the dates of the successive kings therein, as if they closely followed one upon the other. Our argument is that, since he then skips the Elephantinites altogether, as also the ninth and tenth Heracleopolites, to proceed in orderly course down the eleventh and twelfth Theban line: and, since he actually does date the reign of every one of his kings, from Menes downward, as if they followed one after another in chronological succession, it seems to us clear that he must have arranged these omitted

dynasties in some such lateral columns as those by which we have represented them; though, doubtless, he must have considered, contrary to our clearer views, that the eleventh followed chronologically after the eighth.

Secondly, it is a fact, though most likely a mere chance, that from Menes to Suphis he makes exactly one panegyrical year, as Mr. Poole does.

Thirdly, it is a fact that from Menes to somewhere rather early in the thirteenth dynasty, he makes 1076 years, as Mr. Poole does.

So much for Eratosthenes. We do not make much of this, and Mr. Poole has not thought it worth while to name either of the above three arguments. From Manetho, however, he has deigned occasionally to draw such sort of support.

Fourthly, then, in Manetho, if we take the fourth dynasty after Suphis, and then follow down the sixth, and the first two kings of the twelfth, to Sesostris, we get also about another panegyrical year, as Mr. Poole does.

Fifthly, Porphyry says that the rising of Sothis was *the beginning of the genesis of the world*, and Solinus says that the priests *indicated that time as the birthday of the world.* Now by the genesis of the world, the priests no doubt meant the beginning of Egyptian organised royalty under Menes; and by the epiphany, or rising or manifestation of Sothis, was meant a particular event which happened every year, but which only once in 1460 years happened on the morning of the 1st of Thoth. Now, this event took place on the 1st of Thoth in B.C. 1322, and also in B.C. 2782. At Mr. Poole's date for Menes therefore, B.C. 2717, it happened on the 16th Thoth. This, however, is at the latitude of Memphis, and every degree of southing made a day's difference, and the horde of Menes came with him from far south, and the straits of Babel Mandeb are more than sixteen degrees south of Memphis, not to mention that, according to Mr. Poole, the rising of Sothis was *conventionally* kept on the first of the month all through the period when it fell anywhere in that month.

Sixthly, a similar reasonable explanation can be given of Herodotus's famous narrative of what the priests told him, viz. that from Menes to Sethos, 'the sun had risen four times out of its usual places: where it now sets it had twice risen; and where it now rises it had twice set.' Until Mr. Bosanquet is methodically answered, we date with him the middle of Sethos' reign at B.C. 690. We have then to ascend the stream of time until the 'solar rising' of some star would twice have been conventionally noted at a date six months distant from its then date, and this would have happened somewhere between B.C. 2770 and B.C. 2630, according to the star we take. This then agrees too with Mr. Poole's era of Menes.

But we hasten to a much more certain sort of testimony than that which can be derived from any manuscript of any author whatever. The stone records themselves may have spoken falsely or not at the time of their erection, but at any rate, what they spoke then they most undoubtedly speak now, and the large mass of evidence which Mr. Poole's ingenuity has extracted from them appears to us perfectly decisive as to his scheme of the contemporaneousness of the dynasties as shown in our synopsis.

Seventhly, then, the famous tablet of Abydos represents Rameses, a Theban king of the nineteenth dynasty, making offerings to fifty-one of his royal ancestors. It had been recognised that the two in front of him were of his own nineteenth dynasty, and that the ten next were of the preceding Theban eighteenth; also that the Theban thirteenth was then, for reasons best known to himself, omitted, and that the next five were of the twelfth. The two next names are illegible, and may well be supposed to make up the number seventeen, of which the twelfth dynasty, according to Manetho, consisted. Further than this Mr. Poole appears to imply that nothing was known. Thirty-two names then remain, of which only eleven are quite legible, three partially so, and eighteen are totally destroyed. How then, with so few names, can we fill up the whole of eleven dynasties, if, as is natural to suppose, the king would trace his line as far back as possible, namely, to Menes? Now, the tablet, we must remember, was found at Abydos, which is close to the *Thinite* abode of Menes, and if we cast our eyes upon the synopsis, we may see that the whole of the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh dynasties might be omitted from it, and that the Thinite line might then be carried straight up to Menes, and yet that consecutive chronology would not be interfered with.

With this important clue before him, Mr. Poole of course soon observed that while the sixteenth name here is Nufrekara (not spelt the same as a Nufrarkara of the fifth dynasty), Manetho also gives as his fifteenth Thinite king a Nephercheres; also that, immediately preceding him there is a Men-kara, called Chaires by Manetho. Kaenra is twenty-second on the tablet, while a Cheneres appears next but one to Nephercheres in Manetho. These resemblances are quite as close as is usual between those parts of Manetho and the monuments which are universally allowed to correspond to each other; and, accordingly, these names in the tablet of Abydos, from the sixteenth to the twenty-second, would appear to be some of those which Manetho has described as Thinites. But if so, then the four following also, viz. from the twenty-second to the twenty-sixth must be, it is highly probable, of the same dynasty, from the great similarity of the names. There remain then only six more

to account for out of the thirty-two, and all of them are illegible; and as there are too few of them for the eleventh Theban, they are probably all of them the remaining kings of the Thinites. It only remains to inquire whether this curious documentary suggestion, that there were truly just thirty-two kings successively, neither more nor less, from Menes to the twelfth dynasty, can be corroborated by giving them *average lengths of reigns*, and then seeing how far the sum total will bring us to an agreement with other sources of information.

Now, if we take eighteen years as our average, the thirty-two monarchs would have reigned five hundred and seventy-six years among them. Manetho (in Africanus) actually gives them five hundred and sixty-five. He himself, in our present copies, is obliged to give each king the grossly improbable average reign of thirty-three years, which is the average of men's lives, but not of king's reigns. Thus, his own numbers seem to corroborate Poole's view of this tablet, in suggesting thirty-two Thinite kings instead of the seventeen which his copyists have transmitted. If this explanation of the famous tablet of Abydos is admitted, the great importance of the discovery is obvious, for it gives us a very strong corroboration of the fact, that the second dynasty was immediately succeeded by the twelfth. But we hasten to put into the briefest possible form other distinct arguments, all explanatory of the chronological synopsis we have given. Thus—

Eighthly, according to Mr. Poole the use of a separate royal prænomen, in a ring by itself, is unknown before the time he has marked as the beginning of the sixth, ninth, and eleventh dynasties; and, accordingly, in the tablet of Abydos which, he says, begins with earlier and ends with later kings, the transition point is marked; for, most of the kings after Nufrekara have a nomen and a prænomen, but both are in the same ring.

Ninthly, in a tomb near the pyramids of El Geezeh was buried a person named Eimai, an officer of Suphis I., an early king of the fourth dynasty. We find in this tomb two lists of kings, in each of which certain kings of the *fifth* dynasty are named in conjunction with his master Suphis. How could this be, unless they reigned together? For the fourth dynasty lasted either two hundred and eighty-four or four hundred and forty-eight years, according to our different versions of Manetho.

Tenthly, in another tomb near the same pyramid, the same sort of argument appears more convincing still, for five quite early kings of the *second*, *fourth*, and *fifth* dynasties are placed side by side; namely, Shafra or Sephres of the fifth; Menkaura or Mencheres of the fourth; (Telea) Seskef or Tlas of the second; Useserkef or Usercheres of the fifth; and a much erased name ending with ra, and therefore probably Shura of the fourth.

Eleventhly, this friendly arrangement between the Elephantinite and Memphite early kings throws a very interesting light upon the fact that both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus call Chefren or Shafra of the fifth dynasty, *brother* to Shufu or Cheops or Chembes of the fourth, and attribute to each of them the building of a pyramid.

Twelfthly, while Mr. Poole was writing his book, a newly discovered inscription was forwarded to him from a tomb near the great pyramid in which a great pluralist of the name of Snemt-en-hat, who declares himself to have been chief over the scribes, the priests, the treasury, and the fortifications, subscribes himself also as devoted to *Unas*, and devoted to *Assa*, one of these being a king of the fifth, and the other of the fifteenth dynasty; the obvious conclusion from which is, that they were contemporaries.[b]

Thirteenthly, in the Royal Turin papyrus, the fifteenth dynasty immediately follows the sixth; one concluding, and the other commencing in the same fragment.

Our readers will by this time have seen that Mr. Poole is by no means such a mere speculative manipulator as has been represented. There is ample additional argument to be brought forward in his favour. We will only name, but for fear of wearying will not enter into the explanation of, his other great monumental triumph, in explaining the table of the sixty-one kings at Karnac.

In this monument, Thothmes III. of the eighteenth dynasty is seen, in a somewhat similar way to Rameses at Abydos, making offerings to the images of his dead predecessors. These, however, being ranged in eight lines instead of two as at Abydos, there was more difficulty in knowing where to begin and how to proceed chronologically among them. Mr. Poole begins at the lowest line on the left hand side, and at the right end of the line. These are kings of the eleventh dynasty, and proceeding through them we arrive at the twelfth. After this we find ourselves at the ninth, which was hitherto an incomprehensible difficulty in the arrangement; but if any one will look at our analysis, he will see that the ninth dynasty began at the same period with the eleventh, so that having finished a Theban line, Thothmes merely went up now to the Heracleopolites. After the ninth we come to the sixth, but this method too is now shown to be quite natural. After this we with equal chronological correctness find ourselves beginning the fifteenth, and finally we return to his own immediate predecessors of the Theban thirteenth, with which the whole of the right side of the document is probably occupied.

Brading, I. W. D. I. H.

[b] This important document, then, like the tablet of Abydos, disposes at once of many centuries of years included in no less than ten dynasties, all of which must have been contemporary with others.

ON THE EXISTENCE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF ANGELS.

To Biblical students an inquiry into the existence, characteristics, and offices of angels, if properly executed, must be one of deep interest. The frequency of the mention of these celestial beings in the Holy Scriptures, and even in every-day conversation, tends to impress upon us that our knowledge of them is considerably greater than upon due examination it will be found to be. Nay, the more accurate the inquiry instituted, the more defective will appear our original conceptions concerning this interesting subject. Erroneous ideas derived from pagan philosophy, from poetic imagery, and from a false Christianity, have so bewildered the study, that many doubtless have thought it safer to allow the consideration of the matter to dwindle down to a mere cursory glance at some of the most prominent features. The dii minores, dæmons, genii, lares, and penates of the Greeks and Romans had so many ideas connected with them which succeeding ages attached to angels, good and bad, that it requires some attention to separate truth from falsehood. Not only was the popular mind infected with the legends of the former superstitions, but even some of the most learned fathers of the Church were led to adopt many of the dogmata of a philosophy which continued to maintain a powerful sway, in a literary point of view, over Christian scholarship. Tertullian believed that angels possessed the human form, and speaks of their hands, ears, feet, and even their complexion—influenced perhaps by Cicero's opinion that the human form appeared evidently the most appropriate for celestial beings. Origen believed that when heavenly beings sinned they were forced into bodies regularly graduated to punish their amount of transgression—namely, sidereal, æthereal, aërial; after this aqueous, and last of all into human and earthly; and if this course of trial did not amend them, they finally became devils; and he understood the tendency of Jacob's vision to be to prove this singular doctrine, from the fact of the angels regularly ascending and descending. Augustine and Bernard also seem to have believed that angels were not altogether pure spirits: thus showing that all these fathers rather followed the philosophy of Plato than the simple teaching of the Scriptures. The authority of a successful philosophy reigns supreme through every species of literature, for fashion domineers in this as in all other human affairs: thus the early Christian writers, imbued with the reigning hypotheses, and proud of the Platonic

or Aristotelian name, moulded the truths of revelation as much as possible after their favourite schools. In treating therefore upon this subject, the first principle to be adhered to is to discard all human authority where not supported by Scripture or the plain deduction of reason.

Existence of Angels.

That angelic beings exist in great numbers is an assertion so established by the most direct relations in Holy Scripture, that to offer any proof for it to the Biblical student would be simply ridiculous. We are obliged, indeed, to grant that it is only from Scripture that we can demonstrate their existence; but although Nature gives no direct intimation of their presence, she bears strong testimony to them in her numerous analogies. To use the language of the authors of the Universal History: 'Had we no such revelation or tradition, it seems very reasonable to suppose there are intermediate beings to fill up the gap which would otherwise be in nature; for as there is a gradation of creatures on earth, some having merely being, as earth, air, and water; some that, besides being, have life, as vegetables; some that, besides life, have sense and perception, as brute animals; and some that, besides life, have reason and cogitation, as men; and as we see our sensitive part exists in beings beneath us, so it is very probable that our more noble and intellectual part exists in beings as much superior to us as we are to brutes; and that there is a like gradual ascent from the lowest rank of them, which borders upon man, to the highest, which comes as near as a finite creature can to the infinite Deity' (vol. i. p. 101).

The old logicians sometimes gave this argument in a more condensed form:—'As there are in nature things purely material, and beings partly material and partly spiritual, so it is just to grant that there are beings purely spiritual to complete the circle of creation.' By such constitution of being they of course approach nearer the perfection of our common Creator, although the infinite distance between the created and the Creator must for ever stamp them as comparatively imperfect. Their knowledge, however extensive, must for ever fall far short of omniscience; and their power, however great, must ever be intuitively felt by themselves as distinctly finite. Their knowledge resembles our own in one respect—that it is progressive, and increases by experience; for Christ informs us that many things are veiled from them; and it is also affirmed that 'they desire to look into' the redemption of Christ—the word translated 'to look into' denoting an attitude of intense curiosity. In this representation, also, we have presented to us another point in which there is a parallel with our

own advance; their acquisition of knowledge requires *effort* of greater or less amount.

Another passage which proves the sequence of their knowledge is Eph. iii. 10:—'To the intent that NOW unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places might be known by the Church, the manifold wisdom of God.' Had not man become a fallen creature, the moral state of angels would have also been exactly parallel to that of the human family, the happiness of both being constituted upon and supported by an accurate attention to the will and laws of their common Creator:—'Bless the Lord, ye his angels that excel in strength, that do his commandments, hearkening unto the voice of his word' (Ps. ciii. 20). That they all were created by the Omnipotent, will not admit of a doubt by readers of the Scriptures (Col. i. 16), but when they came into existence is nowhere intimated; and as Scripture is silent, and reason has no clue to guide her, we might be led to think that every one may entertain what opinion appears most probable; but even here the meddling spirit of Popery must display its bitterness. The Council of Lateran has pronounced as heretical the opinion expressed by several of the early fathers, that the angelic beings were created before the world; and, what is absolutely ridiculous, some Protestant theologians have thought fit to join in the same silly outcry. These worthy critics insist that the creation of angels took place upon the first, second, or third day mentioned in the 1st chapter of Genesis. St. Jerome[a] distinctly states it as his belief, that countless ages before the creation of this earth, the angels enjoyed their existence in the presence of God; and certainly Job xxxviii. 7 seems to establish this opinion.

Number and Orders.

In Genesis xxxii. we read, 'And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him; and when Jacob saw them, he said this is God's host; and he called the name of that place Mahanaim:' that is, the encampment. The wisdom as well as the mercy of God was strongly displayed in this revelation to the patriarch. His terror of his brother Esau was at that very time greatly increased; for Esau, now established as a powerful chieftain, could easily wreak his ruthless revenge upon his comparatively unwarlike brother, who had been much more accustomed to the management of herds and flocks than to the evolutions of martial squadrons. Nothing could then tranquillise the husband and the father so

[a] 'Sex millia necdum orbis nostri implentur anni; et quantas sæculorum origines fuisse arbitrandum est, in quibus Angeli, Throni, Dominationes, ceteræque virtutes servierint Deo, et absque temporum vicibus et absque mensuris Deo jubente substiterint.'—ST. JEROME.

effectually as the ocular demonstration that the armies of the living God were the sure escort of his way. In early life his heavenly Father taught him a similar lesson in a similar way. When driven from his home, an adventurer on the wide world, with only a very slender expectation of worldly help, with nothing but his staff in his hand, a journey of five hundred miles before him, and the home from which he had been obliged to tear himself behind him, then his divine Protector showed him that the world abounded with celestial attendants to guard every pilgrim of God, however lowly, on his way. We have a parallel case in 2 Kings vi. :—'And when the servant of the man of God was risen early and gone forth, behold an host compassed the city both with horses and chariots; and his servant said to him, Alas! my master, how shall we do? And he answered, Fear not: for they that be with us are more than they that be with them. And Elisha prayed and said, Lord, I pray thee open his eyes that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man, and he saw; and behold the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha.' It has been well remarked how suited this vision was to support the confidence of the human mind. No conceivable interference could so instantly restore his fainting courage as the encircling presence of fiery warriors, in comparison to whom all earthly hosts would appear as impotent pigmies.

Whenever angels are mentioned the idea of great number is attached; as when Peter's zeal urged him to use his sword in defence of his Master, Christ conveyed reproof to him by the assurance that if violence had been necessary for his protection, his Father would instantly have furnished him with *more than twelve legions of angels*—a number no doubt capable of sweeping to destruction the sum total of earthly warriors. 'The chariots of God are twenty thousand; even thousands of angels' (Ps. lxviii. 17). 'And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne and the beasts and the elders, and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands' (Rev. v. 11). The general idea attached to these vast multitudes throughout the Scriptures is that of military arrangement. Thus the angels are usually described as the great hosts or armies of heaven, and the Almighty himself their great Commander. The Lord of Hosts is his name. This representation of itself infers an actual state of warfare, and of course the existence of antagonistic powers whose natures must in many respects coincide with those of the celestial companies.

But the analogy borrowed from human society is still further extended, for the multitude of angels is not only marshalled into hosts, but differences of rank and station are distinctly revealed.

The Jews divide them into several grades, ending with archangels and angels, whom they esteem the lowest of the celestial inhabitants, and the only order which comes down to earth on commissions from the Almighty. An early Christian father, commonly known as Dionysius the Areopagite, headed his division of the heavenly host with cherubim and seraphim. Now cherubim in Scripture never mean actually existing beings: they always are represented as symbolic figures, either artificial or visional. In the tabernacle of Moses and the temple of Solomon they were the product of the same workmen who supplied the other articles; and in the visions of Ezekiel, Daniel, and others, they are symbolical appendages to the majesty of the Most High. But the clearest intimations concerning the difference in the grades of heavenly intelligences are to be found in the writings of St. Paul (Eph. i. 21), where, speaking of the majesty of Christ, the Apostle proceeds: 'Far above all principality and power, and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come.' Again (Col. i. 16): 'By him were all things created that are in heaven and that are on earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominions, or principalities or powers.' These two passages establish fully the analogy of the divisions of the celestial hosts according to magisterial arrangement amongst mortals. 'The four different names given to angels in this verse (Eph. i. 21),' writes Macknight, 'intimate that there are different orders and degrees of government and subordination among good and bad angels in the invisible world, as among men in the visible world.' Chandler observes that ἀρχή, the first word, signifies empire of the largest extent, being used by Greek authors to denote the empire of Alexander after he had conquered the East (Ælian, Var. Hist. lib. iii. c. 29), and the empire of the Romans (Herod. lib. i. proem.); and that κυριότης, the last word in the verse, signifies the lowest degree of power: so that, as the same author further observes, 'although we do not know precisely what kind or degree of power is marked by these different names, when applied to good and bad angels, yet we perceive the meaning in general to be, that to our Lord in his human nature are subjected the highest, the intermediate, and the lowest orders of beings in the universe, having power, whether among angels or men.' Revelation thus declares to us a certain gradation of rank, but what those ranks are nobody knows. 'If any know them,' says Augustine, 'let them explain them; as for myself, I confess my complete ignorance.'

Distinction between Good and Evil Angels.

Another important truth which revelation furnishes us with, is, that angelic existence is like our own—peccable, except preserved

by God himself; and, wonderful to say, a vast multitude have lost their first estate through rebellion, and having destroyed themselves, display an eager determination to destroy all they can. It has been doubted by some whether all the evil spirits mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures were originally 'angels of light,' or whether these latter beings, with the devil at their head, are not to be altogether allotted to another category of existence. It is admitted by these objectors, that some of the heavenly host rebelled, and are punished for this rebellion; but they argue that their condition is far different from the devils: witness the statement, 2 Pet. ii. 4, 'If God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them unto chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment.' Hence it is argued, that while demons or devils roam at full freedom upon their errands of evil, the fallen angels are kept in the strictest durance of chains and dungeons, which seems to prove that they cannot be one and the same.

Now to this view we reply that, upon the strictest review of the whole account of evil spirits in the Bible, the generally received opinion seems the best authenticated. *In limine*, however, it must be confessed that we have no regular history of these beings, nor even materials of a connected nature; while the incidental notices, scantily afforded, require inferential reasoning to produce anything like descriptive narration. From the declaration of St. James, that 'God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any one,' we may assuredly gather that the hosts of evil spirits, with Satan their accredited leader, were originally created upright, and must necessarily now be in their present accursed condition through a voluntary rebellion. The similarity which appears in the intimations given concerning good and evil spirits is striking. They are both *spirits* as distinguished from *matter* (Luke viii. 29, xiii. 11; Mark iii. 30, &c.); and in Ps. lxxviii. 49, we have the direct name 'evil angels;' and in Rev. xii. 7, 'the dragon and his angels.' Between these spirits or angels, good and bad, there is represented to be continual war; and this very state argues a similarity of original nature. The same division of rank is also kept up. 'For we wrestle not,' says St. Paul (Eph. vi. 12), 'against flesh and blood'—that is, merely human opponents—'but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness'—rather against 'wicked spirits,' and thus Macknight and other learned men translate the passage.

Of the nature and cause of their rebellion we have no direct intimation whatever, but man's curiosity has frequently ventured to speculate on subjects equally obscure and far less interesting.

Pride and envy have been imagined as the two great springs of their original transgression, and it has been insisted on, with implicit confidence, that the creation of man in the image of God, and his obtaining, in consequence, a sway which was supposed eventually to include the angelic race, was the immediate cause of that envy which drove so many of the host of heaven from their primeval state. It was also conjectured that some knowledge of the second person of the Godhead intending still further to honour mankind with a more intimate relationship, inflamed to its height the impotent rage of Satan's accomplices. We need hardly observe how magnificently our great poet Milton has taken advantage of these ingenious suppositions, and interwoven them in his immortal epic. The Jews pretend to know the exact time when such defection took place, namely, upon the second day of creation; because Moses omitted to state that upon that day God pronounced his workmanship good; and therefore, according to Jewish logic, this was the only day upon which evil could have been introduced amongst the celestials. This proof, however, has not met with a favourable reception among Christian commentators, and some have gravely undertaken to overthrow it by quoting the general blessing pronounced by God on all his preceding works on the sixth, which of course takes in the second day.

But if, rejecting mere imagination, we adhere to argument from analogy, upon comparing the characteristics of their existence in common with those of humanity, pride will appear the most likely feeling which urged onward to destruction purely intellectual beings. Consciousness of great power and knowledge, if not restrained by the light-giving grace of God, has a strong tendency towards self-satisfaction and self-sufficiency, inciting the recipient to false views of his position, which is the real foundation of pride whether in man or fiend. This we have from the lips of him who cannot err, who, describing Satan by his character, said, 'He abode not in the truth.' And here it may be remarked how suitable was the punishment of the Almighty. These rebels, elated with the feeling of self-dependence, quickly felt the chains of darkness, of the anger of their offended Creator, impress in every feeling their utter impotence when driven from his presence, and their every exertion in future to be entirely dependent upon his felt permission. This utter prostration of independent agency is represented in the language of men by the restraints of chains, which we cannot for a moment attach literally to disembodied spirits; and this consideration is quite sufficient to invalidate the distinction referred to before, as sought to be instituted between these angels mentioned by Peter and Jude, and the devil and his hosts.

Another analogical deduction is the assimilation sought to be produced by them to their own character. Evil themselves, the Satanic host eagerly endeavour to impress their own character in every direction; and not satisfied with their own advance in iniquity, they ply every effort to swell their ranks with victims from mankind. Nothing can exceed the description of ferocious determination in these spiritual murderers by the pen of revelation, 1 Pet. v. 8, 'Be sober, be vigilant, because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour.' Now, natural historians inform us that the lion, in his natural state, never walks about roaring except when so under the influence of hunger that it is certain death to whatever animal he meets; hence the innate horror which thrills every inhabitant of the forest when the terrific sound is heard. The untiring energy of Satan thus described leads naturally to an inquiry into the power possessed by him which is thus wielded for destruction.

Mode of communication between spirits.

To beings formed as mortals are, whose corporeal sensations furnish them with the only known ways of intercommunication, the manner in which pure spirits interchange impressions must be altogether unknown. Of the fact that there is universally such interchange no one will entertain a doubt who believes in the existence of angelic beings fallen or unfallen; and also no one who believes in revelation can doubt that these intelligences are allowed to exert great influences upon human beings; and few subjects can be more interesting than the examination into the amount of evidence yielded by Scripture and reason upon this point. And here we think that it will very generally be granted that the majority of mankind has in all ages been more inclined to believe too much than too little. There seems, as it were, a natural appetency in the human imagination to people the haunts around us with beings of supernatural existence, and yet approaching sufficiently to humanity in their characteristics to make their supposed presence either an object of dread or of desire. And it is here worthy of remark that the influence of climate upon the imagination displays itself in this subject with remarkable effect. The inhabitants of the northern regions, immured more or less in gloom and darkness, are apt to be terrified with the supposed existence of beings suited to such murky scenes, frightful, ferocious, and destructive; whilst the dwellers in the joyous lands of sun-illumined skies revel in the imagined company of merry and gladsome beings, who carefully inter within the bowels of the earth all that is terrible and disagreeable. The gay train which crowded the Grecian Olympus formed a strange contrast with the

fierce cloud-enveloped followers of Wodin and Thor. The votaries of every set of supernatural intelligences agreed in the belief that these beings influenced their earthly career most materially; but as to how these same beings influenced their minds, their opinions were various and very indistinct.

Let us now, then, with the Word of God as our sole standard of appeal, consider how far we may be enabled to proceed in the inquiry as to the mode of angelic influence on the mind or spirit, whether that influence be for good or evil. The very first chapter of the history of our race furnishes us with an influence of such kind which has affected us most seriously, and will continue to affect every descendant of Adam to the end of time. The assumption of the serpent's form by the Evil Spirit when he tempted Eve, and through her Adam, was, no doubt, that he might the more effectually enforce his wily arguments; and when afterwards he assumed a form to tempt the second Adam, we may argue that this must be his most forcible way of using his influence; for assuredly had he power in a more direct form to guide and warp the mental faculties, he would, on these two especial occasions, have exerted it to insure success. That no beings short of Deity himself possess such power is evident, for if they did, no such thing as free-agency could be possessed.

We are not, however, left to the mere deductions of reason; here we have surer information. Solomon, in his sublime prayer on the dedication of the Temple, directly affirms that God only knows the hearts of the children of men (2 Chron. vi. 30; comp. Ps. vii. 9; Ps. cxxxix.; also 1 Cor. ii. 11). But although neither Satan nor any other spirit save the Creator, fully knows the secrets of the heart, and much less can actuate its faculties and feelings at pleasure, yet that evil beings exert certain influences upon our spirits, and that these influences may be increased to a fearful extent if unresisted, appears plain from intimations of Scripture. The mode of communication between spirits must in our present state remain a mystery to us, and the subtlest attempts of the schoolmen who attempted to dive into all knowledge are merely learned jargon; for when they say, 'Loquuntur vero invicem per directionem conceptuum, in quantum scilicet unus angelus vult cogitationem suam innotescere alteri; hoc ipso enim dat ei jus in suum secretum, sicque fit ut talis cogitatio incipiat relucere in ejus speciebus,' nothing is explained in reference to the acting of disembodied spirits; because every effort to describe spirit and its operations must of necessity be made in words indicative of sensible effects. The word which appears to us most appropriate in this case is *suggestion*, which may be a power of impressing ideas upon the mind or of inducing the mind to turn its attention to such ideas.

This power exerted by an evil spirit produces temptation, that by a good spirit the reverse. In the former instance the gradation from the simple suggestion of evil to the fearful scrutiny mentioned by our Lord to Peter (Luke xxii. 31) is certainly of vast extent, 'Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to sift you as wheat.' But this greatest exertion of the Evil Spirit's power still proves its finiteness. He had exerted his utmost centuries before, in the case of Job. Had the arch-tempter been able to dive into the secrets of the heart, he would not assuredly have exposed himself to be so disgracefully baffled. From the instance of Job and the many cases of possession mentioned in the New Testament, for reasons inscrutable to us, Satan has been allowed, upon innumerable occasions, to exercise an awful influence over the bodies and even the minds of mortals, but seemingly, from the examples furnished in Holy Writ, with this restriction, that he could not affect both at the same time by direct influence. Job and some individuals mentioned in the New Testament, are instances in which extreme bodily suffering left the intellect unimpaired. The patriarch's mind, bewildered by the sufferings of his body, faltered a little because the dealings of God with him seemed to overturn an axiom adopted in the theology of his day, namely, that a truly godly man would be shielded from misfortunes at least of a serious character; and it is curious to observe how the reasonings of Job and his friends are carried on with the full assurance of its truth. In the whole circumstance we have an instance similar to innumerable others, when the sway of a false principle, peculiar to a period, required the direct interference of revelation; while, at other times, the correction arose from the discovery of the error by the advance of true knowledge.

In all other direct influence of Satan mentioned in Scriptural history the mind of the affected seems to have been his victim; and yet it is here to be observed that this influence appears to have been a bewilderment of the individual's whole faculties, while the evil spirit or spirits assume the functions of the mind; and therefore, in the presence of Christ or any of his disciples empowered to control them, these spirits also spoke in their proper person, and, when expelled, the afflicted mortal became instantly 'of right mind.' A particular species of this possession was that of the Pythoness mentioned in Acts xvi. 16, many instances of which, both real and pretended, are mentioned in profane historians. This form would certainly appear to mortals as the more likely to suit Satan's purposes, because the fortune-telling character of such inspiration is sure at all times to allure the bulk of mankind. The general features in these instances completely agreed with the former mentioned; for when the evil spirits were dis-

missed, the individual became the same as previous to the influence exerted by his persecutor. We do not see how a person under such influence could, for the time being, be accountable, any more than madmen and lunatics. How far their previous accountability superinduced such a state is a different question and not capable of explanation.

In reference to the usual temptations of Satan it must be evident, that if he does not know the secrets of the mind, or direct its faculties, it requires a voluntary reception of his suggestions before they can take effect; and of course, from the well known law of habit in moral progress, according to the reception of one influence the number of them increases until, from a partial acquaintance, the man becomes wholly the fiend's companion and property. The dalliance with iniquity, and then his acquaintance and advance in it on the part of Judas Iscariot was desperate when it could be said, 'Then entered Satan into Judas Iscariot,' upon which he immediately perpetrated his execrable treason. Yet even in its wildest ruins the mind asserts its native independence; and however great the sympathy between the infernal malignant and the earthly traitor, still conscience asserted her freedom, and the pangs of remorse refused to obey any laws but those of truth and nature.

Thus the sway of the arch-fiend and his host is conducted with the consummate skill of beings of lofty intellect and equivalent power, whose insidious whisperings find too ready admission into hearts prone to disloyalty, 'walking according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.' The word here used by the apostle, ἐνεργοῦντος, 'worketh,' is exceedingly strong, and when used with an accusative denotes complete mastery; for example, in Eph. i. 11, where it expresses the sovereign sway of God over all things. In the present passage, however, not being supplied with a direct object, it shows the powerful exertions of Satanic influence, whose melancholy success is but too evidently stamped upon the world's history.

In reference to the important subject of hearing the truth of Christ, the general features of the interference of the great enemy are graphically and accurately portrayed in the parable of the sower. The wayside hearers are that numerous class whose minds are so occupied by worldly thoughts and worldly desires, that the winged and numerous thoughts of Satanic insinuation chase away instantly any impressions of gospel truth whatever. Like vessels filled to the brim, there is no room for the admission of aught else. The stony-ground hearers are those whose excitable feelings seize upon any subject capable of arousing pleasurable sensations,

and as long as these sensations last they display ardently their zeal and admiration; but when the novelty wears off, or difficulties intervene, their minds as willingly receive whatever other excitements are supplied to them. The young plants overgrown with thorns represent those whose minds embrace the gospel, but who endeavour to balance their attention equally between it and love of the world; and here the accumulation of worldly cares, and anxieties, and disappointments, and hopes, and varieties of present occurrence, is sure to outweigh the importance of heavenly expectation, which is thus choked amid the weeds of earthly growth. Add to these those represented by the seed cast into good ground, and you have really all classes of mankind.

Of the good Angels.

It will readily be granted, we suppose, that if the operations of *evil* spirits be so extensive, we may assume that the ministry of *good* angels is equally extensive; and this supposition is supported by many intimations in the Sacred writings. The heavenly hosts are constantly represented as in a state of anxious benevolence towards this part of God's creation, from the moment in which they raised the hymn of triumph at its birth, through all the ages downward. They crowd, as it were, in joyous haste, to assist, to defend, and to sympathize with their brethren. If all the scenes of human glory from the beginning could be amalgamated, would they produce a display worthy to be mentioned in comparison with what is described in Luke ii. 8—14; when a mighty angel, accompanied with 'the glory of the Lord,' astonished the gentle shepherds of Judea, and a countless multitude of the heavenly host burst upon their sight with the most glorious hymn that ever poured its harmony into human ears, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men!' But though we are here, and on many similar occasions, made acquainted with the general good offices of these benevolent beings, yet there is a wholesome limit placed to our knowledge. Of no one angel do we know anything essentially different from his compeers. The general term angel is used entirely in reference to office, not at all to character, and is of Greek origin: but a word of the same meaning is used in the Hebrew and kindred tongues, to denote the same order of beings. Enough is revealed to us to animate us on our way, and to raise our admiration of the common Father of all, whose creations in the spiritual world are thus shown to rise in gradation just as in the material. But not a single discovery is given us by which we can be led to an overweening devotion, or even to a sentimental regard for the order of the angelic host. It is true they are ministering spirits commissioned by the Supreme to

watch over the 'heirs of salvation:' and we have in Holy Writ numerous instances of their fulfilling such commission; but all the distinct knowledge which we obtain points to them as a class or body, not as individuals; therefore, as far as human knowledge extends, there can be drawn no line of distinction between them. It is true that there is one individual very conspicuous in the times of the patriarchs and early worthies of the Old Testament, frequently styled 'the angel of the Lord,' who forms a striking exception to the above reasoning; but this, we have reason to believe, was no created angel, but the Lord himself from heaven. Jacob wrestled with him a whole night, and felt so convinced of the reality of his Godhead, that he called the place of meeting *Peniel*, that is, 'the face or presence of God;' for, said he, 'I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.' On his death-bed also he left still farther testimony to the Deity of this great personage; for thus ran his blessing upon the sons of Joseph:—'God, before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac did walk, the God which fed me all my life long unto this day, the Angel which redeemed me from all evil bless the lads.' In this passage the grammatical rule of apposition shows that the term Angel in the latter clause is equivalent to God in the former clauses.

But in reference to created angels, the obscurity of our knowledge is so dense, that all personality is shrouded from us to obviate any expectation of communication, until, being ushered into the presence of the Great Supreme, we shall thereby avoid any danger of breaking our allegiance to Him by an undue reverence for any created intelligence. As a clear deduction from such reasoning it follows that the notion of guardian angels, meaning by such that each individual Christian is constantly accompanied by a peculiar angel, is a mere figment of human invention. It has been argued in defence of such opinion, that the Jews believed in it; but it is more likely that they adopted this, as they did several other Platonic notions, from the Greeks and Romans, than from opinions held by their forefathers. However this may be, certain it is that no trace of such doctrine can be found in any of their canonical books, nor in those ancient writings known to Protestants by the term Apocrypha. But from whatever source the Jews may have derived their opinion, there is no evidence for it in the Old Testament. Not a single writer gives the slightest intimation that any one of the countless multitudes of the heavenly host stood in any such particular relation to any individual of the human race; nor did any ancient worthy to whom angels appeared discover, by intuition or by revelation, that such a Divine satellite had been allotted him. If at any time such discovery was likely to have been made, doubtless it would have occurred when Daniel had been thrown into the lions' den,

and the Lord delivered him by the mission of an angel; yet the testimony of the prophet is express in answer to the anxious inquiry of the king, 'My God hath sent *his* angel, and shut the lions' months.' Dan. vi. 22. There is a solitary passage in the New Testament which is seized on by the advocates of this notion, namely, that in which our blessed Lord remarks, that however despised the meanest of his followers may be by the haughty ones of this world, yet 'in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.' Matt. xviii. 10. But it is only the appetency for the doctrine in the human mind, so to speak, that could find it in this declaration. As usual, in the Scriptural representations, our Lord speaks of angels in their congregated, not their individual capacities; and Valpy's observations on the verse are beautifully illustrative of its force. 'Christ,' says he, 'seems here to mean that all Christians, even of the lowest condition, are so dear to God, that he has committed their care to his most favoured followers, whose attendance upon God is described by a simile taken from the customs of earthly monarchs, whose presence is accessible to the nobility of the realm and their chosen attendants;' and he emphatically draws the conclusion, 'An verò singuli angeli singulis parvulis designentur, nec hic, nec alibi in S. Scriptoribus definitur.' Paul's description forbids the idea by the words employed, Heb. i. 14, 'Are they not all ministering spirits,' λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα; the former of which words means employment in public, a doing or transacting for the public welfare; it is a kindred word to that from which our word *liturgy* comes, which every one knows to mean a public service, in opposition to anything private or particular.

We have dwelt the more pointedly on this subject, because, as has been well remarked, it was the belief in this which most probably laid the foundation of the angel and saint worship which virtually turned the truth of Christ into the lie of paganism. Even in the apostles' days, in the ranks of the professors of Christianity were found those whose yearnings were for the metaphysical searchings of the philosopher and the services of the hero worshipper. 'Let no man beguile you of your reward,' says St. Paul to the Colossians, ch. ii. 18. 'in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, and not holding the head, from which all the body by joints and bands, having nourishment ministered and knit together, increaseth with the increase of God.' In this passage we have drawn, by the Spirit of God himself, a picture of the whole mystery of spiritual declension. A false humility, seeking mediators whereupon to rest in seeking interest with God, is here exhibited, and (which proves its utter hollowness) it is entirely based upon the super-

stitious imagination of its votaries, daringly intruding into what is neither seen nor discoverable by reason, nor revealed by God; and the consequence is forcibly drawn, καὶ οὐ κρατῶν τὴν κεφαλήν, letting go the head, Christ, they seize on the mere devices of their own fleshly wisdom. Of course as long as the glorious doctrine of justification by faith alone triumphed, so long this carnal doctrine was kept in abeyance; and some centuries even rolled away before it dared to appear in its full deformity. Christians of the four first centuries would have abhorred the charge of worshipping angels, or any other beings whatever but God as revealed in the Gospel. In the writers of the two first centuries, although we have frequent and honourable mention of angels, nay, many supposed visions of such celestial beings, yet so far from any undue reverence being allowed, we have strict injunctions to the contrary. Witness one case from Irenæus: 'Let no one have recourse to the invocation of angels, nor to enchantments; but let every one direct, openly and faithfully, his prayers to the Lord of heaven and earth.' In the third century we have larger materials for distinguishing the various sentiments then spreading. Amid its worthies one powerful genius towers above his compeers; and encased in the full panoply of Christian and pagan lore, he planted the standard of the Cross in various parts of the then civilized world, and prostrated to the dust the loftiest foes of the Cross of Christ. We need hardly say that we mean the erudite Origen. Like all men of high intellect, he was led away with lofty speculations, until he nearly found himself lost in the labyrinths of uncertainty; and amongst other doubtful subjects, he frequently expatiated on the characteristics of the angelic host. Although, however, his ideas of their excellence were exceedingly exalted, he argued at great length against any undue reverence being paid them. 'We know,' says he, 'that angels are spirits whose employment is to watch over those who are heirs of salvation, and that they are continually mounting upwards to heaven, there to present the prayers of men, and descending to bring down God's benefits to his servants. And although we know that the name of *angel* has been given to them because of their employment; and still further, that because of their Divine nature, they are sometimes styled even *Gods* in the Holy Scriptures; nevertheless there is not a single word therein obliging us to offer religious service to them, or to adore them in place of that God for whose sake alone they preserve us, and are bearers of his favours to us; because all our supplications, our prayers, our entreaties, and givings of thanks, ought to be addressed to the great God through our sovereign High Priest, who is above all angels, the life-giving Word, who is himself God. But to invoke angels without knowing any more than

what man in his present state is capable of knowing, *would be to act without reason.* But suppose that we had even attained a knowledge, as admirable as recondite, of their natures and employments, yet would not such knowledge authorize our daring to address our prayers to any other but the great God, the Master and absolute Sovereign of all things, through his Son our Saviour, who is the Word, the Wisdom, and the Truth, and to whom all the writers of Scripture bear testimony, both the prophets of God and the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ.'

Towards the end of the fourth century symptoms of angel invocation and worship began to develope themselves, and an unequivocal step in advance appears to us to have been the dedication of one of the splendid churches in Constantinople by Constantine himself, to the archangel Michael; the alleged visions of whom, together with the miracles said to be performed in the church, formed a very likely commencement to the deluge of superstition which then set in. 'In the long period,' writes Gibbon, 'of twelve hundred years, which elapsed between the reign of Constantine and the reformation of Luther, the worship of saints and relics corrupted the pure and perfect simplicity of the Christian model; and some symptoms of degeneracy may be observed even in the first generations which adopted and cherished these pernicious innovations.' And when the gates were thus opened to angel-worship, and to the adoration of saints and relics, so completely changed was the whole of Christianity, even in appearance, that, 'If,' says the same author, 'in the beginning of the fifth century, Tertullian or Lactantius had been suddenly raised from the dead, to assist at the festival of some popular saint or martyr, they would have gazed with astonishment and indignation on the profane spectacle which had succeeded to the pure and spiritual worship of a Christian congregation.' He then particularizes a great number of ridiculous observances accurately retained by the Romish Church, and thus concludes:— 'The same uniform original spirit of superstition might suggest in the most distant ages and countries the same methods of deceiving the credulity and of affecting the senses of mankind; but it must ingenuously be confessed, that the ministers of the Catholic Church imitated the profane model which they were impatient to destroy. The most respectable bishops had persuaded themselves that the ignorant rustics would more cheerfully renounce the superstitions of paganism, if they found some resemblance, some compensation, in the bosom of Christianity. The religion of Constantine achieved, in less than a century, the final conquest of the Roman empire; but the victors themselves were insensibly subdued by the arts of their vanquished rivals.'

J. H. C.

ON THE STUDY OF HEBREW.

Five and twenty years ago a very young man, most ardently thirsting for knowledge, entered a bookseller's shop in High Holborn, for the purpose of inquiring after a Hebrew grammar and lexicon. The worthy bibliopole resided somewhere near the site of the present New Oxford Street, and it is believed that both himself and his domicile have long since disappeared before the ravages and changes produced by time and the steady march of improvement. His shop was gloomy in itself, but rendered more cavernous and den-like by the dark exteriors of the very valuable collection of books which he owned, and yet, unlike some possessors of a similar species of wealth, was willing and anxious to be rid of. Stepping into the shop, the lad (for he was scarcely eighteen) propounded his wishes in the question, 'Pray Sir, will you inform me of any books which will enable me to learn Hebrew?'

The worthy man, apparently pleased at anything indicative of literary circulation, cast his sharp dark eyes towards the deep recesses of his cave, and uttered some hard names, among which 'Buxtorf' was distinctly heard, and accompanying the word with the action, brought down a little chubby octavo, or rather, in more correct phraseology, a duodecimo, being an original edition of Buxtorf's Lexicon, on execrable paper, printed with a type of most repulsive air, in Latin, and, in true Oriental fashion, opening at what Englishmen call the end of the volume. Alas! this was a sealed book to the young aspirant for biblical honours; for his knowledge of Latin was far too limited to enable him to use such a vehicle for gaining access to the Hebrew. He communicated his difficulty to the bookseller, who then said, 'You had better have a Parkhurst,' the price of which was one guinea. Our scholar pursuing knowledge under difficulties had not then so much cash at command, and went his way to consider at his leisure how the obstacles which presented themselves could be overcome.

At that day, a quarter of a century back, there was a very popular class of books called 'Pinnock's Catechisms,' which, at the small charge of ninepence each, furnished elementary knowledge on all subjects, from English Grammar to Elocution, and from the first lines of Gospel History to the Hebrew Grammar itself. This ninepenny Grammar was procured, and hard indeed, both in mental manducation and digestion, was the repast it

furnished to our tyro, who, however, remembered the school copy, *Labor vincit omnia*, and at last gulped it down. He had a catechism, but no catechist who could expand a dry answer into something like an acceptable proposition, yet a determination of purpose enabled him to gain from that meagre grammar a large amount of knowledge. The first difficulty being thus surmounted, an eager desire was felt for more efficient appliances and a wider apparatus, and 'Parkhurst' at length rewarded his perseverance. From Pinnock he had gained some knowledge of the points, but the specious arguments of the Hutchinsonian divine soon made him think them useless, and he applied heart and soul to reading the Hebrew Bible according to his instructions.

At that day greater progress had been made in furnishing the Hebrew Scriptures themselves than in providing facilities for studying them. At first an unpointed copy of the Hebrew Psalter employed the 'Parkhurst' in the hands of our young student, and sorely was he often perplexed and tried by the smallness of the type, and the consequent occasional coalescing of two words into one. In the second Psalm, for instance, in the verse *Kiss the son, lest he be angry*, the words בַּר בְּן were printed as if but one, and long and vainly did he try to find what ברבן could mean. But, in place of the older Hebrew bibles, with their bad paper and battered types, Messrs. Duncan just then had issued the beautiful stereotyped edition of Van Der Hooght, edited by Judah D'Allemand. This was obtained, and a more easy and rapid progress was then effected. By means of Parkhurst's Grammar and Lexicon the Hebrew Bible was read quite through, and the Psalms and the historical books more than once. Many were the charms which the philosophy of the Lexicographer threw over the more arid task of studying the language, and great and substantial was the information gained from the numerous illustrations of Oriental customs which Parkhurst contains.

But a collegiate course compelled the student to relinquish the unpointed system as unphilosophical and untrue, and he had to master the system of the points according to Yates's Hebrew Grammar, a mere collection of forms and paradigms, making no pretence to a scientific development of the laws of the language. To this was conjoined Buxtorf's Lexicon, not the squat, ill-favoured edition before mentioned, but a beautiful reprint, for which many students of that day had to be grateful to the Glasgow University press. A year or two afterwards appeared a work which carried the student *per saltum* to a much higher and safer philological position—we mean the translation of Gesenius's Lexicon by Christopher Leo of Cambridge, and about the same time another version of that work by Gibbs, of America. Lee's Hebrew Grammar

took the place of Yates; then came those of Gesenius and Ewald. With accelerated speed the press poured forth helps of all kinds, and acute minds threw a flood of light on the intricacies and niceties of the Hebrew tongue. At length came what may be considered as foundation and pediment combined—Fürst's Concordance and Lexicon, a work which, both by its deep learning and the elegant and perspicuous form in which it is printed, singularly contrasts with the state of Hebrew literature at the commencement of the period we have been reviewing.

These slight biographical notices will perhaps serve, as they are intended, to encourage the self-taught in their laudable exertions; but they will also answer the principal object for which they have been introduced to our readers. They will exhibit the prodigious progress made in a quarter of a century in this department of biblical learning, and the great facilities now possessed for acquiring the Hebrew language. By far the greater number of those who think of applying to the study of that venerable depository of the ancient Divine oracles must now, as then, make their way by their own industrious efforts; but there is a marked and wonderful difference in the assistances which are now provided. These are in every imaginable shape and form, and adapted, many of them, to the poor student to whom expense is an object. They are also found in the English language, an advantage not to be despised, even by those who have had a moderate classical education. Quicker progress must be made in learning a strange tongue when the grammar and dictionary are in our own vernacular. The times are changed indeed, for whereas, five and twenty years ago, a student did not know where to look for books to assist him to a knowledge of Hebrew, their present number is quite bewildering.

We will select the two works noticed in the margin[a] as deserving special recommendations to those who wish to make progress in Hebrew. We place them according to their dates, which also correspond to their relative sizes and pretensions. The first is by a clergyman of the Church of England; the other by a clergyman of the Scotch Kirk. As aids to self-instruction they stand in the same position, and adopt the same course. The

[a] A Compendium of Hebrew Grammar, designed to facilitate the Study of the Language, and simplify the system of the Vowel-Points. A second edition; to which are added the first eight Psalms in Hebrew, with a Grammatical Analysis, Pronunciation, and a Latin and English Version. By the Rev. William de Burgh, M.A. (now B.D.) of Trinity College, Dublin. Dublin: printed at the University Press. 1850.

Analysis and Critical Interpretation of the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis, preceded by a Hebrew Grammar, and Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch, and on the Structure of the Hebrew Language. By the Rev. William Paul, A.M. (now D.D.), Minister of Banchory Devenick, N.B. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1852.

latter extends over a larger portion of Hebrew text than the former, although Genesis presents to a beginner fewer difficulties than the Psalms. We shall not in this place take any account of the dissertations of Dr. Paul, because, though highly interesting and important, they are no necessary part of the work. He is also, as our extracts will show, more exegetical than Mr. de Burgh, who confines himself principally to *grammatical* difficulties. We shall now introduce them both more fully to our readers, in the hope that they may be extensively used by those whose duty or inclination may lead them to study the Hebrew portion of the Word of God.

Mr. de Burgh's work appears to be intended principally for the use of Hebrew students associated with Trinity College, Dublin, to whose 'Provost and Senior Fellows' it is dedicated, 'in humble acknowledgement of their laudable efforts to promote the study of the Hebrew original of the Sacred Scriptures;' a compliment well deserved, as may be seen by any one who will look into the College Calendar. We shall let him speak for himself, and show, by means of his Preface, what advantages the work is intended to confer on those for whose use it is intended:—

'It is not then only as a MANUAL, fitted, from its size, for the Hebrew classes in our schools, that the present work is offered to the public, but as intended to afford facilities to the learner, not usually to be met with in similar works; derived mainly from an examination into the analogies of the grammatical forms and inflections, by which the author has succeeded, in not a few instances, in substituting one general for several special rules, and in so far combining the advantages of a *Compendium* and a *Rationale* of the Grammar; which it is hoped will be found to render this the better adapted for the purpose for which it is designed—an Introduction to the larger works above mentioned.

'Examples of some of the principal of these facilities are:—

'1. In the first place, by means of a collateral arrangement in one table, an analogy in form between the POINTS of the same vowel sound is presented to view, which in the other arrangements of them is likely to escape notice, but which will be found a great aid to fluency in reading.

'2. The theory of SYLLABICATION by means of the vowel-points is so defined, as not only to give an accurate knowledge of their powers, but also to dispense with a number of rules usually given for its regulation, especially in the instance of the use of the sign Shĕva.

'3. All the PREFIXES and SUFFIXES in the language are exhibited to the learner in one view, so as greatly to facilitate the resolving of words into their component parts, or the finding of the root, which is done by a single reference to a table, instead of seeking them in different chapters and sections.

'4. By means of TWO GENERAL RULES, the learner is not only made acquainted with the principle upon which the VERB is pointed, but is enabled himself to inflect it with the proper punctuation, in every person,

tense, and voice, without the labour of committing to memory the Paradigms.

'5. The IRREGULAR VERBS are considerably simplified, by ground-plans or formulas, distinguishing the regular and irregular parts; and, as far as possible, by shewing the origin and cause of the irregularity.

'6. The CHANGES OF THE VOWELS in the process of inflection, &c. (which present so serious a difficulty to the beginner), are also brought together in one connected view, as the subject of a separate chapter, instead of being dispersed through the work; in addition to which the *principle* of the change is explained and illustrated as applicable both to verbs and nouns.

'A new classification of the latter—the nouns—according to their vowels is also given, founded on that principle, and designed as a substitute for the numerous declensions of modern grammarians, with paradigms of every class; to which it will not be considered an objection that it is here proposed for the first time, if it should be found to place in a clear point of view, or help to disentangle, a subject so obscure and complicated as the *mutatio punctorum* (in this department especially) generally proves to the student.

'7. In an appendix will be found PARADIGMS of the Verbs, regular and irregular, and with suffixes, re-arranged on a clear and simple plan.

'It may be added, that these and other minor facilities, together with the plan on which the whole is arranged, will, it is hoped, render this elementary work particularly useful to adults also, who wish to acquire a knowledge of the sacred language, but who had been deterred by the difficulties they had to encounter, and the length of time hitherto required to be devoted to it; as it may be confidently stated that, with its aid, they will be able to learn it in a comparatively short period, with a moderate degree of application, and without the effort of memory which such persons find peculiarly irksome.'

These are great proposed advantages, and they are really secured to the student. For instance, under the head 'Of the change of Vowels,' speaking of the *principle* by which they take place, Mr. de Burgh conveys much in these few words:—

'*When a word* (in any language) *receives an augmentation of syllables at the end, there is necessarily a shortening of some of the preceding syllables to promote fluency of speech*; or, as it may be otherwise expressed, *in case of increase, the accent or emphasis will pass from one syllable of a word to another.* Thus, in English, *a*, which is long in *āble*, is short in *ăbility*, and so *e* in *precēde* and *precĕdent*, &c.; the difference and (in some respects) the advantage in Hebrew being that it has a different set of vowel-signs to mark the change, of which we have no example in English, except perhaps the instance of *y* and *i* in *apply* and *applĭcation*,' &c. 'In addition to this general principle, a fact should next be premised by which its application is regulated throughout, viz., *that in Hebrew the change is limited to the two last syllables of the original word, because* (as already stated, chap. iii., § 3, a) *to either of these the tone-accent is invariably limited*,' &c.

We will now add a short specimen of the Analysis (Ps. 4, 6), and leave the work to the judgment of our readers :—

'197. זִבְחוּ (ziv-choo) *sacrifice ye.* 2nd pers. plur. (sing. זְבַח) imper. Kal. of זָבַח. This verb "is not used of *priests* slaying victims, but of private persons who brought sacrifices at their own charge."—GESENIUS.

'198. זִבְחֵי (ziv-chee) *the sacrifices of.* The regimen form of זְבָחִים, the plur. of זֶבַח, a segolate noun mas. (Grammar, chap. viii., class iv. 2). (For צֶדֶק, *righteousness*, see No. 173.)

'199. וּבִטְחוּ (oo-vit-choo) *and trust ye.* 2nd pers. plur. imper. Kal. (sing. בְּטַח), from the verb בָּטַח, *to confide*, usually followed, as here, by a preposition.'—P. 31.

Dr. Paul's Grammar is preceded by a treatise 'on the Structure of the Hebrew Language,' which, in great measure, answers the purpose of a syntax, though its object is somewhat more extensive. It will be read with interest by advanced scholars. The Grammar is of about the same length as Mr. de Burgh's, and professes less originality. He appears to follow the general principles of Dr. S. Lee; indeed he states this explicitly in his Preface :—'The Grammar is formed upon the plan and principles of Dr. Lee, and the references are made to that admirable work in every case where the student is likely to feel the desirableness of more information.' That our readers may compare the two works before them in a special case, we quote what is said on the changes of vowels by Dr. Paul :—'The general principle by which the changes of vowels are regulated, is thus excellently stated by Professor Lee, Gr., Art. 52 :—"Were words augmented in addition to their primitive vowels, they would become inconveniently long; and, on the other hand, as those vowels which have been termed immutable constitute the distinctive character of the word in which they are found, perspicuity forbids that any change should take place in them; otherwise the peculiar forms of such words would be lost, and with them the sense intended by the writers." But the most important part of the work is the Analysis and Critical Interpretation of the whole of Genesis, a specimen of which we will now give :—

'1. Chap. i. 1. בְּרֵאשִׁית (b're-shith), *at first, in the beginning;* compounded of (a.) בְּ, a prep. with most of the meanings of the Latin prep. *in.* Prof. Lee understands it to be a fragment of the verb בּוֹא, *to enter*, and makes its leading idea that of *entering into*, L. Art. 174; Gr. 126. It is ordinarily pointed with *Sh'va*, L. 174, 3; Gr. 126, *a.* (b). רֵאשִׁית, contr. for רְאֵשִׁית, L. 87, 5; Gr. 50, 5; substantive fem. *first* time or state, *beginning;* opp. to אַחֲרִית, *last* time, or state, *end* (Prof. Lee's Lex.); from רֹאשׁ, the head. The design of the sacred writer here appears to be to mark a period, antecedently to which neither the heavens nor earth, nor the elements of which they are composed, were in existence. The expression is quite indefinite; and though it is designed to show

that both the heavens and earth had a beginning and a Creator, it affords no information as to the period at which the creation took place. Accent, *tiphkha* disjunctive, according to the general rule, Gr. 29.

'2. בָּרָא (*ba-ra*), 3 sing. m. pret. *Kal.* parad. 12. 1. *Created, brought into existence;* 2. *Formed, made, constituted.* The most eminent Hebrew scholars are now of the opinion that the idea of *creation out of nothing* cannot be shown to be inherent in the word בָּרָא. This idea, however, is deduced from it in this passage by fair and legitimate inference, as may be shown from a great variety of passages of Scripture. In particular, see Ps. xc. 2; Prov. viii. 26; Heb. xi. 3. And there cannot be a doubt that the sacred writer here intends to teach us that God at *first*, or *in the beginning*, brought the heavens and the earth into existence by his creative and sovereign power. "One thing more," to quote Professor M. Stuart's words, "may be said, which is, that if the word בָּרָא does not mean *to create* in the highest sense, then the Hebrews had no word by which they could designate this idea." In its secondary meaning בָּרָא is equivalent to עָשָׂה (comp. ver. 26, 27). See Prof. M. Stuart's "Philological View of the Modern Doctrines of Geology," pp. 15, et seq.; and Prof. Hitchcock's "Connexion between Geology and the Mosaic History of the Creation," pp. 24, et seq. Accent *munakh* conjunctive on the ult. syllable.'

It will be seen that both these works are well adapted to smooth the way of learners, and quite adequate to give all necessary assistance to those who have no *vivâ voce* instruction. It is on this account we have introduced them here, and we hope our observations will induce some of the readers of the JOURNAL to commence a study so really important and so deeply interesting. By the aid of these two works, the one treating of the *prose*, and the other the *poetry* of the Old Testament, rapid progress could be made by ordinary industry. If our old bookseller before spoken of could *revisit the glimpses of the moon*, probably he would be more surprised at the wonderful increase of Hebrew elementary works, than at the changes made by city improvements in the region where he once retailed his musty tomes. Perhaps he would, with man's natural tendency to exalt the past over the present, especially when age has made him love the *status quo*, regret the alteration, and feel alarmed at the strange work it must have made with the trade in old books. Certainly the worm-eaten and dusky looking volumes with which he sought to captivate our young aspirant a quarter of a century back, are now at a discount, and stand but little chance of competing with the beautifully printed works before us.

THE FULFILMENT OF PROPHECY IN THE BETRAYAL OF CHRIST.[a]

During his lifetime, Jesus, the Holy One, having to do with sinners, had been exposed to suffering, and he, the Son of God, had experienced the assaults of evil to which human nature is subject. But he had also been able to make a stand against sinners, and to withdraw himself from the assaults of evil, so far as this comported with the fulfilment of his calling. Nevertheless, at last his calling itself required that he should deliver himself up to sinners, and allow the evil to pass over him uncontrolled. For it was necessary that the Son of Man should be betrayed into the hands of men;[b] to the rulers of the Jewish people, that they might condemn him to death, and to the Gentile government that it might execute upon him this capital sentence.[c]

This his passion began after he had celebrated along with his disciples that passover-meal to which he had come in public procession to Jerusalem. He knew what awaited him, and felt it in all its severity. His anguish in the prospect broke out in prayer and supplications 'with strong crying and tears to him who was able to save him from death.'[d] But since amidst all his anguish he suffered his Father's will to remain *His* will, he arose therefrom at the moment when his passion was to begin, strong in spirit and strengthened in the flesh by angelic agency,[e] to surrender himself up to the enemies of his life. Two proofs of power he still gave to those who came to seize him: his word cast them to the ground that they might know that he had power either to give himself up

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[a] Translated from Dr. Hofmann's 'Weissagung und Erfüllung.' Dr. Hofmann is the acknowledged head of the modern historical school of German theologians, which is rapidly rising to a position of commanding influence and authority. It is denominated the *historical* school from its leading conception of revelation as *history*. Dr. Beck, author of an invaluable work on biblical psychology, and Dr. Baumgarten, who has recently presented the Church of Christ with the first really satisfactory commentary ever written upon that most neglected portion of the Word of God, the Acts of the Apostles, are among the chief ornaments of the same important school. It is a high gratification to be able to add that this new school is as staunch in its maintenance of a full-orbed evangelical Christianity, as it is rich in scientific equipment, and profound and fearless in its researches into truth. Dr. Hofmann's latest work is entitled 'Die Schriftbeweis,' or 'The Theory of Scripture Proof,' the first volume of which was published a few months since. It is a most masterly performance, and is rightly characterised in an able review of the work written by Dr. Auberten, in the 'Studien und Kritiken,' as having broken entirely new ground on this important subject, and opened up a path which Protestant theologians must more and more frequent if they would solidly demonstrate the great truths of the Reformation.'

[b] Matt. xvii. 22, 23. [c] Matt. xx. 18, 19. [d] Heb. v. 7. [e] Luke xxii. 43.

or to destroy them;[f] and his hand healed the wound which Peter had inflicted on one of their number, that they might see that he would not be protected by his adherents with the sword.[g]

He who betrayed, apprehended, and delivered him up was one of the Twelve, and so one of those by whose means he had willed to gather together the community of the kingdom of heaven, and to whom by word and deed he had disclosed its mysteries. But the magistracy of the Jewish people, which had received from God the calling to govern the Israelitish community, and to watch over and train it for the kingdom of heaven, was the party causing him to be delivered over to itself by means of this traitor. These two, Judas and Caiaphas, belong together,[h] and in conjunction represent the Jewish people which gave Jesus the Christ into the power of the Gentiles. For the Jews not merely did not receive Jesus, but even fell away from him after they had acknowledged him to be the Messiah. Caiaphas the high priest led the way in the former respect; Judas the apostle led the way in the latter. To the full bitterness of the passion of Jesus both these things were essential, viz., persecution on the part of him who should have relinquished to him the government of the ancient Israel, and treason on the part of him who had been called by himself to a participation in the government of the new Israel.'[i]

It happened to the second David just as to the first whom Saul persecuted and Ahithophel betrayed, save that, as was natural, what was separated by an interval in the case of the first, occurred together in the case of the second, that nothing might be wanting to the one great passion of Jesus. Therefore Jesus said, as he sat with the Twelve at the Paschal supper, that the Scripture must needs be fulfilled, ὁ τρώγων,[k] κ. τ. λ. The course of thought in the Psalm in which these words occur[m] presents itself to us as follows. The man who has consideration for the poor will be holpen by Jehovah when he himself is in need, and will be assisted to rise again when he is cast down to the ground. Now since David can accord to himself such a testimony, that he has not slighted the poor, but has fulfilled the duty of a king towards them,[n] he says confidently, 'Jehovah, regard it not that I have sinned, but heal my wounded soul.' Let his enemies take up evil speeches concerning him, full of eagerness for his death; let them say ever so confidently, 'now that he lieth he shall rise up no more:' though even one most trusted by him has lifted up his foot against him to trample him down, nevertheless Jehovah will raise him up again, and place him in a position to requite his enemies. Thus runs the

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[f] John xviii. 6. [g] Comp. John xviii. 36. [h] Matt. xxvi. 14; xxvii. 1-10.
[i] Matt. xix. 28. [k] John xiii. 18. [m] Ps. xli. 10. [n] Comp. Ps. lxxii. 12-13.

psalm, to deny David's authorship of which, or to explain it of a sick person, is equally unreasonable. The worst treatment the poet meets with is that some one is ready to trample upon him, whom he calls אִישׁ שְׁלוֹמִי אֲשֶׁר־בָּטַחְתִּי בּוֹ אוֹכֵל לַחְמִי—accordingly one in whom he believed he possessed his surest safeguard, one to whom he had accorded his entire confidence, his table-companion. With the words אוֹכֵל לַחְמִי David does not recal the benefits which this person had received, but the great intimacy which had subsisted between the two.[o] Now since we know that David had placed such reliance upon Ahithophel,[p] we are given to understand by these words this betrayer of his royal friend. This, therefore, is the Scripture, spoken by the Holy Ghost through the mouth of David, of which Jesus knew then that it must be fulfilled,[q] and of which Peter afterwards said that it had been fulfilled.[r]

What fruit the Jewish people had to expect from the crime committed, when its rulers instigated the betrayal of Jesus, and Judas the apostle betrayed him, we see from what became of the wages of the treason, which the former paid and the latter received. God brought it about that the traitor, seized with remorse in consequence of the condemnation of Jesus, gave back to the rulers the hire for which he had delivered an innocent man to death, and when these refused it, cast it down in the Temple, in order to give it to God and to be quit of it; and that the rulers, since they deemed the money for which they had caused Jesus to be betrayed to themselves, unholy, took it out of the Temple, and bought with it the same parcel of ground of which Jeremiah had prophesied,[s] viz., that Jerusalem should be made like that place as a punishment for its being unclean, as that was. That field, bought with the traitor's money, he might claim as his property;[t] but despair had driven him to lay violent hands on himself, so the rulers set it apart as a burial-place for such strangers as should die in Jerusalem. For the money with which the Jewish rulers had caused the Saviour of Israel to be betrayed to themselves, and which came into their hands again, since the traitor cast it from him into a public place—the place of Divine worship—they acquired the potter's field as public property, and thereby called down upon Jerusalem the curse which Jeremiah had pronounced upon that place.

The whole stress lies upon the two places—the Temple, or, as is naturally meant, the temple-court into which Judas cast from him the thirty pieces of silver, and the potter's field which the San-

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[o] Comp. De Wette *in loc.* [p] 2 Sam. xvi. 20. [q] John xvii. 12.
[r] Acts i. 16. [s] Jer. xix. 11-13. [t] Acts i. 18.

hedrim secured to itself therewith. If Judas would no longer retain the money to which cleaved the curse for blood innocently shed, and the rulers who had instigated him to the crime would not receive it back from him, it might naturally occur to him to surrender it to the heavenly king of his people, who could forgive him his crime. Only this was not the right expiation, but a blind action of despair, just as blind as his destroying himself, when he might have found in that blood innocently shed the ransom of his soul. That accursed money belonged not to God, but either to the traitor or to the instigators of the treason. Therefore God brought to pass that the thought struck the latter that the price of a betrayed human life could with no more propriety be put into the offertory than any other infamous money;[u] and they could think of nothing on which it could be more suitably expended than the ἀγρὸς τοῦ κεραμέως, which was already adjudged unclean, for a purpose corresponding to the uncleanness of the locality.[x] God, the proprietor of the Temple, had taken to Himself the price of the treason, and then presented it to the high-priest of his people to expend the same in the purchase of the potter's field.

Ὁ ἀγρὸς τοῦ κεραμέως does not mean 'the field of that well-known potter,'[y] but the well-known potter's field of Scripture, *i. e.* of Jeremiah's prophecy; for the Old Testament text cited [in Matthew] already speaks of it under the same name. If our remark is correct, that in reference to the fulfilment of the Scripture which Matthew here points out, the whole stress lies on the *place* of which he has made mention, we may expect the Old Testament text (*i. e.* according to the Evangelist, a text of Jeremiah) to treat of the very same place. Now we find the prophet Jeremiah in the 19th chapter of his book standing in a place near the pottery gate, which place belongs to the valley of Benhinnom, and is called Tophet. Jehovah had commanded him to go forth with an earthen pitcher, accompanied by the elders and priests to that valley, or, to define the direction more strictly, to the place where the entry of the pottery-gate was situate. For unless it had been intended to indicate more accurately by the words אֲשֶׁר פֶּתַח שַׁעַר הַחַרְסוּת, the spot in the valley of Ben-hinnom, any mention of the position of the valley would have been quite superfluous. Moreover, in other places[z] פֶּתַח הַשַּׁעַר is wont to be used only where the place inside the gate, or next to the gate, is to be denoted. We must accordingly understand those words as though it were written וְיָצָאתָ אֶל־גֵּא בֶן־הִנֹּם אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר פֶּתַח שַׁעַר הַחַרְסוּת[a]; with which verse 6 very well agrees, where the place in

[u] Deut. xxiii. 19. [x] Comp. Num. xix. 16. [y] Paulus, Fritzsche *in loc.*
[z] *e. g.*, Josh. xx. 4; Judg. ix. 35. [a] Comp. Gen. xxxv. 13, 14.

which Jeremiah stationed himself in consequence of that divine command, is called הַתֹּפֶת and the valley of Ben-hinnom, *i. e.* in the narrower sense הַתֹּפֶת, and in the wider sense the valley of Benhinnom.

Accordingly Jeremiah, standing close by the pottery-gate, broke that earthen pitcher, and prophesied *à propos* of this action, first, that God would break in pieces people and city, and that men should bury in Tophet for want of room to bestow the carcases in; and, secondly, that the city should become as Tophet and its houses, כְּמְקוֹם הַתֹּפֶת הַטְּמֵאִים. Two questions here arise: for what reason was it necessary that the prophet should perform that symbolical action precisely in that place, and how can הַתֹּפֶת be construed with the plural הַטְּמֵאִים? Two apparently very different questions, the answers to which however may possibly well nigh coincide, that is, supposing the name of the place to bear upon its nature, and upon its being chosen for that prophetic action. The prophet himself seems to furnish a reply to the first question, by calling to mind the blood of the innocents, which was plentifully shed in this place,[b] and the worship of Moloch, which was celebrated there with the burning of children.[c] But upon a closer inspection, the reference of הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה in verse 4 to Tophet does not accord well with the words הִנְנִי מֵבִיא רָעָה עַל־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה in the third verse; since here Jerusalem in its entire extent must necessarily be meant. And in spite of first appearances, even the mention of the numerous executions, of which we find no trace elsewhere that they were wont to take place precisely in this locality, Tophet,[d] leads to just the same result. Only the burning of children in honour of Moloch can be said with certainty to have been practised in this place.

Why now had Jeremiah to perform his prophetic action precisely there? Was it because in that very spot the worship of Moloch had craved its victims? But in that case the symbol would not have said that Jerusalem should be destroyed, but would only have indicated why this should happen; whereas the prophet says Jehovah will make this city תֹּפֶת. Was it, then, because Josiah had made the place unclean? For in order to render it impossible to offer there to Moloch in future this king had made Tophet an unclean place, probably by strewing around the bones of the dead.[e] In this way we should certainly explain why הַתֹּפֶת is accompanied by the particularizing adjunct הַטְּמֵאִים, where the prophet says that all the houses of Jerusalem in which idolatry

[b] Comp. 2 Kings xxi. 16.
[c] Comp. Jer. vii. 31; xxxii. 35.
[d] Comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 10.
[e] See 2 Kings xxiii. 14-16.

has been practised shall be made like that place. But taking it so, we still miss at least a relationship between the nature of that symbolical action with the earthen pitcher, and the nature of the place where it must needs occur—a relationship which we are led so much the more to expect, in that the particular designation of the spot, viz., that it lay close by the pottery-gate, points to something of the kind. We must, therefore, still seek for information what הַתֹּפֶת was, apart from the worship of Moloch which was celebrated there, and apart from the defilement of the place by Josiah. To find this out we must fall back upon the name as our only resource.

This תֹּפֶת with which we are now concerned is different in signification, and in all likelihood as to its root also,[f] from תֹּפֶת, 'vomit,'[g] as we see from the extant form תָּפְתָּה.[h] To derive this last from the Persian[i] is a disheartening venture, and to call the ה of this name paragogic,[k] a dubious makeshift, especially since in that way no root of the word is discovered. Is not תָּפְתָּה rather the original form, which, when the appellative noun became a proper name, was shortened into תֹּפֶת? In the same way יַפְתֶּה became shortened into יֶפֶת. Then ת would be a prefix-consonant, פָּתָה 'to be open' the root, and תָּפְתָּה would be formed from the Hophal just as תַּלְמִיד from the Hiphil.[m] The signification, '*opening, pit*,' suits without violence that place in which alone the word occurs as an appellative. Shortened into תָּפְתְּ or תֹּפֶת it would be the designation of a place where the potters dig their clay, and whose immediate proximity gave the name pottery-gate to one of the gates of Jerusalem. Now also the plural הַטְּמֵאִים with הַתֹּפֶת is explained thence, in that there would be several of these clay pits, which, however, according to a *usus loquendi*, current in German [and English] also, might together be called *the pit*.[n]

The pitcher which Jeremiah had bought of a potter in Jerusalem, and broke in pieces at the pit, was made out of clay from the same place in which it was now broken to pieces. Clay it was and to clay it returned when its owner did not choose to make use of it.[o] With violence, however, was it reduced back to the condition whence it had been taken; the prophet broke it into shards as a sign that the city, as a figure of which it served, would be brought to a terrible end. Jehovah has not merely power over Israel like a potter, who instead of a spoilt vessel makes another, but also like the possessor of a piece of pottery, who can beat it in

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[f] Hitzig on Jer. vii. 32. [g] Job xvii. 6. [h] Isa. xxx. 33.
[i] Gesenius on Isa. xxx. 30. [k] Comp. Ewald, Krit. Gramm. s. 322.
[m] Ewald, s. 260. [n] Comp. 2 Chron. viii. 11. [o] Jer. xviii. 6.

pieces, so that it again becomes what it was ere the potter fetched the clay to give it form and shape.

We see, therefore, that הַתֹּפֶת is that ἀγρὸς τοῦ κεραμέως, of which Matthew says that it is found in a text of Jeremiah. For that it should have been written in Matthew τῶν κεραμέων, if the place where the potters procured their clay[p] had been intended, is manifestly incorrect.[q] Matthew has consequently taken the weightiest circumstance with which he was immediately concerned, viz., the *place*, in the purchase of which the Scripture was fulfilled, from Jeremiah. Jeremiah's prediction was fulfilled a second time, after the first fulfilment had been proved to be merely a preliminary one, by the fact that Jerusalem was rebuilt, without the accomplishment of the prophet's promise of Israel's glory. A second and greater crime against the God of Israel than that of apostacy to the worship of Moloch—a second and greater crime against the law than that of the shedding of innocent blood - a second and greater crime against a divine office than the former mockery of the messengers sent by God to warn them,[r] and therefore also a second and more terrible visitation of Jerusalem impended. That crime was the murder of the Son of God, and this visitation proclaimed its approach by the purchase of the potter's field. In the presence of the elders and priests Jeremiah had pronounced his sentence; in the instance before us the elders and priests themselves[s] called down that curse of Jeremiah upon themselves and upon Jerusalem, in that they bought with the price of the treason of Judas the potter's field. Thereby that passage of Jeremiah was fulfilled with great exactness in the manner in which Matthew cites it, inasmuch as Jeremiah did not then first take the elders and priests with him when he went out with the pitcher to the clay-pit, but before that, when he proceeded to purchase the pitcher. They were to be not mere witnesses, but participators of the action, which the people, represented by its rulers, had occasioned, and the prophet, acting in the name of Jehovah, performed. A corresponding prophetic action took place in the present instance also, as Matthew points out. God, the Father of the prophet Jesus, brought about the remorse of Judas and the decision of the rulers:[t] and accordingly that prophecy of punishment for the rejection of Christ which was involved in the purchase of the potter's field. This prophecy, and its fulfilment by the Romans, together complete the accomplishment of that prophecy of Jeremiah, viz., of his prophetic action on the one

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[p] Fritzsche *in loc.*
[q] See the remarks in my Weissagung und Erfüllung, erste Hälfte, s. 326.
[r] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16. [s] Matt. xxvii. 3. [t] See my remarks *ut sup.* p. 29.

hand, and on the other of its subject-matter, so far as that belonged to the future. Inasmuch as Matthew sees the former fulfilled, he knows with certainty that the latter also will be accomplished.

If our exposition has so far kept to the right path, it cannot be in the least doubtful whether ἔλαβον is to be taken to be the first person singular, or the third person plural.[u] Only the latter corresponds as to the narrative of Matthew himself, οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς λαβόντες τὰ ἀργύρια, so also to the point of view in which he adduces the passage of Jeremiah. But immediately with this ἔλαβον begin words which, the mention of the ἀγρὸς τοῦ κεραμέως excepted, belong throughout to Zechariah;[v] to be sure, not even to him in this form, inasmuch as, instead of the first person singular, in which the shepherd appointed by Jehovah there says וָאֶקְחָה, ἔλαβον stands as the third person plural: further, after the rendering of the words וָאֶקְחָה שְׁלֹשִׁים הַכֶּסֶף, that of the foregoing clause אֲדֶר הַיָּקָר אֲשֶׁר יָקַרְתִּי מֵעֲלֵיהֶם is inserted; and lastly, with an omission of the following וָאֲשַׁלַּח אֹתוֹ בֵּית יְהוָה, and a mere echo of the אֶל־הַיּוֹצֵר, the words καὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως, which are foreign to Zechariah, accompanied by καθὰ συνέταξέ μοι κύριος, which correspond to the introductory clause of the verse in Zechariah, וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי, form the conclusion of this remarkable citation.

That Matthew has erroneously attributed a text of Zechariah to Jeremiah[x] is improbable on two accounts. In the first place, because he has taken the chief circumstance with which the citation is concerned, not out of Zechariah but out of Jeremiah;[y] and secondly, because he pays no attention in his citation to a most weighty point in Zechariah, viz., to the clause וָאֲשַׁלַּח בֵּית יְהוָה, although he keeps it in view in his narrative in the words ῥίψας τὰ ἀργύρια ἐν τῷ ναῷ. On the other hand, I have not been able in the former part of my work so to understand the text in Zechariah as to find with Hengstenberg[z] a reference to Jeremiah's nineteenth chapter: hence also the justification of the Evangelist, in naming the prophecy cited after Jeremiah, presents itself to me otherwise than to that learned man. אֶל־הַיּוֹצֵר in Zechariah denotes not so much the place whither the shepherd flings his hire as rather the paltriness of that hire. His thought comes into contact with that of Jeremiah only in so far as with him the shepherd treats the Temple-court as a clay-pit, and under the supposition that this will become a clay-pit, casts down in that

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[u] Paulus *in loc.*
[v] Zech. xi. 13.
[x] Fritzsche and Olshausen *in loc.*
[y] See my remarks *ut sup.* p. 327.
[z] Christologie, ii. s. 250.

holy place the money which is to be thrown to the potter who works in clay. Zechariah thereby pronounces a curse upon the holy place, just as Jeremiah had also done; but he does so independently of Jeremiah. Accordingly Matthew combines together two different predictions of essentially the same purport, exactly as Mark in one instance deals with prophecies of Isaiah and Malachi.[a]

Matthew found in Jeremiah the place which the Jewish rulers purchased; in Zechariah the price for which they bought it, as well as the circumstance that they themselves gave the money for the purpose. In Zechariah thirty shekels of silver are the hire with which the people rewarded its shepherd, inasmuch as it only acknowledged what he had accomplished for it in common with all the world, not what he had accomplished for it in particular. Now that pastoral office, in virtue of which God administered the affairs of the world, and those of His people in particular, had reached its culmination in Jesus. When God sent His Son, the time had arrived when Israel was to show that it acknowledged God's providence. But Israel was only inclined to acknowledge the same on condition of its freeing them from heathen oppression and giving them power over the heathen world; not, however, in the fact that Jesus was ready to help them to fulfil their calling by redeeming them from their sins. Thus the people gave glory to God only in the same sense in which the few sheep of 'the flock of slaughter' in the passage of Zechariah pay their shepherd a hire. The conduct of the Jewish people towards Jesus accordingly corresponds to the prophecy of Zechariah concerning the *finale* at which the Divine superintendence of Israel will arrive; and the punishment which Zechariah announces will certainly not fail to overtake those who do not recognise in Jesus the Messiah, the revelation of the goodness of God.

In like manner, however, as we elsewhere observe that God always gave a sign by which it was possible to recognise the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecy, *e. g.* the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem, his flight into Egypt, his education in Nazareth, his public appearance in Capernaum, his entry into Jerusalem, and other similar instances: so in this case also the sum of money with which the Jewish rulers rewarded the traitor serves as a token that that prophecy of Zechariah is fulfilled. It is not proper to say that the rulers in that they bid so small a sum, showed their low estimate of Jesus;[b] for there can be no doubt that, from their fear of Jesus, they would have paid a higher price. But Judas, in that he at all deemed money a sufficient reward, made it clear

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[a] Mark i. 2, 3.

[b] Hengstenberg, *ut sup.* s. 256.

what his Saviour and his own share in the kingdom were worth in his eyes. We have also observed, however, that Judas and Caiaphas together represent the Jewish people, viz., the latter the hardened, and the former the apostates. Caiaphas gave up nothing in bringing Jesus to death, for he had had no part in him; on the other hand, Judas set no higher value on his part in Jesus than was implied in his surrendering him for thirty pieces of silver. In Zechariah the people cares not whether its shepherd rules it with the staff חֹבְלִים or not; it rewards him for his ruling with the staff נֹעַם, which alone it deems of any value, and does not ask for the special providence which he had assigned to them. In like manner Judas also, when he saw that Jesus did nothing to set up the kingdom of Israel according to his mind, was easily seduced by his covetousness to relinquish the part which Jesus had assigned to him in his kingdom for a small sum of money. For the mere desire for money certainly does not explain the decision of Judas;[c] besides, Mark and Luke describe his treason thus, that a promise of money on the part of the rulers only weighed in the scale as *an additional motive* to confirm the apostle in his willingness to commit the treason. That in the Old Testament the shepherd receives that sum as hire, and in the New, on the other hand, the betrayer of Jesus,[d] makes no difference; inasmuch as in both cases the stress lies on the fact, that the Jewish people values its part in God and the Saviour at no more than thirty shekels of silver.

This view of the matter makes itself known also in the way in which Matthew, not content with having named the שְׁלֹשִׁים הַכֶּסֶף, subjoins to them besides the words which in Zechariah went before, viz., אֶדֶר הַיֹּקֵר אֲשֶׁר יָקַרְתִּי מֵעֲלֵיהֶם. He translates them, *τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετιμημένου, ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ*. He has paid no regard to אֶדֶר, a proof that he lays stress not on the smallness of the sum, but only on the fact that Jesus was appraised at all—that his worth was brought into comparison with a sum of money. With so much the more emphasis does he give prominence to this conception. Concerning the use of *ἀπὸ* in the phrase *ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ*, there is room for a difference of views. To supply *τινές* before it[e] is by no means so very harsh; and thus taken, the words might be a reminiscence of Jer. xix. 1, and of the Greek version of that passage. But thus understood they neither correspond to the thought of Zechariah, nor does *ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο* yield any new thought by itself. Both these reasons again are also valid against combining the preposition with *ἔλαβον*.[f] On the

[c] Strauss, Leben Jesu, ii. s. 378.
[d] Paulus, Comm. üb. d. N. T. s. 683.
[e] As, *e. g.*, Paulus *in loc.* does.
[f] Fritzsche *in loc.*

other hand, we obtain a sense equally suitable to the passage here and in Zechariah, if we take ἀπὸ in the signification 'on the part of;' yet not in such a way as though it might also have been written ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ or ὃς ἐτιμήθη ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ,[g] but with a retention of the reference of ἐτιμήσαντο to a subject of its own. The Evangelist gives us to understand that what Caiaphas and Judas did was done mediately by the whole people: for in the fulfilment of the prophetic word the τιμᾶσθαι and the διδόναι τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως are as little as in the prophecy the acts of one and the same person, but the former is the act of Judas and the latter that of Caiaphas; yet for that reason both again are the acts of the people of Israel, for the totality of which the one and the other alike are introduced as acting. Moreover, just as in the passage of Zechariah the prophet and shepherd flings down the received sum in the mire and in the fore-court of the Temple, not without the command of Jehovah, but with the view of prophesying how it will fare with the people; so now also the purchase of the potter's field is a prediction ordained by God against the same people. To indicate this the Evangelist adds καθὰ συνέταξέ μοι κύριος.[h]

It is a prophecy like that of Caiaphas,[i] in which the two passages of Zechariah and Jeremiah, combined by Matthew into one, met with their fulfilment: for the latter narrates how by means of a symbolical action in the potter's field he pronounced the curse upon Jerusalem; and the former prophesies, under the figure of a contemptuously requited shepherd, how Israel was about to despise the redeeming work of its God, and how far this God would threaten it with punishment. The figure of Zechariah is so chosen that Jehovah by His mode of procedure with the sum, at which the possession of Himself and of his Saviour is valued, calls down judgment upon the thankless people; a figure to which the transaction with the thirty pieces of silver, in which Israel's disposition towards its Saviour was expressed, corresponds in this wise, that we see it is the same God who is the author of that word of Scripture and of this event. Nevertheless, a reference of the Evangelist to the passage of Zechariah alone would allow us to recognise in this transaction a fulfilment of the Scripture only in so far as there ensued a rejection of Jesus in the shape of an appraisement of him, and an expenditure with prophetic significance of the sum deemed of equal value with himself. The most important thing would in that case still be wanting, namely, the remark that by the very manner of expending that sum a corresponding prophetic action of the Old Testament was repeated, and

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g Hengstenberg, *ut sup.* s. 261. h Ibid. *ut sup.* i John xi. 51.

accordingly that the curse involved therein was anew called down upon Jerusalem. That the Jewish people did not value the possession of its Saviour at more than thirty silverlings, and that the expenditure of this sum became for it an omen of punishment, are points both to be found in the passage of Zechariah; on the other hand, in that of Jeremiah was to be found the *mode* of expenditure, and with that the *purport* also of this omen of punishment.

We have seen above that, in order to the fulfilment of the prophecy contained in the sufferings of the first David, in the second an opposition like that of Saul, and a treason like that of Ahithophel were necessary. So again that opposition will also be avenged on the Jewish rulers, as once on Saul; and this treason on the faithless apostle, as once on Ahithophel; only with this distinction, that Caiaphas the high-priest acted in the name and sense of the whole Sanhedrim: Judas, on the other hand, in contradiction with the feelings of his fellow apostles. And for this reason the former meets with punishment for his crime, not for himself apart, but in conjunction with the rulers of the Jewish people at large; the latter, on the other hand, purely for himself alone, and in glaring contrast with the lot of his fellow apostles. The punishment of the Sanhedrim consisted, like that of Saul, in the rejection of itself and of its government; that of Judas like Ahithophel's, in self-despair. Matthew designedly assimilates as much as possible the expressions of his narrative of the end to which Judas came, to those of the Old Testament narrative of that of Ahithophel,[k] without, on that account, being betrayed into irreconcileable contradiction with what Peter mentions in Acts i. 18, 19.

Peter says, in the first place, that Judas has bartered the lot assigned to him of the apostolic ministry for the possession of a field, or, as it is afterwards expressed in the prayer of those gathered together, that he has abandoned the apostolic ministry to go to his own place; and, in the second place, he says that Judas has got no good of the field so procured, but has only taken possession of it in this sense, that by a fall to the ground he has scattered his bowels on the same. Both these things he finds expressed in the name which in consequence of these circumstances that field obtained. As regards the first point, the verbs ἔλαχε and ἐκτήσατο stand in such decided antithesis to one another, that to understand the latter of a procuring for others, for the Sanhedrim,[m] is not to be thought of. Instead of the lot, which had fallen to him freely through the choice of Jesus, he had procured

[k] 2 Sam. xvii. 23.

[m] So Kühnöl, Ev. Matt. s. 760.

for himself a possession as hire. What Strauss has remarked[n] is also correct, that that passage of the Psalms which Peter cites, γενηθήτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτοῦ ἔρημος, could only be adduced in case the field was looked upon as the traitor's property. But since Judas earned the thirty silverlings as μισθὸν τῆς ἀδικίας, and a field was purchased by the rulers with this money, Peter could say ἐκτήσατο χωρίον ἐκ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας; Judas could lay claim to this field as his property.

As to the second point, Peter is not concerned to relate the fact that Judas met with his death and the manner of it, just as it is not his design to tell what he got for his treason, otherwise it might be properly remarked that ver. 18 is worked into the speech by Luke without any necessity, since this transaction was sufficiently well known to everybody.[o] He mentions both things only for the sake of the relation in which both stood to his proposal, and therefore also only in this relation, whilst he himself presupposes acquaintance with the occurrence.[p] How else could he say πρηνὴς γενόμενος without having before mentioned that he had had an unlucky fall; since by what he does say only the direction in which, and not the fact that he fell is told? He chanced to fall forwards, it is said, on his face and belly, and it thus happened that all his bowels gushed out upon the ground. But how it came about that he fell, and fell in that way, we do not read, but would have been left to our conjectures if we had not possessed the account of Matthew. For in vain has Strauss[q] strained his utmost to make πρηνὴς γενόμενος and ἀπήγξατο irreconcileable. If the rope with which Judas hanged himself broke, or if he got loose, there needed no rugged crags or thorny thickets, but only a fall from a moderate height to bring about what Peter mentions. The subterfuge which Strauss brings forward that, according to this combination of both passages, the two narrators must have made a fair division between them in the report, is quite unfortunate for him—not to mention that Peter gives no report, no narrative—since in other cases he pays such special heed, where a New Testament narrative adapts itself to an Old Testament text. Has not Matthew, in fact, brought his report of the end of Judas into as close conformity as possible with the Old Testament one of the end of Ahithophel? Was he himself to mar the effect which his ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγξατο, compared with 2 Sam. xvii. 23, produced[r] by adding thereto what had no significance for him?

On the other hand, the conjunction into which the two clauses, ἐκτήσατο χωρίον and ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ, are

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[n] ii. s. 484. [o] Olshausen *in loc.* [p] Comp. Winer, Realw. i. s. 748.
[q] ii. s. 482, 483. [r] Strauss *ut sup.* s. 490.

brought seems incapable of being maintained without the supposition that the latter occurrence took place on that very field; and it is only when thus understood that the appeal to the name, which that field acquired in the mouth of the people, also becomes intelligible, inasmuch as here no reference is made to the betrayal of the innocent blood, whence Matthew derives that appellation. According to this view, Judas must have been still alive when the rulers bought the potter's field. The report of Matthew is not opposed to this supposition if we decline drawing from the conjunction of ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγξατο with ἀνεχώρησε the conclusion that the former followed immediately upon the latter. But in that case what need of ἀνεχώρησε, since we could not but expect that it would rather be written καὶ ῥίψας τὰ αργύρια ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἀπῆλθε καὶ ἀπήγξατο? By ἀνεχώρησε it is indicated that he withdrew himself from public view and from the proceedings against Jesus, just as before Ahithophel had done from Jerusalem and from participation in Absalom's undertaking. How soon or how late afterwards he went from his place of abode to the place of his death we can as little learn from the words of the Evangelist, as from Luke iii. 19, how soon or how late after the Baptist's opening of his ministry his imprisonment followed. The rulers would dispose of the money so troublesome to them as quickly as possible. Supposing again that Judas learned that that field had been purchased with his hire as a traitor, the thought might easily come into his head to make an end of his tormented life precisely there, in full view of this scene of his curse. In that case this field was χωρίον αἵματος in a twofold sense, because it was bought with the τιμὴ αἵματος, and because he with whose money it was bought had met with a bloody end upon the spot. Matthew and Peter could respectively give prominence to the one sense or the other, in which the name Ἀκελδαμά was understood and used, according as it served their purpose in a different connection.

Such must needs be the traitor's fate, proceeds Peter, in order that the passage in the Psalms might be fulfilled, γενηθήτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτοῦ ἔρημος καὶ μὴ ἔστω κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, as well as the other, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβοι ἕτερος. The Psalms whence these texts are taken both bear David's name; the 109th without any indication to the contrary, save that whence Hitzig[s] sees that it belongs to the time of Jonathan the Maccabee, which for us is transformed into a proof that, like the 110th, it has come down from the Davidic time. In this Psalm the author pronounces a woe over those who slander him and lay snares for his life; whether this is to be understood of the enemies of David who

[s] D. Psalmen Com. s. 174-6.

surrounded Saul, or of partisans of Absalom, cannot be clearly made out. The case is otherwise with the 69th Psalm, whence the first-cited text is taken. If this belongs to David, it must also be assigned to a time when Zion was already the seat of royalty. The first of these points is controverted only on account of a passage which proves the last. For at the close the author encourages himself with the prospect that God will give salvation to Zion, and build the cities of Judah, as a heritage and dwelling-place for the seed of his servants, for those who love his name. This passes for a sure sign of a much later origin.[t] Meanwhile David also could hope that salvation would fall to the lot of the place which had become the seat of Jehovah as well as that of the kingdom; and בָּנָה, as is well known, signifies not merely to build up, but also to extend a building.[u] The completion of Israel's convening good fortune David expected as well as Jeremiah, to whom Hitzig ascribes this psalm; he did not, however, expect it without a purification of the people, as we see from Psalms XIV., XV., and XXIV. But here in the 69th Psalm he could look away from the corrupt confusion of public affairs, with eager desires after a time when Zion and its surrounding country should have reached their destination, and be inhabited by none but God-fearing men.

Now what David in both Psalms says of his enemies holds good also of the enemies of Jesus. He hopes that God will make an end of them; 'let their habitation,' he says at one time, 'be desolate; let there be no inhabitant in their tents:' at another, 'let his days be few, and his charge let another take.' The former passage was fulfilled in the cases of both the enemies of Jesus; in the case of the Jewish rulers by the destruction of Jerusalem, in that of Judas by his death. The last is variously explained, inasmuch as some understand by פְּקֻדָּתוֹ the enemy's office, others his estate—not to mention the inconceivable explanation of Hitzig,[x] who thinks the days of his life still left him in definite number are intended, without saying, however, how it was possible for another to take these. The connection, and especially the relation of the 8th verse to verses 9 and 10 allow us only to think of the estate which at his death is lost to his family.[y] Only it will not be well to render it 'what he has saved,' but better 'what he has administered,' in that the abstract 'care' stands instead of the concrete, instead of that which is the object of the care, of the administration.[z] The rendering of the LXX. ἐπισκοπή

[t] So *e. g.* De Wette z. d. Ps.
[u] Comp. Klauss Beitr. z. Kritik. u. Exeg. d. Ps. i. 335.
[x] *Ut sup.* s. 173. [y] Maurer *in loc.*
[z] Comp. Hendewerk in Johan. xv. 7, s. 400.

therefore does not authorise the conclusion that they took פְּקֻדָּה to mean 'office;' and we have no right at once to suppose either that Peter so meant it. To be sure, if we already at the word ἔπαυλις think of the apostolic διακονία of Judas, instead of his χωρίον,[a] then ἐπισκοπή must necessarily refer to the former. But when we keep free of that error we find a reference for ἐπισκοπή which harmonises with the above explanation of פְּקֻדָּתוֹ. Judas had lost what he possessed, viz., his ἀποστολή and the χωρίον for which he had exchanged it. Another now enters upon his place, and congratulates himself upon the possession, not indeed of this χωρίον, but of that ἀποστολή which makes him proprietor of a κλῆρος, not in the old but in the new Israel. B. H. C.

[The following short critique will well follow the above interesting paper.—Ed. J. S. L.

THE DEATH OF JUDAS.

Acts i. 18.

Considerable difficulty has been felt in the endeavour to reconcile satisfactorily this passage with the brief notice of the death of Judas in St. Matthew (xxvii. 5).

Olshausen considers this and the following verse to form no part of St. Peter's speech, in which they occur, but to be an historical supplement by St. Luke. It is not now intended to investigate the merits of this opinion, but to offer such an interpretation of the passages as may seem most clearly to point out the real harmony between the two accounts, since, the apostle and historian being of equal authority, the point of chief importance is to settle the accuracy of the statement itself.

Let us compare the verse under investigation with St. Matthew xxvii. 5-7.

The latter is most simple.

5. Καὶ ῥίψας τὰ ἀργύρια ἐν τῷ ναῷ, ἀνεχώρησεν. καὶ ἀπελθὼν, ἀπήγξατο.

6, 7. Οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς λαβόντες τὰ ἀργύρια, εἶπον, Οὐκ ἔξεστι βαλεῖν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν κορβανᾶν, ἐπεὶ τιμὴ αἵματός ἐστι. Συμβούλιον δὲ λαβόντες, ἠγόρασαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως εἰς ταφὴν τοῖς ξένοις.

Acts i. 18 commences with these words, Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐκτήσατο χωρίον ἐκ τοῦ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας. Ἐκτήσατο may be *correctly* rendered 'was the cause of purchasing,' and thus be reconciled to the account in the Gospel, since it was by *his money* that the purchase was made. Nearly all commentators agree on this point. But

[a] Olshausen in Acts i. 20.

the main difficulty in the verse is found in the succeeding words: Καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμενος ἐλάκησε μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ.

We cannot alter the meaning given by our translators to the word ἀπήγξατο. It is the common term to express strangulation, throttling, hanging, etc.; the most obvious word to use in a concise history where a plain statement of facts is enough. It is impossible to escape from this interpretation by applying a figurative meaning to it where such would be utterly out of place.

The apparent discrepancy between Matthew and the author of this verse has given rise to various interpretations, most of them well known and commonly received, but all, without exception, having some gratuitous supposition on which to rest. Either a passer-by is introduced to cut down the lifeless traitor, or what is less absurd, the rope by which he hung is supposed to give way and cause the fall. It seems better, however, where the passage can explain itself as it stands, to take that as the most probable solution which requires least the invention of unmentioned circumstances.

We are told that he hanged himself ἀπήγξατο. A person like Judas, under the influence of the keenest remorse, at such a moment intent on self-destruction, is not likely to have *risked* the issue of his suicidal attempts, but would have done his utmost to render his death speedy and certain. He would provide the strongest rope within reach, and adopt the locality in which he would be most likely to effect his purpose. In his and later times hanging was generally effected from a projecting precipice or a lofty tree. The latter being more certain, Judas most probably selected one, and having climbed it and adjusted the rope, threw himself forward with great violence from the branch on which he stood, thus producing the precise movement implied in the term πρηνὴς γενόμενος. There would be the combined motion of projection and descent, *pronus et præceps*, and this having taken place (γενόμενος) the consequence would be ἐλάκησε μέσος, &c., which may be thus fairly translated—'His internal viscera were ruptured, and all his bowels were poured forth,' *not* from an external wound, but simply falling out *per anum*.

In defence of this translation, a few words may be necessary. Ἐλάκησε is from λακέω, which signifies to ring or 'rattle;' hence, 'to shatter,' which word denotes at once the ideas of *fracture* and *concussion*—a most fit expression to describe an internal rupture thus produced.

Μέσος is ambiguously translated 'in the midst' in our version. But being nominative masculine has special and only reference to the subject of the sentence, and not at all to the *place* in which he

is supposed to have fallen. It should be rendered '*His* midst was shattered,' more properly than 'in the midst,' which would have required some such phrase as ἐν τῷ μεσῷ. Ἐξέχυθη might express the protrusion of the bowels through an aperture, such as a gash or rent, but more naturally expresses the 'flowing forth' as described above.

Having attempted a justification of this translation, it may be useful to show how far the experience of physiologists bears testimony to the probability of the interpretation. The revolting details here recorded are perfectly consistent with facts. In our own day, where executions are effected with comparative skill, criminals of large stature and bulk have, on the removal of the drop, suffered precisely what is here recorded of Judas, the internal viscera being suddenly shattered and ejected with great violence in the manner above described, without any external trace of injury but in the immediate region of the passage. It is also well known that other fluids of the body are forcibly expelled when the body is hurled forward, or checked in its descent (as in hanging) with sudden violence.

Since this has occurred in our own day, when this kind of death is less rudely effected, and recourse no longer had to lofty heights and long ropes, it is most natural to suppose that in the case of Judas the results must have been still more severe, inasmuch as he used the then ordinary means for suicide by hanging.

If this interpretation have any advantage over those which have gone before, it is that it can be drawn from the words as they stand, without any gratuitous assumption of facts not mentioned in the narrative. If it has, however, only availed to render the connection between the two passages more obvious, it may as such at least deserve attention and study.

C. V.

REMARKS ON ISAIAH v. 1—7.

'Now will I sing to my well-beloved a song of my beloved touching his vineyard.
My well-beloved hath a vineyard in a very fruitful hill:
And he fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, and planted it with the choicest vine,
And built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a winepress therein:
And he looked that it should bring forth grapes, and it brought forth wild grapes.
And now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem, and men of Judah,
Judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard.
What could have been done more to my vineyard, that I have not done in it?
Wherefore, when I looked that it should bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes?
And now, go to; I will tell you what I will do to my vineyard:
I will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up;
And break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down:
And I will lay it waste: it shall not be pruned, nor digged;
But there shall come up briers and thorns:
I will also command the clouds that they rain no rain upon it.
For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel,
And the men of Judah his pleasant plant:
And he looked for judgment, but behold oppression: for righteousness, but behold a cry.'

How truly beautiful and soul-stirring are the words with which this Divine ode opens before us. 'Now will I sing to my well-beloved a song of my beloved touching his vineyard.' In the flight and upward soaring of the poet, he seems carried beyond himself; and leaving the prophetic strain which till now had possessed his soul, he places visibly before our eyes Jehovah, of whose will he had been speaking, as now himself speaking to the children of men. It is one of those sublime rhapsodies that oftentimes occur on the pages of the sacred poets: the sweet singer of Israel has left us numberless instances; and in many more we perceive the vigour of imagination of Isaiah, the son of Amoz. And yet, though there be many that crowd upon us, each with its varied excellence, none perhaps is more striking than that which commences with these beautiful words. For here the change is sudden and violent: we are hurried from subjects awful and terrible to a song of pleasant and joyous style.

What has the prophet proclaimed by the word of the Lord? He has dwelt with minute and careful detail on the fearful transgression of Israel and Judah. With all the power and scrutiny of his forcible language he has searched out their secret sins—their hypocritical service of the Lord, their love of earth's vain pleasures, their craven worship of idols. He has pointed to their grinding oppression of the poor, and has accurately pictured the fallen estate of Zion's daughters.[a] And the *judgment* also of such sins he has foretold—one touch of his lively pencil suffices—'she being desolate shall sit upon the ground.' And then, as God's judgment is ever forerunner to his mercy (he accumulates sin that his pardon of sin may be seen to abound), we might expect that a glimpse of his forgiving love would burst upon us; and our hopes are not vain, for listen to the gracious conclusion—'he that remaineth in Jerusalem shall be called holy, even every one that is written among the living in Jerusalem; when the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion.'

Oh! wonderful revelation of the mercy of a covenant God! 'Twas a dark, foul night; and sin in all its horrid shapes so covered the face of the scene, that we could hardly look for aught but instant and utter destruction. We expected that Heaven would loose the thunders of its fury, and blot out the guilty nation from among the living. And lo! it comes; down pours the wrath of God; the terrors of the Almighty are launched forth against the rebels; the mighty men are laid low; their land is brought to desolation. It is a deluge of wrath; who can stand against its power? But is there no ark to offer a shelter, and bear man safely o'er the billows? What, then, means 'the place of refuge, the covert from storm and rain?' Ah! haste thither, perishing sinners, hide in the secrets of that tabernacle, and you shall be saved. For though it be a fearful deluge from Jehovah, he hath directed it not against his people, his chosen ones, but against their sin; and when he has washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, every one shall be called holy. Yea, more; this is but the first glimmering of heavenly glory. Sinner, that hast fled for refuge to that hiding-place, joy unspeakable and glory transcendent shall be thine. Thy God shall *for ever* be to thee a tabernacle, a covert from storm and rain.

It was a terrible judgment, but it was given that mercy might follow. Clouds gathered thick above us, and stole on heavy with a weight that threatened to fall upon our heads; they sent out their wrathful energies; the heavens were convulsed, the earth

[a] For these sins see Isaiah i. 10, 15; ii. 6, 7; ii. 8, 9, 18, 22; i. 17; iii. 14, 15; iii. 16, 26.

confounded: a few brief moments, and the storm has spent its fury—the blackness is rolled away. Now the sun pierces through and scatters the mist; all earth rejoices in his gladsome beams; and ever and anon the songster, with mirthful voice, warbles forth his joyous notes. And so with true poetry sings the son of Amoz. His burden was of moaning and woe, of sin and judgment. His heart grew heavy with the tale; and now that he has uttered a word of mercy and love, as a gleam of sunshine it seems to cheer and gladden his soul; and upward he springs from earth to heaven—he sings 'the song of the beloved touching his vineyard.'

There are particular features in this Divine song that claim our attention, and the notice of these may perhaps assist us to a fuller enjoyment of the whole composition.

The metaphor employed, in which the vine represents the chosen people of God, often comes before us as we peruse the various books of Scripture. The first instance of the kind to which we can point, is to be found in the jubilant song of Moses after the passage of the Red Sea—'thou shalt bring them in and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance.' This, perhaps, we may refer to as an expression of the idea concisely—the particular kind of plant is not mentioned, but the similarity of the passage to others of later date may justify its introduction here. Again we meet with the metaphor, but expanded and spread over many verses, in the eightieth Psalm. 'Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt; thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it. Thou preparedst room before it, and didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land. The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars. She sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river. Why hast thou, then, broken down her hedges, so that all they which pass by the way do pluck her? The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it. Return, we beseech thee, O God of hosts; look down from Heaven, and behold and visit this vine; and the vineyard which thy right hand hath planted, and the branch that thou madest strong for thyself. It is burned with fire, it is cut down.' The Psalmist appears to have taken up the simile of Moses, and decked it out in more ample robes. Passing by Isaiah's song, we find that Jeremiah produces the figure again in his mournful strain, Jer. ii. 21. Ezekiel adopts it among the images of his genius (Ezek. xv. xix. 10-14). Amos uses it to clothe his glorious prophecy (Amos ix. 13-15); and our Lord himself in after times includes, among his parables, that of the husbandman and his vineyard. A metaphor that occurs so frequently, and in the works of men so different in their mental powers, must assuredly be one of peculiar merit. Such would be

our inference in regard to a mode of expression merely human; and when we consider that it comes to us impressed with the Divine signature, authorised by God himself as the means of teaching His own truth, we are led to inquire with increased earnestness in what its excellence may consist.

That trees and other vegetable products are poetically used to designate the countries that produce them, is too obvious a truth to need discussion. Among Eastern nations this style of language is at this day in vogue as it was thousands of years ago. Further, that trees are poetically used to represent individuals and nations is a fact which we cannot linger to prove. We would simply call to mind the remarkable parable of Jotham, which he addressed to the men of Shechem (Judg. ix. 7-20). Other similar examples will readily suggest themselves. Our object is to ascertain what it is that renders the vine a fit emblem of the Jewish nation—why this plant was chosen before all others. And, first, we observe that the vine was one of the chief products of Palestine. The Jews were a people purely agricultural—descended from the patriarchs, wandering shepherds, their national powers developed, while as a race of shepherds they occupied the fertile vale of Goshen. Thence, after 400 years had stamped their occupation upon their character, they were led forth by Moses, himself a shepherd, to the land of their fathers. During their sojourn in the wilderness they received from God the charter of their constitution, wherein special provision was made with regard to agricultural pursuit, but little or none for the exercise of mechanical art. So ignorant were they of the principles and practice of this in all its forms, that Bezaleel and Aholiab must be instructed of God for the erection of the tabernacle. And in the course of Jewish history the same fact is presented to our notice continually. Then when they thought of the land of Promise to which they were journeying, what was it that filled their minds? It was the gorgeous visions that their leader, inspired of God, held forth to them—'the land that floweth with milk and honey.' 'A good land; a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness—thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass.'

Not a word here or elsewhere of abundance of merchandise, of manufacturing skill; but all of the riches of the land, and the wealth that the industry of man might evoke. Perhaps this was ordained of God, in order that his own people, whom he set apart for himself, might live within the confines of their allotted territory,

and not in any measure resemble the wandering sons of Ishmael, who, in the calling of commerce, roamed throughout the East. And further, perhaps it was intended that they might exclusively look to Him as the source of all their good, and the constant giver of all their wealth. The mechanic is prone to boast of his skill, and count himself the maker of his fortune: the husbandman derives his living directly from the earth, the gift of God, and feels his dependence upon those outward influences which the God of heaven holds in his hand. Glancing for a moment at the physical character of the Land of Promise, as we find it delineated in the Sacred volume, we are forcibly struck by the one general feature to which we have made allusion. There is no formal description of its capabilities; but we may perceive them as they are pourtrayed line by line, here a little and there a little. So constantly we glean remarks upon the fertility of the soil, the contingencies of the weather in relation to the labours of husbandry, the culture of the garden and of the field, that at once we infer that it is eminently adapted for agriculture. And so we are not surprised that the nation seems ever to have preserved intact their normal character. A pastoral people in the days of their infancy, they did not abandon their calling when raised to power and greatness; but the patriarch, dwelling among his flocks and herds, and as a father ruling his family, was a type of the monarch of the land bearing sway over ample pastures, and the homesteads of a rural people. And this may perhaps be taught us in the beautiful story of David. A country lad from a village of Judah, he came up at the call of God to the royal court, and in a few years he who erst followed the ewes great with young, sat on the throne of Israel. It was an agricultural people, and it dwelt among all the resources of agriculture. What need, then, to bend its powers away from a task so easy and natural, for the poor ambition of emulating others in their proper line of industry? Better to exchange commodities with friendly neighbours, than to provoke hostility by petty jealousies. And such *was* the national policy of Israel. Of Tyre they purchased mechanical labour and various sorts of merchandise; Egypt sent to them her fine linen and yarn; the travelling merchants doubtless enriched them with sundry wares; while they themselves tended their flocks and tilled their lands, and sat every man under his vine and fig-tree.

The subject on which we have ventured these remarks is truly interesting—it almost allures us on to further examination: but here we must stay, and inquire what opinion they may help us to form respecting the song that we have noticed. Since the Jewish nation was purely agricultural, something connected with agriculture would be best fitted to be its symbol. The monarch of Egypt is

aptly set forth under the figure of a dragon or crocodile, the monster that finds a home in the river of that land (Ezek. xxix. 3); and again he is forcibly symbolised by one of the reeds that grow around the margin of the stream, 'whereon if a man lean it will go into his hand and pierce it.' And in the same way the vine-clad mountain suggests an image to the prophet whereby to reprove his own people.

But why the vine in preference to other plants? Is there any appropriateness in the choice? Again we must turn to the words of Scripture. Moses, in his glowing promise, tells of 'wheat and barley, and *vines*, and pomegranates.' He alludes to the future possessions of Israel by mention of 'vineyards and olive-trees.' Isaiah, when he would depict domestic peace and happiness, declares that every man shall 'sit under his *vine* and fig-tree.' And other passages abound, too numerous to find place here, teaching us that among the productions of Palestine the vine occupied a foremost rank. And if at this point of the subject we were brought to a stand, surely there would be abundantly proved the reasonableness of the poetic figure. For of the fruits of the land what is more wholesome and beautiful for man than the juice of the grape? What can better minister to his well-being and healthful pleasures? It 'maketh glad the heart of man:' it pours cheerfulness into his sorrowing soul, and vigour into his weary frame.

But the vine was more than a chief among the plants of Canaan. It, more than all others, clung to that soil as its own native earth; it took root and flourished in that land as its own peculiar home. Egypt might boast its corn and various kinds of grain; Arabia produce her coffee, spices, and dates; Assyria glory in the countless fruits of her rich valley; and Tyre, that jealous neighbour, might show her floating armaments, and the triumphs of her maritime and mercantile enterprise; but Israel alone, the people of Jehovah's choice, the flock that he had folded in the land of mountains and valleys, could point to the slender stem, curling its tendrils, spreading wide its leaves, and bowing low its clusters, as the glory and pride of their country, and God's own emblem of themselves.

Palestine, in the days when blessing rested upon it, might well seem the garden of the Lord. As the nation offered day by day the tribute of praise, and in righteousness served their God with a perfect heart, the thanksgiving and worship ascended to the throne, and thence returned in richness of blessing. Like the offering that the sun, as he shines forth in his might, requires of earth, the songs and joyous hymns did but rise, silently, it might be, from the secrets of the heart, that afterwards they might descend with

dewy softness, and bless and fertilize. Then, indeed, happy was the people that had the Lord for their God. They 'observed and did all his commandments,' and 'he opened unto them his good treasure:' they 'served him with joyfulness and gladness of heart,' and 'he rejoiced to do them good.'

Of all the proofs and signs of that wondrous blessing, there is none on which the sacred writers so love to dwell as the healthy and luxuriant vine. And even now that a curse has blighted the bloom of beauty, the Eastern traveller wonders at the fertility of the lovely plant, and mourns over the departed glory of which it stands forth a lonely witness. That Palestine is naturally a vine country cannot be questioned for a moment by one who has trodden its soil; and as now it holds to the mountain sides, and over them spreads out its goodly shade (and this not here and there, but throughout the land), one can hardly imagine the extent of its cultivation and the richness of its produce in the days when Solomon penned his fancies, or on Isaiah's lips there sparkled the gushings of true-born song.

In a general survey of the land,—when we contemplate only the broad and prominent features,—we perceive that, with regard to physical conformation, climate, and capability, Palestine may well be divided into two parts,—these being not equal, but very unequal in extent. The one part is a mountainous district, where, so to speak, a large table-land stretching from north to south is intersected by ravines running from east to west, and broken by ridges of mountains rising abruptly. There is no actual table-land that meets the eye, but the bed of the valleys is often so much above the sea that we may conveniently speak of it as a table-land broken and cut up in various ways. The one side of this imaginary 'plateau' looks down upon the wide barren fissure (el Ghor) in which the Jordan winds amid verdure of its own creation: the other side gradually comes down by steps, as it were, from range to range of mountain, till, at a distance of from twelve to twenty miles from the Mediterranean shore, it is lost in the level plain. Now this portion of Palestine, while it is by far the larger, is also the more varied in its resources. On the hill-sides of southern aspect the vine wreathes its gay foliage; where the hill rises from the valley's level, the fig, the olive, the pomegranate, with other such trees are ever to be found; and over the valley itself are spread the corn and crops that form the staple of the peasant's food. Here, as in all mountain lands, the excellences of different climates go hand in hand: the native from a warmer region may find genial shelter, and the stranger from the chilly north thrive in the bleak mountain air. Leaving the upland district, let us turn to the other division of Palestine,—the long, level country between the table-

land and the sea. Here, protected by the lofty hills behind from the cold mountain blasts, and watered by the streams that those hills supply, receiving with open face the warm breezes that breathe from the ocean, plants of more southern climes fail not of kindly growth; and together with wide fields of golden corn we find the luscious orange and lemon, and even the bursting pods of the cotton-plant. The more southern part of this long, narrow plain never really came into the possession of Israel, for here were the cities of the Philistines. Next to this, going northwards, is the portion denominated the Plain of Sharon; then, after passing the promontory of Carmel, we come to Phœnicia, the territory of Tyre and Sidon.

We have been thus precise, and, it may be, tedious, in describing out two divisions of Palestine, because, although it be a departure from the main line of our subject, it yet brings us to a forcible proof of the fact that the greater part of Palestine was prolific of the vine. The proof appears to lie in those words which, in his boastful scorn, Rabshakeh, servant of Sennacherib, addressed to the men of Jerusalem assembled upon the walls:—'Make an agreement with me by a present, and come out to me: and eat ye every one of his own vine, and every one of his fig-tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his own cistern, until I come and take you away to *a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards.*' With what sagacity does the crafty general detect the chief fruits of their land! How well his remark exemplifies its natural division into two parts; the one with its set of products, and the vine at their head, the other adapted and employed for the cultivation of grain. And note the inspired description of Canaan by 'the man of God,' as he blessed the children of Israel. 'The fountain of Jacob shall be upon a land of corn and wine.' Surely this partition of the country is no fancy of ours, but a reasonable, well-founded method, recognized in the Scriptures of truth.

The greater part of Palestine may then well be called a vine country. No wonder that the natives of that land, when commissioned by God to make known his word, should so often refer to the plant, so graceful in form, so bounteous to man, and discover in its beauty and richness a type of the truth they had to declare. No wonder that a loving God should call his people by a name so precious in its import, wherein is contained so much to delight and satisfy.

Thoughts like those that we have suggested, when borne in careful remembrance, may avail us in the discovery of valuable truth in the unfathomed mine of God's word. Sentences that appear to the unsuspecting eye well nigh worthless, may reveal to us hidden

wealth as we scrutinize them in studious research. How often may we have read that expression in the Psalms, 'Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt,' and yet have never stayed to ponder the truthfulness and beauty of the image. But when from previous examination we bring forward the truth that the vine was at home in Palestine, a comparative stranger in any other land; and when moreover we learn that the valley of the Nile was the most ungenial bed that could be chosen for its nurture, a new and unexpected light of truth flashes upon us. For this beautiful image of the vine in Egypt points most faithfully to the nation that dwelt in the land an alien, a stranger; and it seems to suggest the miraculous and superhuman aid by which the exile was sustained in circumstances so unnatural. And, further, it teaches us to regard the restoration of Israel to the land of their fathers as something natural and almost necessary, just as the banished plant or flower, by instinctive tendency, will return to its favourite haunts when the obstacle that thwarted it be removed. And with the words of the Psalmist we may connect the graphic expression of the prophet Hosea,—'I found Israel like grapes in the wilderness.' Not on the hill-side of Judah, watered by the rain of heaven, and fostered by the hand of man, but in the barren, sandy desert, scorched by the fervid sun, blasted by the arid wind, ravaged by the beast of prey. Who would there have looked for the vine? How strange and anomalous its position! Tender and defenceless as it is, it must soon wither away. Such was Israel: weak, feeble, needing an arm to clasp, yet alone. But Israel's God 'found him in the desert land, and in the waste, howling wilderness:' he took the sapling away, and 'planted it in the mountain of his inheritance.' 'It took deep root, it filled the land. The hills were covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars.' Wonder not then at the prophet's mournful plaint,—'Israel is an *empty* vine, he bringeth forth fruit unto himself.'

But to pursue our subject. It is evident that the prophet makes choice of an image peculiarly appropriate,—one that would strike forcibly the mind of a person familiar with the country of Palestine. It is somewhat remarkable that in his song he appeals to the 'inhabitants of Jerusalem, and men of Judah,' as arbiters of the justice of God. 'Now, O inhabitants of Jerusalem, and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard.'

The portion of the tribe of Judah was of all Canaan the most famous for the excellence and abundance of its vintage. The 'hill country' of that province, as it is most fitly designated in Luke's Gospel, was thickly covered with the fruit of the vine: perhaps its proximity to the burning sands of the desert on the south, and to the fiery exhalations of the Dead Sea on the east

side, favoured the culture of a fruit so tender. It is well worthy of notice, that to this day the choicest wine of the country is made at Hebron, a city of Judah, around which place every clod of earth seems pressed into the service, and forced to yield its nourishment; even from the crevices of the limestone rock the fibrous stem shoots forth and bears its clusters. Twenty miles to the north of this, at Bethlehem (also in Judah), the vine still flourishes better than elsewhere; and the wine is brought to Jerusalem, and there commonly sold.

These facts, and others of a similar kind, are standing testimony to the truth of all the details of God's word, and its claims to our entire belief. For the Scriptures have described to us particularly the portion of Judah's children, and, had we not obtained the knowledge from our own experience, we should have learnt it from the Bible. Observe the accurate foresight with which the dying patriarch defined the inheritance of his son Judah,—'Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine, he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes.' The accordance of this prophecy with the character of Judah's domain is wonderfully exact. And again, when the spies returned to the parched travellers of the desert with a burden of grapes, that well betokened to them, in their thirsty cravings, the delights of the Promised Land, whence was it they obtained that goodly cluster? It was from the vale of Eschol, hard by Hebron, where still there is a vineyard. How appropriate that the fruit should be fetched from that district where afterwards it was raised in greatest perfection! And yet once more it may do us good to mark that of all the prophets that have recorded their burdens, the husbandman of Tekoa, a city of Judah, most often refers to the calling of husbandry, and to the fruit of the vine. See how he recurs to the subject again and again (Amos iv. 9; v. 11-17; ix. 13-15). And what more natural than for him to speak of a subject so familiar; and, as his home was among the vines of the 'hill country,' as he had dwelt among them from his earliest youth, and watched their cultivation in all its stages, what more natural than that, when the message came, and he gave it out in the fulness of his soul, he should tell of the vineyards and the wine, the treader of grapes and him that soweth seed. We have adduced sufficient illustration of the character of Judah's portion from the Old Testament Scriptures; yet we cannot withhold an indication that the subject offers of a trait of beauty in words of the Saviour. When, in his condescending love, he called himself the true vine, he opened to our contemplation a vast field of delightful truth. While he conveyed spiritual instruction, he did not overlook or despise the adornment of a *truthful* image; and he who spake of the lilies of the field, the waving corn, and the

withered fig-tree, ever made use of the means most appropriate for the unfolding of his word. So when we find that the vine was the choice plant of Judah, how beautiful seems the language of Jesus, the lion of the tribe of Judah, the virgin-born of Bethlehem. We see him, as it were, pointing to the rounded hill, topped by the place of his nativity; and then, as the eager disciples descry the purple clusters, shaded with green foliage, that clothe the terraced mountain, as their gaze is drawn to the glory of Palestine and the pride of Judah, the Saviour breaks forth,—'I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman.'

It is in the same way that Isaiah most naturally and truthfully appeals to the 'men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem.' 'I have taken a fruitful hill,' he says, 'fenced it, and gathered out the stones thereof, planted it with the choicest vine, built a tower in the midst of it, and also made a winepress therein. I have done just as you yourselves do in your every-day labour: and now you who understand the matter, who are acquainted with the management of a vineyard, and who produce the choicest wine of the country, tell me what more could I do that I have not done? Judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard.' It is in lesser traits like these that we delight to exhibit the truthfulness of Scripture,—a truthfulness that is consonant with the highest poetry, in whose garment alone true poetry will appear.

Our remarks, then, upon this song have conducted us to two conclusions: that the vine is a most apt emblem of the Jewish people: and that there is great appropriateness in the appeal of the prophet to the men of Judah. We must confess that, like the rover, we have flitted around the attractive flower, and gathered our sweets from without, not once stepping within its bounds, and there revelling in the store of richness. We might have handled the meaning of the song, rather than the words that give it utterance; or we might have examined more at large the beauteous form as it steps in among the sable train of the woes of the prophet, and around it we see the lights of fancy play and gleam forth from the thick darkness. On lesser points alone we have alighted in the hope of exposing some secret power; and, indeed, we know not whether there be anything more formidable to the hardened and resolute sceptic than the mass of evidence which arrays itself against him from trivial matters of detail. He may present a bold front to the mighty engines of religion, and, marshalling his forces, may think to stand against them; but when on every side start up single combatants, each ready with his shaft to pierce the boasted armour,—when ground, over which in fancied security he walks unarmed, bristles with weapons prepared for his destruction,—he sees himself undone, his heart fails him for fear, and he bows a prey to the spoiler.

ON THE ORIGIN AND CONNECTION OF THE GOSPELS.

Dissertation on the Origin and Connection of the Gospels: with a Synopsis of the Parallel Passages in the Original and Authorised Version, and Critical Notes. By James Smith, Esq., of Jordan Hill, F.R.S., &c., Author of the 'Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul.' Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1853.

The circumstances under which Mr. Smith was induced to commence those studies, which have resulted in his adoption of the theory which the present work is designed to uphold, are thus stated by the author in his preface:—

'When engaged in studying the nautical style of St. Luke, for the purpose of illustrating his narrative of the voyage and shipwreck of St. Paul, I compared his account of the storm on the lake of Galilee with those of Matthew and Mark, the other two evangelists who record the same event. The results of the comparison were entirely unexpected by me; for when I first read the New Testament continuously in the original, and noticed the agreement of many passages in the gospel of Mark with those of the gospel of Matthew, I naturally concluded that Mark, who was not himself an eye-witness, had copied from Matthew, who was. In the presence instance, the nautical expression, λαῖλαψ ἀνέμου, "squall of wind," which occurs both in Mark and Luke, attracted my attention, as indicating that in this particular narrative a closer connection subsisted between Mark and Luke than between Mark and Matthew. In order to ascertain the precise nature of the connection, I copied the accounts in parallel columns; and upon comparing them, was led to conclude that St. Luke must have had both of the other accounts before him—Matthew in Greek, Mark in another language (Hebrew); that he had based his account on that of Mark, but completed it from Matthew; that he omitted nothing but autoptical details, such as eye-witnesses naturally employ—had inserted nothing but what could be inferred from facts stated by other evangelists; that where he copied Matthew, the agreement was verbal; where he copied Mark, there was that kind of variation which occurs in independent translations from the same original. For reasons to be afterwards stated, I concluded that the original memoir was *written* by the apostle Peter, and translated by Mark; and it was in consequence of this that Mark was designated by the Fathers the translator of Peter, (Μάρκος ἑρμηνευτὴς Πέτρου).' (*Preface*, v.)

Mr. Smith, in the synoptical table which follows his dissertation, has attempted to exhibit those passages in the first three Gospels,

in which he considers that 'one or more of the Evangelists have made use of the writings of the others, or of a common original.' He has confined his attention solely to the Gospels of SS. Matthew, Mark, and Luke; and the reason for omitting the narrative of St. John from those of his cotemporaneous historians, was, that Mr. Smith convinced himself that St. John's 'accounts were those of an independent eye-witness relating them in his own language.' This position few will be inclined to dispute. Documentary agreement between the latter and the three former Evangelists, has little or no place; and the accordance of which Mr. Smith proposed to take no notice, was that of independent agreement; and this rule he has likewise extended on many occasions to the first three Gospels. In these synoptical tables the Gospel of St. Mark has been selected, as the basis on which to found a system of consecutive events; and the contents of the remaining Gospels have been arranged accordingly. This is a course from which we are not able to withhold assent; yet the very reason which appears least weighty in the opinion of Mr. Smith, is that which disposes us to acquiesce more strongly in his ultimate determination. Mr. Smith says,—

'I have, however, given the entire Gospel of St. Mark in its own order—not because I assume his order to be more strictly chronological than that of the other evangelists, but because I consider that the description of the author of this Gospel, given by the earliest of the post-apostolic fathers, ΜΑΡΚΟΣ 'ΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΤΗΣ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ, "Mark, the translator of Peter," furnishes the key to the mystery of the connection of the synoptical Gospels.' (*Preface*, vii.)

We are far from denying that the sentence quoted by Mr. Smith is the key which unlocks the long-disputed question: though it is difficult to imagine the reason of the choice, which gives the preference to the translator of St. Peter in order of sequence; while at the same time it is asserted, that the story of that Apostle is not considered to be more strictly chronological than those of the other Evangelists. Indeed, we are accustomed to consider the arrangement of events which has descended under the title of St. Mark, as that which is open to the least cavil upon the subject of chronological sequence. In that Gospel there are probably fewer instances of deviation than may be noticed in the other received accounts; and the only transpositions of any moment, which a patient harmonist is likely to discover, are not such as to invalidate the opinion of Mr. Greswell, that so definite, so exact, and so regular is St. Mark throughout, that 'none could more deservedly be assumed as the basis of arrangement for the rest.'

The question of the choice of a text was one, which evidently

ought not to be decided upon lightly, nor adopted with little consideration. Without controversy, the plan attended with least danger to the theories of Mr. Smith, was that which suggested the expediency of the author's forming, upon critical or upon other grounds, a text most suited to his purpose. This, if the details were drawn with skill, might with many readers have passed unquestioned: yet this system would have been open to the very serious objection of suspicion, even had the author defended with success each contested reading he adopts; or had he possessed sufficient critical acumen to sustain without defeat, those variations which are the least detrimental to his cause. It is much to be doubted, moreover, whether such a display of learning would not have affected the practical usefulness of the work before us, even if it had not opposed an insuperable barrier to those readers, who are not disposed to enter at any length into such a maze of critical intricacy. Mr. Smith has with caution avoided the chance of suspicion on the one hand; and on the other, we congratulate him upon resisting the temptation of adding to our numberless revised texts yet one more half-digested series of new readings. The received text presents many features which would render it undesirable to make it the basis of an undertaking of the present sort; and nothing remains but to decide upon some work of acknowledged merit, the text of which was to be conclusive upon all matters of dispute. The edition of the Gospels at length decided upon, was that published at Leipsic in the year 1849, by the learned Dr. Tischendorf.

The phenomena entitled by Mr. Smith, *the phenomena of historical contemporaneity*, is admirably exemplified by allusion to that common every-day experience which ever lays so strong a hold upon the imagination, and which always renders more evident those subjects upon which we might not formerly have possessed other than mystified opinions. Mr. Smith has explained the more difficult circumstance by examples from the more easy. He supposes that St. Luke, writing subsequently to SS. Matthew and Peter, 'and drawing up his Gospel from the accounts of eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, naturally made use of their writings;' but since, according to his theory, St. Matthew's Gospel existed in Greek, and St. Peter's memoir was not yet translated, his connection with St. Matthew should be transcriptional, and with St. Mark, the translator of St. Peter, translational. By extracts from the foreign intelligence of two of the daily morning journals, Mr. Smith takes occasion to illustrate the phenomena of translation; and from the columns of an evening paper, he sets before his readers an example of that of transcription. In order that the agreement he exemplifies may be as free from the appearance of

confederacy as possible, Mr. Smith, from the pages of the journals which were published upon the day he was writing, gives in parallel columns the different versions of the speech delivered by Louis Napoleon upon the subject of his intended marriage, as reported by 'our own correspondents' respectively of the 'Times' and of the 'Morning Herald.' It is not our intention to follow Mr. Smith through the whole of his extracts. Two or three periods will, we think, abundantly explicate the matter before us:—

'*Times.*	'*Morning Herald.*
'The alliance which I contract is not in accord with the traditions of ancient policy; therein is its advantage.	'The union which I contract is not in accord with the traditions of old policy; that is its advantage.
Every wise government ought to try to make it re-enter in the pale of the old monarchies.	Every sensible government ought to seek to make her re-enter into the rank of the old monarchies.
But this result will be more surely attained by a more straightforward and frank policy—by loyalty in conduct than by royal alliances, which create a false security, and often substitute family interests for those of the nation.'	But this result will be more surely attained by a more straightforward and candid policy, and by good faith in all transactions, than by royal alliances, which create false security, and frequently substitute family for national interests.'

'The same passages in the *Record* (Mr. Smith proceeds to observe), an evening paper of the same date (January 24, 1853), are word for word the same as those in the *Times*. We have here the phenomena of transcription and translation; who, then, can doubt that there has been a written original, in a different language, to account for the particular species of agreement which subsists between the two morning papers, or that the evening paper had copied from the *Times?*' (P. xxvii.)

The author of the 'Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul,' next proceeds a step further, and presents to his readers selections from the works of three contemporary historians, 'recording events to which they stand in nearly the same relation with respect to time and language, as the Evangelists did to the events recorded by them.' Sir Archibald Alison, General Napier, and Marshal Suchet are the authors which Mr. Smith brings to bear on the question before us. The former relates the events of the Peninsular war 'at about the same distance of time as St. Luke did those recorded in his Gospel.' The circumstances which attended the composition of the Gospel of St. Matthew bear a strong resemblance, humanly speaking, to those under which Sir William Napier related his version of the Peninsular campaigns; whilst the memoirs of the war in

Spain by the third author, is precisely what Mr. Smith supposes the Gospel of St. Matthew to be—'the translation of an autoptical memoir, written by one personally engaged in the transaction.' These works our author has subjected to the same critical investigation, which, while so searching and so endangering to such documents as will not bear the pure light of day, serves but to disclose, in a new and in a brighter aspect, those productions which are genuine, and are too authentic to fear a strict analysation at the hands of the ruthless critic. A comparison of the works of Alison and of Napier proves, to the author's satisfaction, 'that before Alison wrote, Napier's History existed in English, and was known and made use of by Alison, as one of the authorities mentioned in his preface; and if we compare Napier with Suchet it will be evident that he as well as Alison used the work of the latter as an authority.'

The following extract is one among many which Mr. Smith adduces, to prove that Suchet's Memoirs had been made use of by Sir Archibald in another language than that in which it now appears. The sentences are found in a despatch from Marshal Macdonald to the Governor of Barcelona; they allude to a convoy which the former imagined ran some risk of being captured or destroyed, in the event of which he was of opinion that—

'Suchet, i. 214.	Alison, xiv. 159, *note*.
'Barcelona might be lost;	'Barcelona will be lost;
and there can be no doubt that	and it is not doubtful that
the enemy will try every means	the enemy will try every method
of intercepting it.	to intercept it.
My presence alone can	My presence alone can
insure its safety; and you	save it; and you
are well aware that even	will easily understand that
were the chances equal	even if the chances of success were equally balanced
we could not expose ourselves	we can never permit, without efforts to prevent it,
to this hazard, which	such a loss, which
if it happened to be against us	
would be without remedy.'	would be irreparable.'—(p. xxix.)

It appears that we here possess two independent translations of the same original. We regret that it is impossible to follow Mr. Smith in his comparison of Alison with the History of Napier: yet we cannot forbear to present our readers with an example illustrative of the connection of all three historians—always premising, lest a more intimate and verbal agreement should be anticipated than will in reality appear, that the resemblance perceivable is by no means so evident, as that which exists between the different accounts of the several Evangelists. This may be accounted for in more ways than one; though, perhaps, the most obvious cause is

that suggested by Mr. Smith, who contends that the Evangelists never hesitated to transcribe literally, since 'a regard to literary distinction formed no part of the motives which actuated' the Apostles. The scene is laid before the walls of Tarragona:—

'Napier, iv. 97.	'Suchet, ii. 95.	Alison, xiv. 181.
	'Our fire ceased, and that of the enemy redoubled at the sight of our brave men who issued from the trenches,	
'The columns of attack	ran over	'The assailants
had to pass over an open space of more than 100 yards before they could reach the foot of the breach. And when within 20 yards of it,	an uncovered space of 60 toises, and dashed on the breach.	had to cross a space of 120 yards before reaching the wall.
the hedge of aloes	Large aloes forming a line, at the distance of 10 fathoms from the wall,	And the row of aloes at its foot
obliged them to turn to the right and left,' &c.	forced the head of our column to turn aside.'	offered no inconsiderable obstacle to their advance.'—(p. xxx.)

It is obvious from these and from other extracts, that both Napier and Alison have taken their accounts from Suchet, and, from the frequent use of autoptical details, that the original was composed by an author personally cognizant of the events which he has recorded.

Mr. Smith, after having confuted the various theories propounded of late years by his sometimes antagonistic fellow-labourers, proceeds to state and to develop his own peculiar hypothesis. It will perhaps be advisable—in order to prevent mistakes, and that the reader may possess, in the most concise form, the theory propounded by Mr. Smith upon the origin and connection of the Gospels—to quote, in his own words, the five following propositions, into which the author has condensed his learned labours. They are as follows;—

'1st. Several of the apostles, including Matthew, *Peter*, and John, committed to writing accounts of the transactions of our Lord and his disciples in the language spoken by them, *i. e.*, the Syro Chaldaic or Aramaic, known in the New Testament and the works of the Fathers as Hebrew.

'2nd. When the apostles were driven by persecution from Judea, a history of the life of our Lord was drawn up from the original memoirs, in Hebrew and in Greek, by the apostle Matthew, for the use of the Jewish converts, the Greek being the same as the Gospel according to Matthew.

'3rd. St. Luke drew up for the use of Theophilus, a new life of our

Lord, founded upon the authority of eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, including the Hebrew memoir of Peter, and the Greek Gospel of Matthew.

'4th. After Peter's death, or departure from Rome (ἔξοδον), St. Mark translated the memoir, written by Peter, into Greek.

'5th. John, at a still later period, composed his Gospel from his own original memoirs, omitting much that was already narrated by the other Evangelists, for reasons assigned by himself (xxi. 25.)' (*Diss.* p. xxv.)

St. John is mentioned but twice in the propositions before us. We will therefore proceed, in the first place, to make such remarks upon Mr. Smith's theory with respect to that Apostle as the necessities of the case seem to demand. That St. John, 'at a still later period [than the former Evangelists] composed his Gospel,' few who place any reliance upon the united testimonies of Irenæus, of Clemens Alexandrinus, of Eusebius, and of Origen, will be disposed to deny; and fewer still will question the truthfulness of the deductions of those critics who, guided by the favoured Apostle's words, affirm with our author, that 'from his own original memoirs, omitting much that was already narrated by the other Evangelists,' St. John composed the history which bears his name. The statement, however, upon which we are unable to coincide with Mr. Smith is one which, occurring in the fore front of his enterprise, appears to be as unconnected with the subject in hand as it is novel, or as it is unsupported by evidence of worth. To assert that the view taken by Mr. Smith is novel, is perhaps true only by comparison: yet this consideration is not without weight with capacities of a certain standard, since—when we discover that the Fathers and the consent of antiquity are in favour of the theory which upholds a non-Aramaic original for the latest Gospel—it requires further and more trustworthy proof than Salmasius and his followers produce, to refute those opinions which have been held without dispute for so many consecutive ages of the world. One of the most conclusive arguments urged by the opponents of the ancients, is the circumstance that many of the quotations to be found in St. John's Gospel are apparently taken, not from the Septuagint, but from the authorised Hebrew version of the Scriptures. This argument, if it proves anything, proves too much: since we believe it to be the case that an equal, if not a larger, proportion of the citations incorporated by the Apostle in his account may be traced to the Greek translation of the Sacred Writings.

Neither are these negative proofs the only ones that are to be produced against Mr. Smith. Many arguments might be adduced, from the supposed date of this Gospel, taking even an average between the extremes of rival authorities: from the assertions of

Tertullian and of other Fathers as to the primary object with which St. John's Gospel was composed, from the statement of Irenæus with respect to the city from which the MS. was published, and from the country and the language of the readers for whose benefit it was circulated, from the style of the sacred record, which, although doubtless in many places, both in the manner of expression and in the method of argument, has been supposed to savour of Hebraisms, yet, upon the whole, can well bear comparison with that of the earlier inspired productions, and indeed, has generally been admitted to surpass them. From these and from other evidences which the cursory notice taken by Mr. Smith of St. John prevents us from placing more fully before the reader, we are of opinion that our author has failed to prove, in opposition to acknowledged admissions, that the Apostle St. John had 'committed to writing accounts of the transactions of our Lord and his disciples in the language spoken by them, *i. e.* Syro-Chaldaic or Aramaic.'

The assertion of Mr. Smith 'that a history of the life of our Lord was drawn up from the original memoirs in Hebrew and in Greek by the Apostle Matthew,' is, we think, one upon which the author has omitted to exercise his wonted ingenuity and his critical judgment. The evidences in favour of the former assumption Mr. Smith has neither added to nor further exemplified. That the Apostle composed the history in the vernacular tongue of the Hebrew Christians we see no reason to doubt: and, in the same degree, we are unable to perceive sufficient proof to shake our belief in an opinion which is of equal antiquity, and which has had as little to undermine its foundation—that the Greek version of the Aramaic Gospel did not proceed from the pen of the same inspired writer. The theory of Mr. Smith has been advocated with some degree of learning on the Continent; Schwarz, Olshausen, and Thiersch, being among its most powerful defenders. Should their hypothesis be correct, it certainly is singular that a point has been left for decision during nineteen centuries, upon which those who lived so much nearer the date of the circumstances had no doubt, and upon which indeed they bear positive evidence. An unsuccessful attempt to save the credit of the Greek version, by means of this theory, was probably the origin of the presumed double office of the Apostle as writer and as translator. Little thought will suffice to show the fallacy of this argument; and could we ground our reliance on the authority of the present Gospel upon no surer foundation, there would be small chance of effecting many converts, or of retaining waverers to our creed. Mr. Smith has, we think, given rein too much to a spirit of generalisation—a spirit which he has elsewhere combated with much

success. We will, however, allow the author to state his argument. He says—

'There is much patristic evidence to prove that Matthew wrote originally in Hebrew, but it by no means follows that he did not write also in Greek; indeed, the objects he had in view could not have been accomplished unless he had done so, for the circumstances of Judea, with respect to language, were precisely those of Ireland at the present day, and just as one portion of the Irish understand what is written in their native language (πάτριῳ γλώσσῃ), but do not understand English, so another portion understand English, but not Irish. It is necessary, if we wish to communicate the Gospel to the Irish, that it should be in two languages; so also it was in Palestine at the time of the first publication of the Gospel.' (Pp. lxi. lxii.)

How blind the eager advocacy of some favourite theory makes us! Mr. Smith here indulges in a practice which he, with justice, condemns in others: he busies himself with the course the Apostle should have adopted, instead of confining his attention to the path St. Matthew actually pursued. We would not, while adopting the conclusion arrived at by a late critical editor of the New Testament, be supposed to hold for a moment to the arguments by which he attained to his position. Mr. Alford's suppositions are indeed singular, if not contradictory; for, while he attempts to uphold the authority of the Greek rendering of the Gospel which we possess, he effects his purpose at the expense of the character of the translator. In a word, according to Mr. Alford, the scribe who gave to the world the Greek version of St. Matthew's Gospel was one who tampered with the original, who omitted, who enlarged, who altered, who annotated under a false name, who transposed, and who rearranged according to his fancy, the production of an inspired writer; and yet we are to believe, that the compiler considered 'his work as being a faithful representation of the Apostolic record furnished by St. Matthew,' and we are bound, as faithful Christians, to give credit to his impressions.

The language in which the original of St. Mark's Gospel was written, next deserves attention. This has long been a moot point with those who love to leave the beaten track of undoubted traditional knowledge. Latin, and Greek, Syro-Chaldaic, and Ethiopic, have severally been supposed to be the tongue which the author in the first instance employed: Bellarmine was the accomplished champion of the former hypothesis; and with the latter theory the name of Wahl is identified. Neither have succeeded in raising other than an ephemeral notoriety for their peculiar opinions. The dispute at present subsists betwen the advocates of the Hebrew, and the asserters of the Greek, original; and the relative position occupied by the Evangelist St. Mark and the Apostle St.

Peter is necessarily changed with the theory ultimately adopted. Mr. Alford contends that St. Mark's 'Gospel was written under the influence, and almost by the dictation, of Peter:' he consequently asserts the hypothesis of a Greek original. The opinion that St. Peter published in Hebrew, and that, after his 'death, or departure from Rome (ἔξοδον), St. Mark translated the memoir written by Peter into Greek,' finds a warm advocate and an ingenious defender in Mr. Smith.

Mr. Smith divides his evidence into external proofs, and proofs internal. Papias is the witness the author first produces, 'who states that the Evangelist was designated by John the Presbyter as "Mark the translator of Peter;" and in this designation Irenæus, Tertullian, and others of the Fathers, concur; but if Mark be the translator of Peter, we can see good reason why the original should have been used by the historians Matthew and Luke.'

'The first, and indeed the only difficulty,' continues Mr. Smith, 'I have to contend with, in establishing the point at issue, is the title which this Gospel bears. It will naturally be asked, If Peter be the author, how comes it that the less important name of Mark has prevailed over the more important one of Peter? Why was not the title, "the Gospel according to Peter?" The answer to these questions is, that anciently it was called the Gospel of Peter.' (p. lxxi.)

And, in support of his statement, Mr. Smith adduces passages from the works of Jerome, of Eusebius, of Tertullian, and of Justin Martyr, whom we find 'actually quoting the second Gospel as the memoirs of Peter.' The Fathers also concur in calling Mark 'the translator of Peter;' but commentators, to support preconceived notions, have 'attempted to explain away the plain meaning of the word ἑρμηνευτὴς.' A question still remains unsolved: granting that St. Mark was termed the translator of St. Peter, and that formerly the history was known by the title of the Memoirs of St. Peter, how did it ultimately obtain the name it now bears? A similar case of the misappropriation of proper names, will at once suggest itself to the historical reader. The name of a Florentine gentleman, Amerigo Vespucci, has been bestowed upon those continents which owed that acknowledgment of merit to the more enterprising though less fortunate navigator, Columbus; and posterity, which not unfrequently reverses the decision of preceding ages, has, in this instance, continued and confirmed the injustice. Yet few would be found sufficiently hardy to brave public opinion, and to assert that Columbus had no share in the discovery of the new world; and none, we imagine, would contradict contemporaneous history by affirming that the celebrated Christopher had no existence. No less absurd opinions than those we have supposed, agitate theological critics; and conclusions

more improbable have, ere this, been frequently adopted. The title, 'the Gospel acccording to Mark,' Mr. Smith continues,

'Does not necessarily imply authorship: the preposition κατὰ, "according to," implies an intimate connection with the work, but nothing more; thus, there existed in ancient times, Gospels according to the Hebrews, the Egyptians, &c. Mark had an intimate connection with this Gospel, being not only the translator, but I believe the continuator, for the last twelve verses have all the appearance of being a continuation, bringing the narrative down to the time of writing; and as it was published after the death of Peter, the name of a living and responsible editor was necessary as a guarantee to the Church for its authenticity; and the name of Mark, the son and chosen follower of Peter, fulfilled the condition which our law considers indispensable in the proof of ancient documents, and showed that it came from the proper custody. The importance of such a guarantee will be obvious, when we remember the number of spurious and heretical gospels which were circulated at an early age of the Church, bearing the names of Peter, Thomas, Matthias, and others.' (Pp. lxxiii. *seq.*)

Mr. Smith, having noticed the external evidence which connects the Gospel of St. Mark with the Apostle, proceeds to extract from Mr. Greswell's learned Dissertation (i. 82) certain statements (which the reader will do well to consult), which serve to show, by internal proofs, the very intimate relation which subsisted between the fellow-labourers in the propagation of Christianity. The reasons which Mr. Smith has advanced to favour his theory are, without doubt, clever and well sustained. Contraction would spoil their harmony; and the reader will pardon our placing before him in detail, since otherwise it must be imperfect, the following elaborate exposition of Mr. Smith's views upon this subject:—

'Mr. Greswell's is a statement of the moral evidence connecting St. Peter with the second Gospel. There is another sort of proof which Mr. Greswell merely glances at, which carries to my mind a still stronger conviction: I mean the undesigned coincidences between the writer and his own personal circumstances, national, professional, or otherwise. An eye-witness can scarcely avoid exhibiting such coincidences; but they are much more strongly marked in an unpractised writer, such as the author of the second gospel evidently was, than in one accustomed to composition. We can detect such characteristic traits in all the historical writings of the New Testament, but they are much more fully developed in the second Gospel than in the writings of the other Evangelists. When at Jerusalem, Peter's Galileanism "bewrayed him;" but the second Gospel abounds in Galileanisms. Thus when the Evangelist wishes to give an idea of the wide extent of our Lord's fame, he tells us that it "spread abroad throughout all the region about Galilee" (i. 28), an idea of extent which would scarcely

occur to any but a Galilean, and indeed to one writing on the spot. Many of these provincialisms escape the English reader from the neglect of the translators in rendering the article, frequently omitting it where it occurs in the original, and inserting it where it is wanted. Thus, in Matthew v. 1, we are told in the authorised versions "that our Lord went up to a mountain;" it ought to be rendered, "to *the* mountain." But no mountain is previously mentioned. How, then, it may be asked, should the definite article be understood? The answer is, that Capernaum is placed on the margin of a lake, and at the foot of a mountain, and the universal practice of the inhabitants of a town so situated is to call the mountain behind, *the* mountain.[a] In the case in question it is, in fact, a Capernaumism. Now, the first two Gospels abound in such provincialisms, some of them common to both, some of them peculiar to the writer of each. Thus, Matthew speaking of his own house, calls it "*the* house," but the other Evangelists speak of it as "*his* (Matthew's) house. In Mark we have the somewhat remarkable expression, τὰ πρὸς-τὴν-θύραν, "the before-the-door" (ii. 2), to indicate the open space before Peter's house. In another place, speaking of his house, the Evangelist takes care to add that it was also the house of Andrew (i. 29), avoiding the appearance of exclusive appropriation, which Peter alone wished to avoid. He also talks of it as εἰς οἶκον, "at home" (ii. 1); so also he speaks of "*the* boat," "*the* sea," "*the* other side," &c., as objects so familiar as to require no further specification. These modes of expression tend to prove the authors of the two Gospels to have been Galileans.

'Peter was a fisherman, Matthew was not. Now the descriptions of what took place on the lake are professional in Mark, but unprofessional in Matthew. A storm makes a very different impression on a seaman to what it does on a landsman: the seaman, who is obliged to act, thinks and speaks of the causes of the storm, the force or direction of the gale; the landsman, who is passive, thinks of what most nearly affects him, the agitation of the waters. There are two storms described in these Gospels; in Mark the prominent feature is the wind, in Matthew the waves. (Again) Matthew's account (of Christ walking on the waves) is based on the original of Mark, but with additions, one of which is the force of the waves: both of the writers mention the direction of the wind. In Mark's account it is important, as increasing the toil of the rowers. In Matthew it appears unimportant, because the agitation of the surface, on which he dwells, depended on the force, not the direction of the wind. There are other professionalisms in Mark which show that the author of the original was a fisherman, such as his use of the obviously technical expression ἀμφιβάλλοντας (i. 16), for a particular mode of fishing. The author is therefore a fisherman, but he must also have been an eye-witness of the events which he describes

[a] Mr. Stephens, a late American traveller, in speaking of Capernaum, almost unavoidably adopts the language of the Evangelist. He says: 'The ruins of Capernaum extend more than a mile along *the* shore, and back towards *the* mountain.'—P. 114.

with such precision: he must have been in the boat when our Lord stilled the tempest, for the details are such as would only be known to an eye-witness, and which an eye-witness alone would think of describing. Who would think of adding to a pre-existing account that there were other boats, of which we hear no more, in company (Mark iv. 36), or the number of bearers to a paralytic patient (ii. 3), or that a youth lost his garment in a popular tumult (xiv. 52)?[b] The autopticity of the narration brings us still nearer Peter, for it appears in the description of events which were only originally known to three of the apostles, namely, to Peter, James, and John: such are the events which took place in the house of Jairus, and in the house of Peter. Strauss, after adverting to the circumstantiality of the details on these occasions, asks, or rather ironically abstains from asking, whether the author who describes these events was one of the apostles, and whether the original narrator committed his account to writing? I answer both these questions in the affirmative. But I proceed a step farther, and infer from the narrative, not only that the author was one of the three, but that he was neither James nor John. In the account of the cure of Peter's mother-in-law, in the house of Peter, all the three must have been present, but only James and John are mentioned, and they were merely spectators, taking no part in the transaction. Why, then, are they mentioned at all, and why is Peter not mentioned? The answer is, that such notices are characteristic of the style of an eye-witness; and the omission of Peter's name can be only explained on the supposition that he was the original author of the account.

'With regard to the style of the second gospel, it is animated and picturesque, as every narrative is which is written faithfully and circumstantially by an eye-witness, who is strongly impressed by the events. It is that of a vigorous but uncultivated mind, little accustomed to composition, writing with the first intention, and while the impressions are still strong upon him. It abounds with repetitions, and with details of circumstances which have no other connection with the main fact than juxta-position of time and place. Its general character, as well as its particular details, agree perfectly with the supposition that the apostle Peter was the original author.

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[b] 'Mr. Greswell supposes that the young man must have been Mark himself, because no other assignable motive can be imagined for the insertion of such a circumstance: to me it is a proof that the author witnessed it, and in describing the transaction inserted it in illustration of the tumult. We have an analogous case in General Napier's account of the battle of Busaco. I have no reason to suppose he was present but one—the autopticity of his description. Who can read his "sparkling" account of the charge of the light division without the conviction that it is that of an eye-witness? His work is avowedly historical; he intentionally refrains from recording the achievements of particular regiments, yet he records a circumstance which certainly did not influence the result of the combat: "A poor orphan Portuguese girl, about seventeen years of age, and very handsome, was seen coming down the mountain and driving an ass loaded with all her property through the midst of the French army" (iii. 334). This circumstance made an impression on the author, and illustrated the chivalrous spirit of the combatants, for "no man on either side was so brutal as to molest her;" just as the loss of the young man's garment illustrated the violence of the people.'

'It will naturally be asked, Can we trace any resemblance between the style of this Gospel and the acknowledged writings of St. Peter? To this I would reply, that the style of a simple narrative, and of a didactic composition, differ so essentially, that much resemblance is not to be expected, especially where the circumstances in which the author was placed were so completely changed. Peter, one of the movers of a great movement, accustomed to public speaking, and writing with weight and authority, would use a very different style from the fisherman, recording from day to day a simple narration of the transactions in which he was engaged. There is, however, an illustration in the second epistle, that points to the author of the Gospel as its writer. We see with what accuracy and precision the effects of a tornado (λαῖλαψ) are described in the second Gospel: now, in the second epistle, the tornado is used as an illustration of the effect of the passions on those who yield to them: they are likened to "clouds driven by a tornado" (*νεφέλαι ὑπὸ λαίλαπος ἐλαυνόμεναι*, ii. 17), an image which a fisherman would very naturally make use of. The nautical word (λαῖλαψ) is only used by Peter, by the author of the second Gospel, and by Luke, who takes his account from the original of that Gospel, and whose familiarity with nautical language would lead him to retain that expression. We must also remember that, though the matter of the second Gospel be Peter's, the language is Mark's, and that therefore we cannot expect to be able, by peculiarities of style alone, to identify the authors of the Gospel and the epistles.' (Pp. lxxvi. *seq.*)

There is one passage in the above statement, which, from our not having adopted the arrangement proposed by Mr. Smith, will perhaps at first startle the reader of the paragraphs. The author asserts that, in the account of the miracle of Christ's walking on the sea, St. Matthew's account is based upon the original of St. Mark. This is a point which claims our attention. The theories propounded with greater and with less success upon the chronological order of the Gospels, and upon their relation to each other, are well-nigh numberless. That the Gospels were promulgated in the order in which they at present stand is, perhaps, the most favourite hypothesis among critics: Mill, Grotius, and Wetstein are amongst the defenders of this theory; while Mr. Greswell holds to the supplemental relation of the three first Gospels taken in order, and Mr. Alford asserts their complete independence of one another. Upon the Continent the opinion which places St. Luke's Gospel the first in order of time has met with some attention. Griesbach and De Wette give the precedence to St. Matthew, but imagine that St. Mark's Gospel followed that published by the Evangelist St. Luke. Other German Biblical critics approach more nearly to the hypothesis adopted by Mr. Smith; Storr defends the order of publication thus, SS. Mark, Matthew, and Luke; while the theory which places St. Mark first, and which

transposes the arrangement of the other two Gospels, maintained by Storr, is adopted by Weisse and by other writers. The learned professor of Marburg, Dr. Thiersch, however, although he rejects the supposition that St. Luke made use of the Gospel by St. Matthew, agrees with our author on the originality of St. Mark. In a review of Mr. Smith's former work, On the Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul, in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, the Professor states that 'we no longer need search for the Protevangelium; we possess it in the Gospel of Mark.' It is time that we should state the hypothesis maintained by the author of the origin and connection of the Gospels. Before proceeding to point out the relation in which the Gospel of St. Matthew stands to the other Gospels, the author makes a few observations upon the style of composition adopted by that Evangelist.

'In his narrative,' Mr. Smith says, 'he is the most concise of the historical writers of the New Testament; in the discourses of our Lord the fullest. He appears to have condensed in narration in order to give the very words of our Lord, and at the same time to confine his work within such limits as would insure extended circulation, a precaution necessary when transcription was the only mode of multiplying copies. But, although his narrative is concise, it is singularly clear and explicit. An author writing with the first intention, does not think of giving explanations of circumstances which are perfectly well known to himself. He frequently uses the pronoun, where a reader may be ignorant, or uncertain as to the implied antecedent [compare St. Mark, vi. 54, and St. Matthew, xiv. 35]. Again [in St. Matthew, xii. 14] we have an excellent exemplification of the historical style of Matthew contrasted with the autoptical style of St. Mark, where, although not one-third the length of Mark, Matthew gives not only everything historically essential, but adds important matter, and clears up ambiguity.' (P. lxiv.)

The connection which subsists between the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Mark, Mr. Smith contends, is precisely that which exists between history and memoir. The phenomena of agreement between the two Evangelists can always be accounted for 'by supposing that Matthew made use of the original Hebrew of Mark; but we cannot if we suppose that Mark made use of the Gospel of Matthew.'

'Wherever we find matter, in one of two writers,' continues Mr. Smith, 'connected in the same manner as Matthew and Mark are, the question to be determined is, Is this matter an addition, on the part of the author in whose work it occurs, or is it an omission in that from which it is wanting? Now, I apprehend that the rule to be followed in such a question, depends upon the importance, or want of importance, of the passages in question. When I speak of want of importance in passages in Scripture, I desire not to be misunderstood. It is merely

in a historical sense that I am speaking; for the most trifling circumstantial details are of the very last consequence in all investigations like the present. Like the straws which indicate the direction of the stream, they indicate that the stream of history flows from Mark to Matthew, not from Matthew to Mark. In the section already alluded to [St. Matthew, xii. 14], we are told in Mark's account that a small boat (πλοιάριον) was ordered to be in attendance, but no use was made of it; we are told of the different places from which the multitude came. Now, none of these circumstances could be taken or inferred from Matthew's account, nor are they such as a subsequent historian would think of adding, but they are such as a subsequent historian would naturally omit. On the other hand, there is matter in Matthew's account which no historian following Matthew would omit. There is an ambiguity in Mark's account, or at least a want of explanation, which Schleiermacher characterises thus, "Christ withdraws, one does not know why."[c] Now Matthew, by the single word γνοὺς (xii. 15) supplies the explanation. So also, where Mark tells us that *many* were cured, Matthew tells us that *all* were cured. I conclude, therefore, that Matthew is the subsequent historian . . . . . (and) that Matthew knew and made use of the memoir which Mark afterwards translated, in the composition of his Gospel; but if Mark translated it, it must have existed in a different language when Matthew wrote. How, then, do we account for the very considerable amount of verbal agreement which subsists between their Gospels? I account for it thus: When it became necessary to publish to the world a written account of the events, the duty of drawing it up naturally devolved upon Matthew, who must have been, of all the apostles, best fitted for its performance. After holding office under the Roman government, he must have been accustomed to record events, both in his own language, the Hebrew, and in Greek, which in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire was the language of the government. In doing so he would, as a matter of course, avail himself of the writings of any of the other apostles who had recorded the events at which he was not present, or had not himself recorded. St. Matthew's account, published under such circumstances—which are, in fact, the same as those mentioned in the Fathers—must have been held by the early Christians as the authorised apostolical account of the life of our Lord; and, accordingly, if we refer to the apostolic and earliest of the post-apostolic Fathers, it will be found that by far the greatest number of the quotations from the New Testament are from St. Matthew. But, as already observed, Matthew's rule in composing his Gospel was to give the words of our Lord as they were spoken, but to condense the narrative. Hence, when he took our Lord's words from the original memoir in question, he translated but did not condense them, as he did the narrative. Now, when we remember the weight and authority which must have attached to the apostolic report of the discourses of our Lord, and which the constant reference to it by the earliest Chris-

[c] Essay on Luke, E. T., p. 40.

tian writers proves to have attached to it, we see that Matthew's Greek version of Peter's original would, with all who used the Greek language, have the same preference which we are accustomed to give to our own authorised version; and any change in the expressions would jar upon the feelings of the early Christians, as a similar change in the words of our Lord we are accustomed to, would upon an English reader. We can see a good reason why, if St. Mark were the translator of Peter, he should have preserved the words of Matthew when he could do so. The same reasoning, of course, applies to St. Luke. Hence the fact so well known to Biblical critics, that there is a much greater verbal agreement in the discourses of our Lord than in the narration, is precisely what we ought to have expected if the evangelists wrote under the circumstances which I suppose them to have done.' (P. lxv. *seq.*)

With respect to the third proposition suggested by Mr. Smith for demonstration, the objections urged against the author's theory by Professor Thiersch are merely negative, and whether, Mr. Smith proceeds, we can explain them or not, they never can outweigh the positive evidence drawn from the fact that we find passages of Matthew's Gospel included in that of St. Luke.

'It may indeed be said, How do we know that it is not Matthew who borrows from Luke, and not Luke from Matthew? I admit that a mere verbal agreement would not of itself indicate which is the latest writer; but in the present case we can apply the geological argument of included fragments. Whenever we find fragments of one deposit included in another, we are certain that the deposit to which they belong is older than the one which contains them. Where I am now writing, I look on rocks of red sandstone: at a very short distance I find rocks of slate; I have never seen them in contact, so as to infer from the order of superposition which is the oldest, but I find fragments of slate included in the sandstone, and therefore infer with certainty that the slate is the oldest formation. So is it with the Gospels.' (P. lix. *seq.*)

This argument, it must be admitted, possesses the great merit of ingenuity. It is a practical illustration of the advancement of science, when the newly-forged weapons of geological lore can be brought to bear, with some appearance of success, upon a question of critical research in Biblical knowledge. And it is indeed a matter of encouragement to the man of science to reflect that those studies in natural history which have been viewed with suspicion—and ofttimes not without justice—should at length, after having threatened in unskilful hands, when guided by unfaithful hearts, the veracity of the books of the Old Testament, be produced to exemplify, in familiar terms, the relation which exists between the several portions of the New Testament, and so to render more evident their authenticity, their genuineness, and their truth.

We should be sorry to dispel this pleasing picture; and it is

with regret that we are obliged to cast some doubt upon the validity of the argument adduced. It appears to us that if Mr. Smith be not guilty of what is known in common language as *begging the question*, he is undoubtedly open to the charge of reasoning in a circle. Mr. Smith's statement is concisely this:—St. Luke drew up a life of Christ, composed, *inter alia*, from 'the Hebrew memoir of Peter and the Greek Gospel of Matthew.' To the elucidation of this problem the author produces the above geological example. Portions of slate appear in strata of sandstone: rocks of the former substance are close at hand: *ergo* the slate is the older formation. Here lies the fallacy: granted that fragments of one stone exist embedded in the deposit of another stone; granted, likewise, that rocks of a third stone abound elsewhere: query, what renders it a certainty that the fragments of the first stone are portions of the rocks of the third stone? The slate is the Hebrew Gospel of St. Peter; the sandstone the Greek Gospel of St. Luke. But the very existence of a Hebrew version of St. Mark (*i. e.* St. Peter's Gospel) is not only doubted, but is stoutly denied, by eminent critics, and is still left unproved by Mr. Smith himself; wherein, then, consists the soundness of the argument, which would conclude that certain fragmentary substances are portions of a material of whose reality there is some ground for positive disbelief? Mr. Smith assumes the existence of a Hebrew original of St. Mark's Gospel; and then, taking for granted that St. Peter composed his memoir in the vernacular tongue of Palestine, he attempts to prove that certain fragments, the position of which would otherwise cause him trouble to explain, deposited in the Gospel of St. Luke, are particles of the history of the Apostle. This is a style of reasoning to which we feel unable to give assent.

Moreover, we will meet Mr. Smith upon his own ground; we will join issue with him on the position upon which he has taken his stand; and we will attempt to show the danger which attends the incautious adoption of general theories from individual cases, however indisputable they may be. Let us imagine then a geological student examining a portion of land, which, by excavation, or by other modes of observation, he discovers to consist of three several strata, arranged in a certain order. The philosopher might thus argue with himself: there appear to be three distinct and different substances, deposited from various causes in the chronological order in which I perceive them to be placed. It is clear that the middle stratum could not by any possibility have been deposited before the lower material had been in a state of change and of displacement; and what is evident of the middle, is equally certain of the layer next above. He then proceeds to generalise, and he asserts that the order in which he viewed the strata is that in which they were deposited, and that in which they always are

deposited. At a future day our inquirer may be surprised to find that his theory was hastily decided upon. Being extended to other cases, of which he was, in the first instance, ignorant, it is discovered to be fallacious; and that, because he had failed to take a sufficiently broad view of the case; he had omitted to look with suspicion upon individual instances as identical with general laws; and had been unsuccessful in making himself master of that phenomenon which, caused by some not unfrequent convulsion of nature, has obtained, we believe, the title of the transposition of strata. It would, however, be unfair to Mr. Smith were we to suppress any portion of his argument. He continues—

'I find fragments of Matthew included in the Gospel of Luke, and infer that the Greek Gospel of Matthew existed before St. Luke wrote, and was used by him as an historical authority. In the Gospel of Luke, then, we find a certain, although not a large portion, which he has taken immediately from the Gospel of Matthew. There are also agreements between the Gospels which may be termed mediate, that is, where both Evangelists have drawn their accounts from the same source; such are all agreements which are translational, and not transcriptional. Such agreements prove that an original must have existed in another language, and consequently, where they occur, neither of the Gospels can be the original. Agreements of this kind can nearly all of them be referred to the Gospel according to Mark, which I hold to be the translation of an original apostolical memoir, and therefore such an authority as historians would naturally make use of; but as Luke came after Matthew, his translation of the passages which each of them gave entire would almost unavoidably be influenced by the previous one of Matthew, and the phenonema of dependent translation would be the result. In order, therefore, to form an accurate judgment of the nature of the connection of Matthew and Luke, we must leave out of sight all the sections which are common to the three Gospels, and confine ourselves to those only common to Luke and Mark. Now, in these we find no verbal agreement greater than what occurs in independent translations; the exceptional cases pointed out by former writers I have elsewhere shown did not exist in the earliest MSS. I conclude, therefore, that St. Luke, in drawing up his Gospel, made use, to a certain extent, of the Greek Gospel of Matthew, and the Hebrew or Aramaic original of Mark.'

The length to which this article has already extended, prevents us from noticing those remaining portions of the work which otherwise would be deserving of attention. Indeed, those topics which have been touched upon have necessarily occupied a space which is but ill-suited to their importance; and we must take our leave of the volume before us, being well assured that a careful perusal will more than repay any reader of Mr. Smith's 'Dissertation on the Origin and Connection of the Gospels.'

O. S.

WAS LUCIAN ACQUAINTED WITH THE SACRED WRITINGS OF THE CHRISTIANS?[a]

From the writings of Lucian it appears that he had obtained a pretty accurate knowledge of the Christians of his day, and in the Peregrinus he speaks explicitly of their books: τῶν βίβλων τὰς μὲν ἐζηγεῖτο καὶ διασάφει, πολλὰς δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ ξυνέγραφε. But, on the other hand, the statement that Peregrinus himself wrote such books, proves that Lucian had a false idea of their writings, that is, if he places those of Peregrinus on one and the same line with them; yet he assumes it is known that Christians had their own books. It is moreover possible that the λόγοι ἱεροί are discourses on portions of the Holy Scriptures; and if Lucian had in view the epistles of Ignatius, then we have proof that he drew his narratives not merely from tradition, but also from the literature of Christians. We think it has been proved that Lucian could not have wanted opportunities to become accurately acquainted with Christian writings. His journeys led him for the most part into cities where flourishing churches were located. Edessa, one of the earliest seats of Christianity, was hard by Samosata; besides, we find Lucian, for a longer or shorter period, in Antioch, Thessalonica (Philippi), Athens, Rome, Ephesus, Toulouse and Lyons, and in Alexandria.

We also assume as proved that he made a special business of observing his contemporaries, and resorted to great assemblies for the purpose of watching the human heart and its follies. While all forms of religious faith had for him a satirical interest, while he informed himself so carefully respecting the Egyptian, Syrian, Greek, and Roman worship of the gods, it certainly concerned him to learn something specific about the new Christian mysteries (καινὴ τελετή). We may indeed assume that the Christians kept secret their holy writings; but in times of persecution the *traditores* or betrayers would make this matter easy to such heathens as for any reason desired to become acquainted with them. It is also probable that in times of rest the Christians were not displeased to see the unconverted present at their worship, their prayers, and their discourses. If this took place in the earliest times—as we may conclude from 1 Cor. xiv. 23-25, and James ii. 2—why should we regard it improbable at a later period? It was moreover very

[a] From 'Lucian and Christianity,' by Adolf Planck, Dean of Heidenheim, in Würtemburg. Translated by the Rev. Alvah Hovey, M.A., Teacher of Hebrew in Newton Theological Seminary. Our extract is from the longer article in the 'Bibliotheca Sacra' for July last.

easy for so shrewd a man as Lucian, under an appearance of sympathy and interest, to steal into such meetings or to sift good-natured Christians by all sorts of questions. At least several quotations found in his works, and supposed to be from Christians, make this impression. These cannot be explained from tradition in Lucian's time, any more than with Philostratus or Celsus. To be sure, Philostratus, as the tendency of his work implied, appears to have had a far more accurate knowledge of Christianity and of the accounts of miracles in the New Testament; and if his citations do not verbally agree with the original, he had good reasons for this. Yet many quotations in Lucian remind one of similar quotations in Philostratus, and therefore we state beforehand our opinion respecting this question, *that Lucian's works certainly contain allusions to Christian accounts of miracles.* Yet it does not follow that he had an exact knowledge of the Holy Scriptures themselves: he had heard from the Christians single points, and, like many of his heathen contemporaries, he thought the current narratives of demons and the healing of sick persons especially worthy of notice. Further, as he esteemed the Christian belief of immortality so pitiable a notion, he has communicated something definite respecting their hopes in view of the other world, and it is possible that he was not ignorant of the Chiliastic expectations so wide spread at that time.

The series of quotations which we would now adduce, are, to be sure, of such a nature that one can always debate the point whether they may not be explained without reference to the contents of the Holy Scriptures. A surprising vacillation in respect to this question appears in the many treatises of ancient and modern time. We will simply state the facts, and leave the reader to form his own judgment; and we begin with those passages where the reference to Christian accounts appears most manifest.

In the Philopseudes of Lucian, two friends, Philocles and Tychiades, hold a conversation on the passion for the fabulous, invented and false, so prevalent among men. The conversation takes place at a sick-bed. Together with many evil things which are spoken of, their discourse in the 10th chapter turns upon the cures wrought by repeating sacred names. In chapter x. the Platonist Ion speaks of a cure which he witnessed when a boy. Midas, the servant of his father, bitten by a viper, was freed from his sufferings by the magical words of a Babylonian; and ὁ Μίδας αὐτὸς ἀράμενος τὸν σκίμποδα, ἐφ' οὗ ἐκεκόμιστο, ᾤχετο ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν ἀπιών. This bite of a serpent has been compared with Acts xxviii. 4, where Paul in like manner is bitten by an ἔχιδνα; but the bed carried by Midas himself calls to mind far more clearly the narrative of the paralytic, Matt. ix., Mark ii. Lucian also represents Midas as carried,

before this cure, by his fellow-servants (ἐωρῶμεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σκίμποδος ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοδούλων περισκομιζόμενον). In Mark the ὑπὸ τεσσάρων αἰρόμενος is healed by the cry, ἆρον τὸν κράββατόν σου. (Comp. also John v. 8.) The Attic σκίμπους is precisely the Hellenistic κράββατος; and since this feature of the case does not look exactly like an invention of Lucian, we think an allusion to the Christian narrative is here possible. Kühn refers very pertinently to a similar miracle, which Livy relates, ii. 36; but the carrying of the bed is just what fails in Livy. Further, in the Philopseudes a Hyperborean is mentioned who walked upon water and passed through fire with entire comfort (ἐφ' ὕδατος βαδίζοντα καὶ διὰ πυρὸς διεξιόντα). Here the resemblance to Matt. xiv. 30 (the περιπατεῖν of Peter, ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα) is very slight, and the attendant circumstances are entirely wanting. But what will the reader say to the following? In chap. xvi. the Platonist Ion says, 'I might well ask you what you say of those who heal demoniacs' (τοὺς δαιμονιῶντας ἀπαλλάττουσι τῶν δειμάτων). And continues: πάντες ἴσασι τὸν Σύρον, τὸν ἐκ τῆς Παλαιστίνης, τὸν ἐπὶ τούτων σοφιστήν ὅσους πεπαλαβὼν καταπίπτοντας πρὸς τὴν σελήνην καὶ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ διαστρέφοντας καὶ ἀφροῦ πιμπλαμένους τὸ στόμα ὅμως ἀνίστησι καὶ ἀποπέμπει ἀρτίους, ἐπὶ μισθῷ μεγάλῳ ἀπαλλάξας τῶν δεινῶν· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἐπίστῃ κειμένοις καὶ ἔρηται, ὅθεν εἰσεληλύθασιν εἰς τὸ σῶμα, ὁ μὲν νοσῶν αὐτὸς σιωπᾷ, ὁ δαίμων δὲ ἀποκρίνεται ἑλληνίζων ἢ βαρβαρίζων, ἢ ὅθεν ἂν αὐτὸς ᾖ, ὅπως τε καὶ ὅθεν ἐπῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ὁ δὲ ὅρκους ἐπάγων, εἰ δὲ μὴ πεισθείη, καὶ ἀπειλῶν ἐξελαύνει τὸν δαίμονα. This passage treats of a well-known Palestinian, of lunatics, of those foaming at the mouth, of demoniacs from whom the demon speaks, and of conjurations; yet Lucian, we freely concede, speaks of the Syrian as though he were still alive (ἀποπέμπει): hence Palmer thought of a scholar of the Apostles, and appeals to the miracles which, as the apologists with Origen and Eusebius testify, took place in the second century; and since Christ and his Apostles performed their cures gratuitously (Matt. x. 8, δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε, δωρεὰν δότε), Gesner supposes we are to think of an exorcist, not a Christian. Kühn refers to Matt. xii. 27, Luke ix. 49, Acts xix. 13, viii. 9, xiii. 6, where also persons who are not Christians cast out demons. The Philopseudes is throughout aimed against the *magicæ superstitiones*, mainly against the Babylonian and Chaldæan, whose diffusion and practices we learn from the writers of that age (*e. g.* Tac. Annal. 2, 32; 12, 59. I add Juvenal, 6, 610; 3, 77). Wieland asks (i. 169) why Lucian should not have freely mentioned Christ or Christian magic, if they were in his mind? But we are not authorised to urge such questions so long as we are unacquainted with the special circumstances or design of the author in composing his work. Perhaps Lucian was conscious in this, as in the Peregrinus, of being unable to

verify properly his assertions; perhaps for other reasons he spared the Christians, who were in his opinion wrongfully persecuted and oppressed. Altogether the name had nothing to do with the thing. Lucian wishes to give in his work a full collection of miraculous cures by magic, and to ridicule them; and yet it is clear he speaks of a Palestinian known to all, though not specially named πάντες ἴσασι. Now the particular traits are so strikingly similar to the miracles of Jesus that there can be scarcely a doubt respecting the person of the Palestinian. The present ἀποπέμπει is entirely adapted to the form of discourse. We also thus narrate similar past events in animated conversation; and Lucian may also have desired to indicate by this tense the still existing faith of Christians in these things. That he makes his Syrian ask a great sum in payment is plainly added according to the ordinary custom of such theurgists. This trait is besides of too little consequence to be urged when the principal facts agree. Lucian seems to me in the passage given above to have united several miraculous accounts of the New Testament. The conclusion reminds one of the Gergesenes, where the spirit from the demoniac actually βαρβαρίζων, says, λεγεών ὄνομά μοι (Matt. v. 9). The lunatics are called σεληνιαζόμενοι, Matt. iv. 24, and xvii. 15. The μετ' ἀφροῦ, ἀφρίζειν, occurs in Mark ix. 21, and Luke ix. 39. For the ἀπειλῶν, Matt. xvii. 18, and Luke ix. 42, have ἐπετίμησε. As the discourse goes on in the Philopseudes, mention is made of healing rings, σιδήρου ἐκ τῶν σταυρῶν πεποιημένου, and of an ἐπῳδὴ πολυώνυμος. Were these rings of iron taken from crosses, to be referred to Christians, here would be testimony of a very early use of such sacred charms; nor could it be a matter of surprise if the cross was thus employed by the lower classes of Christians. The ἐπῳδὴ πολυώνυμος might be some Christian hymn, or the Lord's Prayer. This at least is so called in the Philopatris, chap. 27.

Another writing of Lucian's, the 'Veræ Historiæ,' offers more materials for the solution of our question than the Philopseudes. In two books of this work Lucian describes an adventurous journey in the tone of a trustworthy narrator, but in a style unsurpassed for its ease and humour. While the piece is intended to amuse, it is at the same time a parody on the many false descriptions of journeys current in his day, as those of Hegesias, Clitarch, Onesicritus, Megasthenes, Eudoxus, Antonius, Diogenes, and specially of Ctesias and Jambulus, who fabled so many things respecting Ethiopia, Thule, and the great ocean. Lucian states this himself in the introduction to the first book, chapter second; and adds that he might have adduced the writers who were parodied, but the reader would be able to guess who were meant. He refers also to Homer, the greatest of all liars (fablers). Now a reference to

Christians might seem to be excluded by these remarks; but the luxurious and ever active fancy of Lucian certainly did not disdain to include Christian representations in the images of his magic lantern. Let one examine for himself! The travellers come, after many wanderings (2, 11), to the island of the blessed, which is ruled by Rhadamanthus of Crete. The capital of the island is described in such a way that even the old scholiasts saw only mockery at the Prophets and Apocalypse in the description; for the city was πᾶσα χρυσῆ, τὸ δὲ τεῖχος περίκειται σμαράγδινον· πύλαι δέ εἰσιν ἑπτὰ πᾶσαι μονόξυλοι κ. τ. λ., ναοὶ δὲ πάντων θεῶν βηρύλλου ᾠκοδομημένοι καὶ βωμοὶ μέγιστοι, μονόλιθοι, ἀμεθύστινοι κ. τ. λ. In Rev. xxi. 18, we read of the heavenly Jerusalem, καὶ ἡ πόλις χρυσίον καθαρόν; and further, οἱ θεμέλιοι τοῦ τείχους παντὶ λιθῳ τιμίῳ κεκοσμημένοι, ... ὁ δὲ τέταρτος σμάραγδος. Instead of Lucian's seven gates from one tree, we find in Rev. xxi. 21, twelve gates, ἐξ ἑνὸς μαργαρίτου. The beryl and amethyst occur in the Apocalypse as well as in Lucian, namely, in the foundations of the wall, ὁ ὄγδοος βήρυλλος, ὁ δωδέκατος ἀμέθυστος, along with many other precious stones, among which, it is true, these two familiar ones could hardly be omitted. The number twelve does not indeed appear in Lucian; and while it is said in the Apocalypse ναὸν οὐκ εἶδον ἐν αὐτῇ, Lucian asserts that many temples were met with on his island. Moreover, the four costly materials—gold, smaragdus, beryl, and hyacinth—occur also elsewhere in a description of Lucian's (Adv. Indoctum, 9). But the similarity in the above description is nevertheless surprising; and there are still other passages where an allusion to the Christian Scriptures seems possible. In chapter 12 we read further of the island: οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ νὺξ παρ' αὐτοῖς γίνεται, οὐδ' ἡμέρα πάνυ λαμπρά, but the light of dawn is spread over the land. This addition, it is plain, injures the resemblance to Rev. xxi. 23, ἡ πόλις οὐ χρείαν ἔχει τοῦ ἡλίου, and xxii. 3, νὺξ οὐκ ἔστι ἔτι. Further, as Rev. xxii. 1 speaks of a ποταμὸς ὕδατος ζωῆς, so with Lucian a ποταμὸς μύρου τοῦ καλλίστου flows around the city; while his description of the fertility of that land αἱ μὲν ἄμπελοι δωδεκαφόροι εἰσί, καὶ κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον καρποφοροῦσι, corresponds verbally in part to the ξύλον ζωῆς ποιοῦν καρποὺς δώδεκα, κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ἀποδιδοῦν τὸν καρπόν (Rev. xxii. 2). Kühn remarks (p. 14), on this and the foregoing passage, *ex hoc rerum verborumque nonnullorum consensu effici nequit, Lucianum voluisse exprimere et irridere scriptorem Christianum.* For *in eadem re describenda duos scriptores iisdem imaginibus et translationibus uti posse*, without one's being necessarily dependent on the other. It is very natural to employ gold and precious stones in descriptions of this kind; and the principal characteristics in the Apocalypse—the Lamb, the throne of God, the number twelve,

derived from the Apostles, not from the months—just these are wanting in Lucian. If one would assume a reference by way of parody to earlier descriptions, the Elysium of Homer (Od. 4, 563), or the account of the golden age in Hesiod (Ἔργα, 67 *seq.*), and in Pindar (Olymp. ii. 75-91), may be sufficient; yet if we compare these passages, scarcely any resemblance to Lucian will be found. Homer has merely the clear breathing zephyr with Lucian (end of chap. 12, εἷς ἄνεμος πνεῖ, ὁ ζέφυρος): in like manner Hesiod offers scarcely any points of comparison; and the famous passage of Pindar knows of an ἄδακρυς αἰὼν and of the νῆσοι μακάρων, of soft rustling wind and of golden blossoms; but neither of the three poets affords so strong points of comparison as the Apocalyse, yet we accede with pleasure to the correctness of Kühn's remark.

The 'Veræ Historiæ' also reminds one in many other passages of Biblical representations. The men upon the island (chap. 12) have garments made of the spider's web, αὐτοὶ δὲ σώματα μὲν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναφεῖς καὶ ἄσαρκοί εἰσι—καὶ ἀσώματοι ὄντες ὅμως οὐχ ἑστᾶσι καὶ κινοῦνται—εἰ γοῦν μὴ ἅψαιτό τις, οὐκ ἂν ἐλέγξειε μὴ εἶναι σῶμα τὸ ὁρώμενον. One might be satisfied in this passage with the allusion to Homer's νεκυία. Kühn properly refers to Od. 11, 210-223, where Ulysses in vain attempts to grasp the shade of his mother, but receives an answer from her, though she has neither σάρκας nor ὀστέα. One might also find in it an ironical allusion to the Pythagorean-Platonic doctrine of immortality; but since the Christian doctrine of immortality is treated as so sad an error in the Peregrinus, perhaps the σῶμα πνευματικὸν of 1 Cor. xv. 44 was in the writer's mind. The sentence εἰ γοῦν μὴ ἅψαιτο, as commonly translated, 'if one should not touch them, he would not believe they possess bodies,' might seem to contain a reference to the unbelieving Thomas (Luke xxiv. 39; John xx. 27); but it is rather to be rendered, 'no one would be persuaded that they have not bodies'—that is, they merely seem to have bodies, but are in truth incorporeal, and if one tries to lay hold of them they vanish from his grasp. This passage therefore falls away.

In showing the fruitfulness of the island, Lucian employs these representations (2, 13): ἀντὶ δὲ πυροῦ οἱ στάχυες ἄρτους ἑτοίμους ἐπ' ἄκρου φύουσιν, thus bread ready made grows instead of wheat. Some have sought in this an allusion to Ps. civ. 14, according to the LXX.: ἐξαγαγὼν ἄρτον ἐκ τῆς γῆς. Kühn more properly refers to Od. 9, 107, and Athenæus 2, 95. On the other hand, the πηγαὶ ὕδατος and ποταμοὶ γάλακτος and πηγαὶ μέλιτος, in the same chapter, remind us of the 'land flowing with milk and honey' (Exod. iii. 8), ἡ ῥέουσα γάλα καὶ μέλι. Moreover, Lucian has similar representations in the Saturnalia, chap. 7, where he speaks of the golden age: bread grows instead of corn, the wine flows in

streams, and there are πηγαὶ μέλιτος καὶ γάλακτος—ἀγαθοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ χρυσοῖ ἅπαντες. Citations from the Old Testament have also been found in the same second book of the 'Veræ Historiæ.' While passing over the sea, the wooden goose attached to the ship suddenly claps its wings and cackles, the mast begins to throw out branches and leaves, and presently in the top of it are seen figs and clusters of grapes (ὁ ἱστὸς ἐξεβλάστησε καὶ κλάδους ἀνέφυσε καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρῳ ἐκαρποφόρησε). So also was it with Aaron's rod, Numb. xvii. 8 (ἰδού, ἐβλάστησεν ἡ ῥάβδος Ἀαρὼν καὶ ἐξήνεγκε βλαστὸν καὶ ἐξήνθησεν ἄνθη). But Kühn has with much greater propriety referred to the Homeric hymn, 'ad Dionysum,' v. 37; for there also it is the mast which is covered all over with clusters of grapes. Something similar occurs in Ovid's Metamor. 3, 664; 4, 393. A like report concerning the club of Hercules is also familiar. The passage (chap. 43) where a huge gulf suddenly opened on the voyage, the masses of water having separated and formed a chasm (ἐπέστημεν χάσματι μεγάλῳ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος διεστῶτος γεγενημένῳ), resembles very slightly the history of the Israelites' passage through the Red Sea (Exod. xiv. 21, xv. 8), ἐσχίσθη τὸ ὕδωρ, διέστη τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐπάγη ὡσεὶ τεῖχος τὰ ὕδατα. Here also Kühn better refers to the Il. 24, 96, and Virg. Georg. 4, 359. Nor is an allusion to the New Testament any more justified in the last passage of this second book, where in chapter 4 the voyagers, on one occasion, meet men who walk on the sea, but whose feet are made of cork (ἐπὶ τοῦ πελάγους διαθέοντας, οὐ βαπτιζομένους, ἀλλ' ὑπερέχοντας τῶν κυμάτων καὶ ἀδεῶς ὁδοιποροῦντας). Krebs supposes the *maledicentissimus scurra* has ridiculed the walking of Peter and Jesus on the sea, Matt. xiv. 25 (περιπατεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν), but the cork feet mar the allusion; but quite as far-fetched is the reference, proposed by Fritzsche, to the water-walking horses of Erichthonius (Il. 20, 226). Augusti (Denkwürd. iv. 40) supposes indeed that Lucian perhaps wished to explain the walking of Jesus in a rationalistic way by means of the cork feet, and at the same time by this means to make it ridiculous.

The first book of the 'Veræ Historiæ' has single passages, into which some have introduced more than they contain. A conflict between Endymion and Phaethon is very fully described in chapters 12-21. Though all special analogy is wanting, yet Krebs, and after him Eichstädt, found here a reference to the conflict of Michael with the dragon (Rev. xii. 7), ἐγένετο πόλεμος ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. With penetration somewhat too subtle, Burmeister saw in it an invention *ad irridendas varias philosophorum de natura solis et lunæ opiniones*. So also, according to Krebs, Eichstädt, and Lehmann, were the cloud-centaurs, chap. 18 (θέαμα παραδοξότατον, ἐξ ἵππων πτερωτῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ξυγκείμενοι), an

ironical allusion to the form of the cherubim in Ezek i. 10, x. 8, and Rev. iv. 6; but these latter have always πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου καὶ πτέρυγας. Had Lucian known of these, he would have imitated them more closely: he thought rather of the centaurs only. With more reason have some insisted upon the narrative in chap. 30. The voyagers suddenly meet a great multitude of whales. One of the largest comes upon them with open jaws, and swallows the whole ship. Within his belly are entire cities, forests, &c.; and the voyagers remain there more than two years, 2, 4 (τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κητῶν ἐπῄει κεχηνὸς ἀναῤῥοφῆσαν ἡμᾶς αὐτῇ νηὶ κατέπιεν). Krebs recognises in this the whale of Jonah (Jon. i. 17): προσέταξε κύριος κήτει μεγάλῳ καταπιεῖν τὸν Ἰωνᾶν; and as the voyagers in this case also came forth uninjured from the monster, Lucian's reference to the Old Testament account cannot be so easily rejected. Kühn directs attention to the later embellishments of the story of Hercules. According to Lycophron and Hellanicus, this hero delivered Hesione from the jaws of a whale, and himself remained three days in his throat. Lucian has everywhere sneered at the lying stories of voyagers, which were current at his time, and which fabled so much respecting monsters in the ocean.

Manifold allusions to the Holy Scriptures have been found in the other writings of Lucian. In the 'Peregrinus,' Theagenes (chap. 6) says, respecting the fire-death of his friend, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐς θεοὺς τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο οἰχήσεται, ὀχούμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ὀρφανοὺς ἡμᾶς καταλιπῶν. One might discover in this an allusion to the fiery chariot of Elijah, to the ascension of Jesus, and to the passage John xiv. 18, οὐκ ἀφήσω ὑμᾶς ὀρφανούς; but Lucian never speaks of a fiery chariot, always of a death by fire. Kühn remarks on the word ὀρφανοί, that philosophers are frequently called fathers, and their pupils υἱοί. He may have simply referred to Plato's Phædo (116. A. chap. 65), where the friends of Socrates say, ἀτεχνῶς ἡγούμενοι, ὥσπερ πατρὸς στερηθέντες, διάξειν ὀρφανοὶ τὸν ἔπειτα βίον. The remaining passages are entirely doubtful. It was ridiculous to see an allusion to the history of Joseph in the passage, *Calumniatori non temere credendum*, 24, where one is spoken of who seeks to transfer his guilt to another; yet the Phædra of Euripides and the Bellerophon in the Il. 6, 164, offered examples, if such must be sought. The views of the philosophers are represented in the Icaro-Menippus; and it is there said, 'others again banish all other gods from the world in order to give the authority to one' (ἑνὶ μόνῳ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν ἀπένεμον). But while the discourse is merely of philosophers, we must not think of the Jewish or Christian monotheism. It would be more correct to think of Pythagoras, Plato, and especially Orpheus, whose verses, probably forged, Justin and the other apologists so often quote: εἷς θεὸς κ. τ. λ. In the Cata-

plus, 10, Megapenthes wishes to leave the lower world, and to give his loved friend as a pledge for his return. Lehmann found echoes of the New Testament in the words ἄνταν δρον ὑμῖν ἀντ' ἐμαυτοῦ παραδώσω τὸν ἀγαπητόν; yet these words are of no importance. Telemachus, Od. 2, 365, is ἀγαπητός; and so also Astyanax, Il. 6, 401. ἄνταν δρος may bring to mind Admetus, for whom Alceste died (Apollod. I. 9, 15). In the Dial. Mort. 3, 2, the ἥρως is defined as ἐξ ἀνθρώπου καὶ θεοῦ σύνθετον; and in 16, 1, Lucian affirms derisively that Hercules, though son of a god, must die: τεθνηκε Διὸς υἱός. In this there lies, it has been thought, a reference to the two natures of Christ, and to his death; but the passage is fully and only explained by the belief in heroes. The expressions ἐξυρημένοι τὴν κεφαλήν and τὰς καρδίας προεξηρημένοι occur in the Conviv. 18, and Alex. 15. By wresting these words they have been made an imitation of Stephen's language (Acts vii. 51), ἀπεριτμητοι τῇ καρδίᾳ! It is said in the Fugitivi, 17, of the philosophers who became so quickly famous, that this seemed to them like the golden age (ὁ ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς τὸ μέλι αὐτὸ ἐς τὰ στόματα ἐσρειν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ). Hence Wieland (3, 129) found here an allusion to the manna; but the addition ἐπὶ Κρόνου requires us to think only of heathen descriptions of the golden age, in which honey never fails (Virg. Ecl. 4, 30; Tibull. I. 3, 45; Ovid, Metam. I. 112). The passage also of the Dea Syria, 12, where occur Deucalion's flood and chest (λάρναξ), and the animals assembled by pairs (πάντα ἐς ζεύγεα) in the ark, need not be referred to Gen. vii. 9 (δύο, δύο); for the story of the Deluge was very wide spread (comp. Tuch on Gen.), and Lucian may perhaps have been acquainted with Berosus, who speaks of Noah's dove.

Besides the passages now adduced, still others may perhaps be found in Lucian. Kühn says that Burmeister has collected some which had been previously overlooked; but as I could not obtain his work, I will add a few which have met my notice. In the Veræ Historiæ the voyagers see five islands of the godless (νῆσοι τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ἀφ' ὧν δὴ ὁρᾶς τὸ πολὺ πῦρ καιόμενον); and from the place of torment (says Lucian, chap. 29), ὀδμὴ δεινὴ ἡμᾶς διεδέχετο, οἷον ἀσφάλτου καὶ θείου καὶ πίσσης ἅμα καιομένων. This reminds one of the expression in Rev. xxi. 8, λίμνη καιομένη πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ. Yet I am not acquainted with the particular views of the heathen respecting the fire in Hades. The water changed to blood by the stroke of a sword, according to the 46th chapter of the same book, might be compared with the plague of Moses (Exod. vii. 17 *seq.*). Yet the blood in Lucian could be explained from this, that he had before let a woman be changed into water. The description of the Demonax as an ἀόργητος, ὀλίγα μὲν λαλῶν, πολλὰ δ' ἀκούων, reminds us of the admonition of James (i. 19), ταχὺς εἰς τὸ ἀκοῦσαι,

βραδὺς εἰς τὸ λαλῆσαι, βραδὺς εἰς ὀργήν. Moreover, the oft-discussed passage (Pro Imagin. 28) is probably to be traced back to a Biblical source. Lucian had ascribed to a female friend of the emperor the beauty of all the goddesses. This was too much; and she found therein partly unmerited praise and partly neglect of the reverence due to the goddesses. Lucian therefore justifies his encomium, and first calls attention to Homer, who has transferred divine predicates to men, and then proceeds: οἱ θεοὶ οὐδὲ τὸν ἄριστον τῶν φιλοσόφων ἠμύναντο, εἰκόνα θεοῦ τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰπόντα εἶναι. Wieland (3, 339) shows in detail that Epicurus—in Lucian's opinion the best of philosophers—has no such thought; and moreover that Plato, in the Timæus (92), names the word only, and not man, εἰκὼν θεοῦ. Diogenes the cynic says, to be sure, that good men are the images of the Divinity; but the word of Lucian obviously looks like a quotation, and we must therefore think of Gen. i. 27, unless we are willing to assume that the thoughts or writings of the Christian apologists were known to him. See Tatian, Adv. Græcos. 7, ὁ λόγος εἰκόνα τῆς ἀθανασίας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐποίησε; or chap. 15, μόνος ἄνθρωπος εἰκὼν καὶ ὁμοίωσις θεοῦ. In like manner Theophilus says (Ad. Autol. 1, 14), ἄνθρωπος πλάσμα καὶ εἰκὼν θεοῦ. The passage in Jupiter Trag. 32, where Hercules wishes to shake the pillars of the hall in order to cast all the plunder on the head of Damis, the atheist (τὴν στοὰν διασείσας ἐμβαλῶ τῷ Δάμιδι), brings to mind the vengeance of Samson (Judges xvi. 25, *seq.*). A striking similarity of expression occurs in the Fugit. 5, where Zeus pities the human race sinking ever deeper in error, and sends to them philosophy, which alone can furnish aid (μόνη ἰάσασθαι δύναται). Finally, one is reminded of Christian doctrines in regard to the creation, and especially of Lactant. Instit. Divin. 7, 5, by a passage in the Prometheus (15), where it is given as the end of man's creation, that the beauty and glory of the universe might not be without a witness (μὴ γιγνομένου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀμάρτυρον συνέβεινε τὸ κάλλος εἶναι τῶν ὅλων). The Hermotimus (24) speaks of a πόλις πανευδαίμων, in which poor and rich, alien and native, small and great, have equal part—estimation depending not on property or external things, but wholly and alone in judgment and striving after goodness. Lucian says that an old man gave him, fifteen years before, an account of this city, but from the youthfulness of his understanding he was unable to follow him. Roth (im Schönthaler Program. 1844, de satiræ Romanæ indole, p. 14) believes this passage must refer to Christianity; but the whole connection points clearly to the philosophical schools. Lucian says (chap. 22), ἔστω ἡ ἀρετὴ οἷον πόλις; and in chap. 25 Hermotimus will seek such a city among his Stoics. Wetzlar (de vita, ætate, et scriptis Luciani, p. 36) rightly con-

jectures that the old man who spoke of this city was the Platonist Nigrinus. At least Nigrinus (chap. 4) answers fully to the description in the Hermotimus; and the city, as an emblem of organised moral life, reminds one of Plato's Republic.

Finally, we remark that Lucian, in his two principal writings against the superstition and fanatical credulity of his time, the Alexander and Nigrinus, quotes also the Sibylline oracles. While it is known that these were composed in part by Christians, and were employed by their apologists in argument (comp. Just. coh. ad Græcos, 16, 37, 38; Apol. 1, 20, 40; Theoph. ad Autol. 2, 3, 9, 36; and Orig. contra Cels. 7, 53); and while the composition of many Sibylline oracles, according to Thorlacius and Bleek, belongs to the period 100-170, it would not have been impossible for Lucian to make mention of them as a phenomenon of the time known to himself. He says (Alex. 11), εὕρητο χρησμὸς ὡς Σιβύλλης προμαντευσαμένης; and Peregr. 29, Σίβυλλαν ἔφη προειρηκέναι; and both times he proceeds to make the verses himself. He does not indeed think of any use of such Sibylline words by Christians; but they should not fail in his satirical picture of the times, which everywhere relates to superstition.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ON 'THE SPIRITS IN PRISON.'

Sir,—In the fourth number, first series, of the Journal of Sacred Literature, Dr. Brown's Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of Peter are noticed with unqualified praise—the doctrinal and the practical, the critical and the popular, being, we are told, admirably combined in them, with many other laudatory remarks of a similar nature. But the reviewer calls our attention particularly to the dissertation on the 18th verse of the 3rd chapter. The discussion, he says, which displays most originality and power is that regarding the 'spirits in prison.' Our immediate purpose in the strictures which we are about to make is to show that the explanation so highly applauded involves misinterpretations of the sacred text which render it altogether untenable, and partly to give expression to our own views upon the subject.

Let then the sentence θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνεύματι be taken. These words are thus rendered in the new translation: 'Having become dead with respect to his flesh, but quickened with respect to the spirit.' The former of these clauses is further explained in the commentary: 'He became dead in the flesh, he became bodily dead.' The expression 'bodily dead' is not very elegant, nor is it very easy to ascertain the exact shade of meaning which it was intended to convey, although the reason of its being employed will soon appear. Believing, however, the intended import of it to be that our Lord 'died as to his body'—that he died like other men—we are willing to accept of it as communicating the sense in which the Apostle used the original words. Dr. Brown continues: 'to be quickened in the spirit' is 'to be quickened spiritually.' It is impossible to approve of this explanation. The two clauses are exact counterparts or contrasts to each other. Together they describe what happened at the crucifixion to the Saviour's human body and to his reasonable spirit. The one died; the other lived. His body became dead; his spirit continued to exist. 'Bodily dead' and 'spiritually quickened' do not fully correspond. The former is used in a literal sense; the latter in a figurative acceptation. But that cannot be admitted. Both of them must be taken in the same manner. If the one is understood literally, so must the other. Both must be explained figuratively, or neither. Now the Redeemer died literally; consequently he was alive before that event; and, if Dr. Brown's interpretation be correct, he must literally have been spiritually quickened—implying that before he was thus quickened he was 'spiritually dead.' The conclusion is one which the reverend doctor would shun with horror; but, seeing that it is a natural one, he endeavours to avoid it by maintaining that, among its other meanings, 'the word

rendered "to be quickened" signifies the communication of a larger measure of life to the living.' No example to this effect has occurred in our reading. The term is not so used in any other passage of the New Testament; and it is rather too much to invent a new sense merely for the purpose of helping us out of a difficulty from which there is otherwise no escape. The plain and simple meaning of the Apostle, then, is, 'having become dead in the body, but living in the soul or spirit.' But the learned doctor may retort, where is ζωοποιηθεὶς to be found merely with the import of living? We reply, that if θανατωθεὶς can signify 'having become dead,' ζωοποιηθεὶς may denote 'living or continuing to live.' No more violence is done to the etymology of the word in the one case than in the other; and there must be a perfect contrast betwixt the two terms. We add that there are examples of this meaning to be met with, and in justification of it we would only further refer to Steiger on the passage.

Although, however, the writer in the late number of the Journal of Sacred Literature has completely demolished Dr. Brown's hypothesis regarding the 'spirits in prison,' we feel compelled to deny that he has been equally successful in establishing his own. The best way, perhaps, of arriving at the truth will be to take the language of the Apostle in its literal and grammatical meaning, and to inquire what it teaches irrespective of all the opinions that have been put forth on the subject. Enough appears to have been said already in regard to θανατωθεὶς μὲν σαρκὶ, ζωοποιηθεὶς δὲ πνέυματι. The next statement of the sacred writer is that Jesus, having thus 'become dead in the body, but living in his human spirit,' went and preached to the spirits in prison. Now, if we will be guided by the unvarnished words of Peter, we must believe that the preaching here referred to—be it what it might—took place betwixt the death and resurrection of the Saviour. It was while his body was in the grave that his spirit went and made the proclamation stated by the Apostle. There is no possibility of fairly putting any other construction on the declaration. Attempts have indeed been made to explain away 'πορευθεὶς, he went,' as a pleonasm. But the reply is easy. If the word was intended to have no meaning, why was it introduced by the Apostle at all? Undoubtedly it was his object to intimate that our Lord went somewhere or other to announce the glad tidings. Nor will ἐλθὼν εὐηγγελίσατο (Ephes. ii. 17)—the expression usually employed for this purpose—justify such a pleonastic use of the word. *There* the meaning of the Apostle plainly is, that Christ came to the earth to publish the glad tidings of salvation—to make known the covenant of peace, which he also established by his death. So far, then, all seems clear: our Lord went, betwixt his death and resurrection, in his disembodied state, and preached to the 'spirits in prison.'

But it still remains to be considered who were the 'spirits in prison,' and what was the nature of the proclamation made to them. In regard to the first question, we are inclined to understand the expression as intending the souls of men in their disembodied condition—in that intermediate state in which we have reason to believe them to exist from the period of death till the resurrection. That there is such a state

might almost be taken for granted. It is not our purpose to enter into any formal discussion of it. The conclusion seems warranted by the words of Jesus to the thief on the cross, 'To-day shalt thou be with me in paradise.' We know that our Lord did not ascend to heaven immediately on the crucifixion: that great event did not take place till a considerable time after his resurrection. 'Touch me not,' he said to Mary, 'for I am not yet ascended to my Father, but go to my brethren and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God.' Where then could his spirit be during the intervening period except in that state of conscious peace where the souls of believers rest until the resurrection? There are many other passages that are believed to teach the same truth. A reference to one of them may be all that is required further: it forms part of the instructive history of the rich man and Lazarus, where the souls of the righteous and of the wicked are described as being detained in two adjoining, indeed, but very separate regions. The representation, it is true, is parabolic. Still it must have its foundation in truth; and it plainly teaches that there is such an intermediate state of happiness or misery, where the souls of the righteous and of the wicked are preserved in safety betwixt death and the resurrection.

In the language of Peter, as rendered in our translation, that state is called a 'prison.' There is, however, reason to doubt whether the original word is necessarily confined to signify a place of punishment, such as is now commonly understood by the term; all that it appears to denote, in many of the places where it occurs, is merely a 'place of safe keeping.' If the above statement is denied, we shall only say that this seems to us the natural meaning of the word almost wherever it occurs. We would also refer to the following passages, where the cognate verb is also used in the same sense: John xvii. 12; 1 Peter ii. 5; Jude 24; 2 Thess. iii. 3; 2 Tim. i. 12; John xii. 25. Many others might be adduced; but there is no necessity for it; and if the verb undoubtedly has this meaning we have strong reason for believing that the same signification may be extended to the noun.

It may, however, be asked why the Saviour went and preached to the departed spirits. The question is one which we may be unable to answer, and yet there may have been wise reasons for it notwithstanding. But the original term does not necessarily imply that he preached to them in the sense which we give to the expression, although it might be taken in this sense too, as in the 6th verse of the following chapter, where it is said that 'the gospel was preached *even* to the dead;' not to the dead in trespasses and sins, as Dr. Brown affirms—for to whom else could the gospel be preached? not to those who are now dead, although they were alive when the gospel was preached to them—for, in the language of Dr. Brown, that is to give the words a meaning which they will not bear; but to the literally dead—to those whose bodies were in the grave, but whose souls were living in the habitation of departed spirits. All, however, that ἐκήρυξε denotes is that there was a proclamation, such as was made by a herald when sent to announce peace or war. Might not, then, the assertion of the Apostle be to this

effect—that the Lord Jesus Christ made a declaration to the righteous, that their faith and repentance were accepted through the merits of that atoning sacrifice which he had just offered up; and to the wicked, that through their impenitence their doom was irrevocably sealed? But were there any righteous—seeing that the announcement, be it what it might, seems to have been confined to those who 'sometime were disobedient when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah'? In reply, we ask, does not the expression ποτὲ, 'once upon a time,' imply that they had ceased to be disobedient? Is it to be believed that in the whole world before the flood there was not a single faithful servant of Jehovah except the eight persons who were saved in the ark? There is charity in the thought, nor is there any good reason to doubt, that there might be many who had not corrupted their ways. They had no confidence, it is true, in the coming deluge; and they suffered the penalty of their unbelief. Or it may have happened that many who had resisted the preaching of Noah changed their minds when they saw the approach of the threatened judgment, and were rescued, if not from temporal death, yet from everlasting destruction. Still these are points which, as the Scripture has not explained them, admit only of conjecture. It does not become us to be wise above what is written.

It would seem, from what is said in the Journal of Sacred Literature, that the view thus put forward resembles, in some degree, that of the late Bishop Horsley. It is matter of regret to the writer that he has not the dissertation of that learned divine at hand. But he has not consciously allowed himself to be swayed by any human authority. It has been his endeavour to follow the leading of the Apostle; and if he has been at all successful in ascertaining his meaning, the opinions both of Dr. Brown and of the contributor of the article in a late number of the Journal of Sacred Literature must fall to the ground. Indeed it seems impossible to uphold them on any fair principle of exegesis, and therefore impossible to uphold them at all. M.

PROFESSOR MÜLLER AND THE 'DOCTRINE OF SIN.'

Sir,—Although Dr. Müller's great work was noticed in the April number of the Journal, there are a few particulars I should wish to bring before your readers, not contained in that paper. I consider it one of the most important contributions which have been made of late years to the science of theology, either at home or abroad. In Germany it has enjoyed a very wide circulation; it has established the claims of its already well known author to be considered one of the most genial writers of the day; and an extensive study of it, even in its English dress, cannot fail both to deepen and quicken the stream of theological opinion in our own land.

Within the limits of a letter it is not possible for me to offer anything like a complete analysis of these volumes, or to enlarge upon those conclusions to which their author is led in the course of his profound, if sometimes perhaps too lengthened, investigations; and I conceive

that I shall best promote the profit of your readers if I make one or two remarks upon the position which Professor Müller occupies in the strangely varied theological circles of his country, upon the objects which he has in view in this particular work, and upon the results which might be expected to flow from its engaging the attention of our own theologians at home. Müller is a disciple of Neander. In the preface to the first edition of this work he speaks of him as 'his beloved and honoured teacher Neander;' and to the time when he sat at the feet of that truly Christian and nobleminded instructor he traces the formation of those views and impulses which led to most of the investigations whose results, in one form or another, he has since given to the world. Imbued thus, at an early period of life, with the principles of one who exercised a power over his students hardly ever equalled in the academical chair, Müller occupies a kind of midway position between that strict orthodoxy upon the one hand, whose most distinguished representative is to be found in Hengstenberg, and those multiplied forms of heterodoxy, upon the other, whose representatives are to be found in that 'legion' of German teachers who prefer the untried to the tried, and pursue the startling rather than the true. He belongs to the same class to which, disregarding some slight differences by which they may be separated from one another, we should assign Nitzsch, and Twesten, and Tholuck, and Dorner, and Lücke, and Ullman, and Harlesz; in short almost all in whose learning the inquiring spirit of the present generation may have confidence, and to the deep reality of whose Christian convictions humble piety can look in hope. Profoundly penetrated by the conviction that Christianity is from God, receiving the Scriptures as a revelation of his will, and looking to the gospel as the leavening principle of the world, it is the main effort of these celebrated teachers so to bring it into connection with the spirit of man that the 'answer in the breast' may be its chiefest evidence; that it may not only be a revelation *to* him, but may become a revelation *in* him, and that thus it may assume its highest and noblest form not merely of a doctrine but a life.

I will not say that in all respects I am prepared to adopt their conclusions. In particular it is impossible not to feel that the subjectivity of their system endangers the simplicity with which we are to receive the Bible as a perfect revelation of the will of God, unsettles our notions of inspiration, and lies at the bottom of much of the nonsense now uttered in our own country with regard to changing the form of our doctrines while we yet preserve their substance. In the main, however, the efforts of the class to which we refer seem more calculated than those of any other to meet the peculiar conditions and to heal the peculiar wounds of Germany. Around this band most of the interest, if not all the violence, of the struggle centres. We feel that they will fail in many respects, or rather we anticipate that, before they attain that final triumph which we earnestly trust is in store for them, they will be led beyond their present standing point, and that their theology will be of a still more positive and dogmatic character than it is at present. Christianity to be effective must be dogmatic, just because

it cannot separate itself from the past without ceasing to exist. This, however, has to be yet in some degree learned by the theologians of Germany; it can only be learned effectually in the school of experience; and of this we feel assured, that once thoroughly learned there by the parties to whom we refer, they will stand forth before the world the best equipped champions of the faith, the most single-minded as well as the most successful proclaimers of the gospel, that the church of Christ in any part of the world can produce.

Professor Julius Müller occupies amongst these men the very foremost rank. In profoundness of theological view he may probably be surpassed by one or two, but I doubt if he stands second to any in extent of theological and literary attainment, in acquaintance with the philosophical systems of his country, and in that power of subtle analysis which is of such inestimable importance in questions relating either to the mental constitution or the moral condition of man. Add to this a lively feeling of the power of Christian truth, and a vigorous and often eloquent style, and we have an author from whom good service may be calculated on in the cause of Christ.

The object of the work now before us is to present us with a comprehensive treatise on the doctrine of sin, as that doctrine is contained in Scripture and borne witness to in the consciousness of man. It is divided into five books: on the Reality of Sin; on the Principal Theories for the Explanation of Sin; on the Possibility of Sin (where the whole question of the freedom of man and its relation to the omnipotence and omniscience of God is treated in a very masterly and exhaustive manner); on the Diffusion of Sin; and on the Enhancement of Sin in the Development of the Individual. Each of these books again is divided into various subdivisions, chapters, and sections, so that, notwithstanding the great voluminousness of the work, and the immense variety of questions of which it treats, a degree of order and regularity is preserved which at first we should hardly have thought possible. Within the compass of these volumes, in short, every question connected with the presence of sin in the individual or the race, every dogma regarding it to which either Romanist or Protestant theology has given rise, and every attempt to explain it away which has emanated from the schools of German philosophy, will be found treated in a manner whose fairness is only equalled by its ability. Philosophical acuteness, critical skill, and historical and dogmatical learning, combine with the calm impartiality of the German theologians to raise our admiration and to win our confidence; and were the work nothing more than a highly favourable specimen of a style of writing of which we have few specimens in our native tongue, we should feel disposed cordially to recommend it.

But it is a great deal more. I would recommend it as a work peculiarly needed at the present time. We shall strive in vain to render our theology suitable to the wants of the age by the mere republication of the works of our old divines. Let me recommend the student to read these in the noble folio with its massy boards and ponderous weight, and not in the hot-pressed octavo or the elegant duodecimo, which suits

so well the sofa and the easy chair. Let him read them in a form which tells him that they are the works of the past, and which at every page suggests to him the thought of its giants and its well-fought fields. Let him imbibe the spirit of the past, but let him imbibe it in the scenes of the past, and not in those of a fictitious present. On the other hand, however, we shall still more vainly strive to meet the wants of our time by talking much and vaguely about reconstituting our theology. It is on the *old doctrines* that we must take our stand, which have proved themselves the power of God in time past, and will, I doubt not, prove themselves not less to be so in time to come. Let us view them indeed in relation to our own felt wants; let us see what modern science and modern learning have to say to them; but let us believe that these are to come, not as their masters, but as their servants, not to change, but to defend and to adorn them. Now I conceive that in this work Professor Müller avoids both the extremes to which I have referred. Thoroughly independent in the spirit of his inquiry, he yet loves and venerates the spirit of the past, acknowledges its truthfulness, and feels its power. At the same time he lives in the present, knows its opinions, tests its modes of thought, receives what it can give that is valuable, and judges soundly in regard to many of its pretensions. This is the spirit which I wish to see in our theology, and therefore it is especially that I cannot but welcome the writings of that large number of German theologians of whom Müller is not the least distinguished.

I have only at present to observe further, in regard to this work, that it is eminently practical, and that the study of it is in no small degree calculated to establish the gospel of Christ within us, not as a speculative system, but as the ground and principle of our better being.

I cannot close these remarks without impressing on Mr. Pulsford the importance of studying more carefully the idiom and structure of his native tongue. It is not a very pleasing thing to carp at the execution of what we are quite willing to allow must have been a very laborious and puzzling undertaking. To translate any work well is difficult; to translate one treating of the peculiar modes of thought, and using the peculiar expressions of the German schools of speculative theology is pre-eminently so. I am disposed therefore to make much allowance for Mr. Pulsford. But there is very much in his translation to amend. Mistakes indeed, such as rendering 'Collegien' by *colleges* instead of *lectures*, and translating 'der sinnlichen Natur' (p. 75 of the translation) as a genitive depending on *vernunft*, instead of a dative depending on *vorgeschrieben*, are wholly inexcusable. The latter especially shows that the translator has not understood the passage in the original at all. Some other errors of the same kind, if not perhaps quite so important, have met my eye in occasionally comparing the translation with the original; but I care not to dwell upon them. I must, however, remind Mr. Pulsford that no 'residence even of three years in Germany' will be accepted by the public as an excuse for that murdering of the English language which we meet with—at least too often. From his notice, three pages long, prefixed to the second volume, I could pick

out a score of expressions which, from whatever quarter they have come, have certainly not come from the 'pure well of English undefiled.' I recommend a very rigid adherence to the resolution there expressed of 'recasting the whole into freer and purer English.'

W. M.

REMARKS ON THE THERAPEUTÆ, AND ON MATT. XIX. 12.

Dear Sir,—I am sorry that my present reply to J. C. K. must be considered uncourteous by him, as it so happens that *I have not* misunderstood him. But to do so is to charge him, in his opinion, with wanting 'Christian charity,'—for his own words are:—'He must have misunderstood me. Upon no other supposition, consistently with Christian charity, can I account for the irrelevancy of his reply.'[a] Either I have misunderstood him, or J. C. K. must do that which is inconsistent with Christian charity; I have not misunderstood him, therefore, J. C. K. must do that which is inconsistent with Christian charity, and to charge any one with this is to be most uncourteous.

That I am right in coming to the conclusion that he is greatly mistaken in supposing that I have misunderstood him, will appear evident from the following brief remarks.

The *very same* idea, conveying the *same meaning*, must surely be understood in the three following sentences: 'They abstained from the society of women, in order to be (as they thought) better fitted for heaven' (Journal, October, p. 198); 'Those who, from a desire to further the interests of religion, live in celibacy' (Bloomfield, New Testament); 'That they might devote themselves to the proper business of religion' (Barnes, New Testament). Here we have just the same idea expressed in different words by different writers; it is, consequently, difficult to conceive how any one can suppose that he is not in the least captious in insisting upon a different meaning from the sentences, when it is quite evident that the writers wished to express the very same thought.

Your correspondent begins his letter by stating that it is still true that I so quote from Neander, 'as to beget an impression that Neander gave to the phrase the interpretation adopted by himself.' Now if I had for a moment imagined that Neander was of my opinion, does J. C. K. suppose that I would not have stated that such was the case? As I have not done so, his insinuating that I so quote him as to lead one to suppose the contrary, is what I consider most reprehensible; and believing it to be such, I did not notice it in my former reply. The passage was never quoted for such a purpose, as will be evident to any of your readers who will refer to the work containing it.

He calls in question, however, the probability of my opinion, because it is grounded on the simple fact 'that the Essenes, or a portion of them, perhaps the greater portion, were accustomed to live a life of

[a] *J. S. L.*, July, p. 434.

celibacy' (J. S. L., July, p. 435); so that commentators 'cannot conjecture to whom else he could have referred.' He therefore concludes that *his conjecture*, and not the one just mentioned, has got 'probability to recommend it.' Of course the opinion is grounded on '*the simple fact*,' &c.; and until J. C. K. can produce '*the simple fact*' that our Lord's forerunners lived in celibacy, he must expect his 'conjecture' to have anything but 'probability to recommend it.' For it is just the fact that the Essenes lived in celibacy, that gives probability to the opinion that they are alluded to. Until it is proved that our Lord's forerunners lived in celibacy, we cannot (unless J. C. K. is prepared to give a different meaning to the word eunuch than is now given to it) maintain that it is *in the least* probable that they are alluded to. In my former letter I have challenged J. C. K. to give this proof, and seeing he has not done so, he must expect that his hypothesis about the celibacy of the Baptist's followers cannot but be considered as the most improbable an investigator after truth could conceive. He takes also for granted two most important assertions, which ought to have been first proved, thus twice committing one of the forms of a most common fallacy (taking for granted the thing to be proved). The assertions are, (1.) That our Lord's forerunners 'had made themselves eunuchs' (J. S. L., July, p. 436); in other words, had refrained from marriage. (2.) That they were eunuchs *because* they could, in consequence of living as such, 'more wholly give themselves up to the preaching of repentance and of the kingdom of God.' When from profane or sacred history instances are given proving these assertions, then legitimate conclusions may be obtained from them; but until this is done, it is useless, nay utterly absurd, to notice further in such a valuable journal as the J. S. L., any lengthened remarks about the 'celibacy of John the Baptist and his followers!' I do think that, had J. C. K. given due attention to the remarks on this subject in my former letter, and not considered every portion of it 'irrelevant,' he would surely not have written the words last animadverted upon.

I will now give the only inferences which I can draw from his 'conjecture,' as enunciated by him, briefly remarking on a few of them. (1.) 'Honourably speaking of them as men who had made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom,' &c (p. 436.) If Christ did so, then he certainly considered celibacy as a more perfect state than marriage. There is nothing in the New Testament to lead us to imagine anything of the kind. But there are instances recorded (*e. g.*, the marriage feast in Canaan), which prove that our Lord was entirely of a different opinion, as nearly all his actions show that he *could not* have considered celibacy to be a more perfect state than marriage. (2.) That those who are unmarried can '*more wholly* give themselves up to the preaching of repentance,' than those who are married. Remarks on this inference are uncalled for, and would only be a repetition of what I stated in my former letter, where it is shown from Scripture and ecclesiastical history, that on the contrary, reasoning from recorded instances, the reverse is the case, the married being more zealous in their calling than the unmarried. (3.) That those Christians

who resemble John the Baptist in living 'a life of great self-denial and privation,' have, in consequence of remaining unmarried, a better regard to the interests of the kingdom of God than those who are married. The candid inquirer, in order to find if this statement is true or erroneous, must first consider the condition of an existing state of things. Few I am sure, in the least acquainted with the history and working of the two great parties in the Christian Church—those who maintain that the clergy can marry, and those who deny marriage to the clergy—can acquiesce in supporting such a statement; because none but the most bigoted would dare to affirm that the unmarried parish priest is more frequently met with at the bed of the dying than the married one. This, however, we must believe, if we maintain that an unmarried Christian has, in consequence of being so, a better regard to the interests of the kingdom!

Very likely J. C. K. will maintain that these are not legitimate inferences, and that he never meant his words to be so understood. If he did not, then he has not expressed himself so as to enable any one to obtain a different meaning from them; and, consequently, I am surely as a Protestant entitled to consider his interpretation as not only 'mischievous,' but as totally at variance with what we know of our Saviour's sojourn in this world, as we do not read of his having mixed more in the society of those who refrained from marriage than of those who did not, which he would have done if he considered the former worthy of honourable mention.

Admitting, what I never denied, that διά is frequently used in the New Testament in the sense of 'from regard to,' it does not follow that διά must be understood in the sense of 'in order to obtain,' if my interpretation be correct. To prove this I will, with your permission, repeat my words, with the addition of giving διά its full force. 'And the reason why he did not thus express himself, was because *the motive* (from *regard to* the kingdom of heaven, *i. e.*, in order to obtain it, or to have a right and a claim to enter heaven, because of their having made themselves eunuchs *solely for that purpose*), was selfish,' &c. (J. S. L., Oct., p. 178.)

With reference to one of my remarks, J. C. K., at p. 437, affirms that it is his belief 'P. S. commences his reply, as though I had unfairly quoted him,' &c. Does J. C. K. imagine that I do not *write* what I *think*, as he seems also to have done in the first paragraph of his letter? If I thought he had 'unfairly quoted' my words, would I allow him to be the first to mention such a thing? Had I imagined my words unfairly quoted, let me inform J. C. K. that I should have mentioned that such was my opinion long before writing this sentence. I was obliged to supply the omitted portion of the quotation from Neander, not from supposing that J. C. K. had 'unfairly quoted' it, but to show that our Lord's words did not require to be 'interpolated'[b] in order to prove that they could be *understood* as giving a

[b] *J. S. L.*, p. 479. 'Interpolate—to add a spurious word or passage to the original.'—Webster's *Dict.*

strong decision on the subject, and that they were actually so interpreted by one of the most learned of Biblical scholars. I am convinced that had J. C. K. investigated the subject under consideration without being influenced by previous opinions, he never would have written, after quoting the whole of our Lord's answer (as contained in the 11th and 12th verses), the dogmatic sentence; 'unless therefore *we interpolate* our Lord's words, he neither approves nor condemns the eunuchism of which he is speaking.' This, however, is more plainly stated in the beginning of my former letter. It is, I suppose, in consequence of maintaining the above-mentioned strange opinion that your correspondent thus concludes his epistle,—alluding to the interpretation I maintain, he says, 'I would not have attacked that interpretation, but that I believed it to be *most mischievous*.'

There is one passage in his letter which I must now quote entire, as I cannot otherwise make my animadversions understood; it is as follows:—'The hypothesis so zealously maintained by me is *not* that our Lord's words approve of ascetic celibacy, but only that our Lord does approve not of celibacy only, but of any and every act of self-denial for the gospel's sake, "if circumstances demand it"' (J. S. L., July, p. 437). I never asserted this to be his hypothesis, but, on the contrary, that it was as follows:—'Jesus Christ in his words approves of ascetic celibacy "for the kingdom of heaven's sake"' (J. S. L., April, p. 181). If the sentence went no further than the word 'celibacy,' then J. C. K. would have been misrepresented. His words are, 'The hypothesis suggested in the course of the above remarks, viz. that the term is applied to the parties referred to (whoever those parties were) in honourable recognition of the greatness of their self-denial, *more especially in reference to marriage* and to the comforts of domestic life in general,' &c. (J. S. L., Jan., p. 482). All his arguments in that letter are brought forward to prove that celibacy for the kingdom of heaven's sake cannot but be approved of by Jesus Christ. It appears therefore very strange that he should now maintain his hypothesis to be, 'that our Lord does approve not of celibacy only, but of any and every act of self-denial,' &c., when not one of his arguments in his former letter are brought to bear upon any act of self-denial but one, viz. celibacy.

I do not think that any writer has a right (as J. C. K. has done) to call a quotation from any commentator 'very ungracious words.' He must know that every one has his distinct characteristic; some are timorous and very guarded in their expressions, *e. g.* Henry, &c.; others again are bold and full of assurance; of this number is Macknight, whose words therefore must sometimes be 'very ungracious' to those who differ from him in opinion. Since the opinion of commentators must be quoted in controversy, let us by all means refrain from treating their words as if they too were our opponents.

Your correspondent has in both of his letters alluded to a celibacy 'demanded by circumstances.' Now I assert and maintain that there *never did happen* circumstances of a religious nature where celibacy was necessary, but in cases of persecution only; see 1 Cor. vii. 25, 26.

The circumstance mentioned by J. C. K. as demanding celibacy, viz. activity in the service of Christ, I have already shown, in my answer to his former letter, to be untenable. But it is likely that he considers my remarks under this head 'as irrelevant as any portion' of my letter, and, being such, of course they 'require no reply.' If controversy could be carried on in this quick and decisive manner, what paper, pens, and ink would have still remained in the storehouses of our manufactories!

It is now time that this controversy should end, as the point at issue is by no means so very important as J. C. K. believes; and he must remember that—

> 'Men's judgments are like their watches,
> None go aright, yet each believes his own;'

and powerful arguments, and not that logomachy which obliges an opponent to repeat his statements, can make one who differs from us in opinion incline to any of our favourite theories. I admit that in this and the former letter I have expressed my opinion strongly, as was to be expected, having been accused indirectly of 'interpolating' our Lord's words, by one whose arguments I consider most weak and unsatisfactory; but I have never made use of a single word that could hurt the feelings of any one. And let me inform J. C. K. that it is anything but agreeable to have an opinion stigmatised as an 'interpolation' of the words of that Book which we all venerate, by a writer who never received the least provocation.

In conclusion, let me remark that I defend (besides other reasons) my interpretation of Matt. xix. 12 from the different interpretation maintained by J. C. K. (viz. that our Lord's words are to be considered as favouring celibacy 'for the kingdom of heaven's sake'), because I consider it more becoming a Roman Catholic than a Protestant to defend (as it strongly favours) one of the favourite and most unscriptural dogmas of the Church of Rome.

I will now conclude this communication with a very brief remark on the Therapeutæ, which I trust will attract the notice of one, at least, of your readers.

Your correspondent who signs himself James Elmes (J. S. L., April, p. 170) has considered the origin, &c. of the Essenes more minutely than I have done, as he has not confined his excellent remarks, as I was obliged to do, to the Essenes alone, but has noticed the offshoots from this remarkable Jewish sect; and he has brought such knowledge to bear on this most interesting subject that it would, I am convinced, be highly desirable that his investigations, which seem most valuable, were published either in this Journal or through some other channel. Do try, at least, Mr. Editor, to persuade him to give us an account of the Caraites. Are they an ancient or a modern Jewish sect? Do they resemble the Essenes in any of their dogmas?

In the meantime let me mention an opinion which your valuable correspondent has not noticed, perhaps not being aware of its existence. The fact is this, that the Therapeutæ are considered by Eusebius to be Christians. After investigating, evidently with a view to establish a

favourite theory, Philo's account of the Therapeutæ and Therapeutrides, this historian comes to the following conclusion:—'But whosoever desires to have a more accurate knowledge of these things may learn them from the history already cited; but that Philo, when he wrote these statements, had in view the first heralds of the gospel and the original practices handed down from the Apostles must be obvious to all' (Eccles. Hist. b. ii. ch. xvii.; I quote from Dr. Crusè's translation, not having the original at hand). To imagine that the Christian religion was so well established in Egypt at such an early period (A.D. 70) is to believe what is at variance with great historical facts. The opinion maintained by some writers, that they are to be considered as a branch of the Essenes, who had migrated from their original abode on the banks of the Dead Sea, is, I think, by far the most correct, as the Therapeutæ are mentioned by Epiphanius by the name of 'Essæi' (*i. e.* Essenians). P. S.

August 4th, 1853.

*** As each of the writers concerned in this controversy has written twice on the disputed topics, and as it can now have no public interest, it is desirable it should close. This opportunity is taken of stating the impossibility of inserting, in future, mere personal matters, as an injury is thereby inflicted on our readers at large. We cannot refrain from saying that we think P. S. has drawn from the statements of J. C. K. inferences which they do not justly admit of. It would be strange indeed if our dislike of Popery should lead us to deny so obvious a doctrine, that there are cases in which Christianity would be better served in the single than in the married life.—Ed. J. S. L.

ON THE RIVERS OF DAMASCUS.

Dear Sir,—Having observed among the 'Contents' of your July number of the 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' as advertised in the papers, an article entitled 'The Rivers of Damascus,' I procured a copy of the work for the purpose of carefully perusing it. Having also, about five years ago, written a memoir on part of the same subject, I was extremely gratified to find, in reading the Rev. J. L. Porter's article, a confirmation of what I had previously written respecting *Abila*, and the identifying of the ancient river *Abana* with the modern *Barada*, or *Barda*, although I am sorry to find that the learned traveller, Dr. Lepsius, still considers the *Barada* to be 'the celebrated *Farfar* of the Eastern poets' (p. 401, 'Letters from Egypt, &c., edited by McKenzie). I take the liberty of calling your attention to my memoir, which was read before the Royal Geographical Society, 25th of June, 1849, and was published in 1850, in the Journal of that Society, vol. xx. pp. 38-48.

The second scriptural river, the *Pharpar*, or *Pharphar*—the Φαρφὰρ of the Septuagint—is clearly more to the south of Damascus, and is most probably the present *Nahr-el-Awaj*. A friend (Mr. Lemprière)

having given me a copy of two inscriptions (Nos. 1 and 2), and a sketch of the spot where they were found, I attempted to translate them; not at that time being aware that M. Letronne had previously published an account of them. These inscriptions are the same as the first and second at p. 253 of your Journal, and which are nearly identical with those originally transcribed at the same place by the Count de Vidua, and from which Letronne made his comments. As Mr. Lemprière unfortunately copied these inscriptions incorrectly, in particular Mr. Porter's 1st (which is my No. 2), I had considerable difficulty in determining the latter; and how I succeeded you will learn in reading the first seven pages of my Memoir.

Mr. Porter, at p. 250, is quite correct in regarding the Lysanias of Chalcis, and the Lysanias of St. Luke as two different persons; in fact, I believe the latter to have been a relation of the former.

In my note at p. 8, I conceived it to be not improbable that the figure of the Assyrian, or Babylonian, or Chaldæan king, sculptured on the rock at Nahr-el-Kelb, might be intended for Nebuchadnezzar. I however now find that some consider it to represent Sennacherib—the monarch who lived about a century earlier; whilst others suppose it to be Shalmaneser, his father; a tablet to whom has lately been found in the opposite island of Cyprus (see Josephus, Antiq. Jud., lib. 9, cap. 14, s. 2), and is now placed in the Museum at Berlin. Mr. Porter gives, at p. 260, an interesting description of another Assyrian sculpture, which he thinks is meant for a priest, that has recently been discovered beside the remarkable hill, or mound, Tell e' Salahieh, not far to the east of Damascus. I wish this gentleman would favour us with a further account of both these remains; and especially a drawing, or a cast, of the stone, if he could not transmit the 'slab of white limestone' itself to our British Museum. I wish you would kindly communicate with him on this subject, and endeavour to procure from him a more satisfactory notice of it.

I hope Mr. Porter will also send to England for publication his map of the Antilebanon and the two lakes near Damascus; all the maps give but one lake, *Bahret-el-Merj* (lake of the meadow), and they place it, I think, too much to the east of that city. Mr. Porter's description of the river *Pharpar*, and of the true site of *Helbon*, famed for its wine (see Ezekiel xxvii. 18) will be very important. It is, indeed, much to be desired that a translation of the work 'On Damascus and its Vicinity,' which the monk Bulâd has been so long in preparing, should be made, and published in this country. I presume the original is written in Arabic, although he is of the Greek Church, for Mr. Porter says 'he is totally unacquainted with European languages.'

Pray try what Mr. Porter's influence can obtain from him.

JOHN HOGG.

Norton House, Stockton-on-Tees, Aug. 4, 1853.

TISCHENDORF'S NEWLY-DISCOVERED MSS.

Dear Sir,—Your readers may be aware that Professor Tischendorf has made a second journey in the East, for the purpose of searching for Biblical mss., &c. The following brief account of the results may be interesting, as communicated by Professor Tischendorf himself, in a letter dated July 11, 1853:—

'I embrace this opportunity to give you some notice of the literary discoveries which have crowned my last expedition to Egypt, whence I returned two months ago.

'I have brought back with me *seven* Greek Biblical mss. Three of these contain parts of the Old Testament. One, which is a palimpsest, as old as the *fifth* century, contains parts of the Pentateuch; a second, of the eighth or ninth century, is a veritable supplement [as to text] of *the* Vatican ms.; the third, the writing of which perfectly resembles that of the Dialogues of Plato, at Oxford, contains the whole of the book of Judges and that of Ruth; its text is very curious and important.

'But the others, which relate to the New Testament, will be of greater interest for you. Twenty-eight leaves of a palimpsest, in uncial letters of the fifth century, take a place amongst our mss. of the highest class. Such readings as that of the ms. A, εἰς τὸν τόπον (John xx. 25), are confirmed by this palimpsest. Two other mss. are of the eighth and ninth centuries; one of these contains the two Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, the other *fragments* of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. John, and the whole of that of St. Luke. Both of these are more curious in a critical point of view than E G H K M S U V. One of them, in the passage St. Luke iii. 23-38, confirms almost all the readings of B L. The other has in John v. 1, ἡ ἑορτὴ τῶν ἀζύμων; it is enriched with scholia, which sometimes possess a critical value. My fourth New Testament ms. is dated 1054; it contains the Acts of the Apostles, wanting six or seven chapters. I was much surprised at the perfect agreement of this ms. with A B C, and the other ancient mss. But I must tell you that I have not yet found more than a few moments to devote to an exact examination of all these mss., as well as of others which are not Biblical.

'Amongst the Arabic fragments which I have brought with me there is one ms. of the eighth century (the date of another fixes the century of this one); it contains five epistles of St. Paul; this version is as yet unknown.

'I also possess a Syriac palimpsest of fifty leavès, as old, at least, as the fifth century. The fragments of the Gospels which M. Tuch has deciphered prove that this Syriac version adheres more scrupulously to the Greek than any other Syriac text that is known.'

These discoveries of Professor Tischendorf appear to be of great value.

Yours, very truly,

S. P. Tregelles.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The New Polyglott Bible with 50,000 *references.* Glasgow: W. R. M'Phun.

We notice this work, which we know only by its title, for the purpose of calling attention to the glaring misnomer perpetrated by it. We wish we *could* have to review a new *Polyglott Bible* published in England; but this has only the misapplied *name* to boast of, being not a Bible *of many languages*, as that name would indicate, but simply an English one, with marginal references. For the nineteenth century, which may justly boast of its efforts in biblical learning this is really too bad.

There is a little history connected with this matter, which we will briefly relate. Some years ago the Messrs. Bagster published a Polyglott Bible on a new plan—the only new Polyglott Bible which England has produced since the days of Walton and his illustrious colleagues—consisting of the Scriptures in the originals and in various versions, so arranged that while published together in one folio volume, they could also be had *separately*, with this advantageous peculiarity, that they corresponded page for page, and could thus be used in ways which the folio collection did not allow of. Among these versions there was the English Bible, with many marginal references, on a new plan, and this, when published separately, was called by them, and is still called, '*the English Version of the Polyglott.*' This edition of the English Scriptures became very popular, and being associated with the name *Polyglott*, others were set on foot on a similar plan, but *without* a similar reason have been called Polyglott Bibles. There is not only great ignorance in this, but also something that savours strongly of literary piracy. The Bible of Messrs. Bagster was really a part of a Polyglott, and therefore might with some propriety bear the name, but that of Mr. M'Phun can only appropriate it by a gross misapplication of terms, and by taking away what properly belongs to a neighbour.

We have observed, too, in advertisements of Bibles by another publishing house, another instance of petty larceny at the expense of Messrs. Bagster. They first, we believe, adopted as their motto the line of Homer, which reads, in Latin—

'Multæ terricolis linguæ, cœlestibus una;'

an inscription of great felicity, when applied to Bibles in various languages. Now we see this motto is pirated in connection with what are called Polyglott Bibles, by a London publisher, by no means, we think, to his credit. Surely there are terms enough applicable to Bibles

without having recourse to one which cannot be used without an exhibition of deplorable ignorance; and inscriptions enough might be found in the compass of literature without filching one long appropriated by another party. Perhaps the term *Polyglott* is used by the publishers we have mentioned, not in ignorance of its meaning, but from the knowledge of the fact that the public attach to the word the idea of Bagster's very superior Bibles. This then, to say the least, is trading with another man's capital. It is to be regretted that the public should be taken in by a word totally misapplied, but so it is. *Polyglott* first means many-tongued, then it is applied to a Bible in one language, and we know an instance in which it was raised into a proper name. A lady had a handsome Bible presented to her, and when the question was asked, 'Whose edition is it?' the reply was, '*I believe it is* Mr. Polyglott's.' The intrinsic merits of Mr. M'Phun's Bibles render unnecessary any adventitious means for bringing them into circulation.

Chronicles selected from the originals of Cartaphilus the Wandering Jew. Embracing a period of nearly nineteen centuries. Now first revealed to, and edited by David Hoffmann, Hon. J. U. D. of Göttegen, author of some legal and miscellaneous works. In two series, each of three volumes. Series the first. Volume I. London: Thomas Bosworth, 1853.

This volume of above seven hundred pages in large octavo, purporting to be the first of six of similar dimensions, has somewhat of novelty about it, even in these days of bookmaking. Then it has an air of antiquity in its typography, its binding, and its style of writing, and altogether, apart from its contents, challenges attention. The theme itself keeps up the interest, for what fiction can present greater promise of attractiveness than that of *the Wandering Jew?* Many have used the traditionary existence of this personage as the nucleus of their imaginings, as Croly, for instance, in his charming novel of Salathiel, some years ago; but it was reserved for the writer of this volume to throw around the legendary hero the events and opinions of nineteen centuries. It is seen at once that the subject admits of almost any development, and is capable of exercising great artistic skill. Apart from higher considerations Mr. Hoffman has succeeded in producing a volume of intense interest, and large as it is, and recondite as are portions of its contents, its readers will long to be speedily favoured with more.

We looked with some anxiety into the book, to see how far religious truth was maintained in the imaginary history of a man who takes a part in the commencement and progress of Christianity, beginning with the life of Christ, and ending with our own times. We are happy to be able to say that the tone and spirit of the work is salutary, and while, of course, we have not been able to read the whole, what we have read enables us to recommend it as a first-rate production, generally true to history, and pervaded by a fine religious spirit. The legend itself of

the Wandering Jew is traced and illustrated in the introduction, and the fiction becomes of high interest in the hands of the author. Here is a specimen :—

'Thirteen years after this we again hear of him in Brabant, in the year 1575; when he is represented as still meanly clad, but as being a man of surprising knowledge, and of pleasing manners—as speaking the German in absolute purity; and also as so fine a Spanish scholar, that no nobleman in the Duke of Alva's court could equal him! But here again we find the Jew under the name of Isaac Lakedion, as is seen in the famed Brabantine ballad. Its English garb is probably a crude translation; but seems to have been nearly as current in Britain as in Brabant. It has much of that legendary and ballad interest which marks the effusions of those days. This poetic chronicle of twenty-four verses is quite too extended to be here given at length, and yet perhaps too germane to our subject to be wholly omitted. The ballad is descriptive of his person—his miseries, his travels, and of the conversation held by him with the worthy burgesses of Brabant. Possibly the reader may be pleased at the insertion of a few of the verses. The burgesses say unto the Jew:—

'"We used to think your story
Was but an idle dream;
But when thus wan and hoary
And broken down you seem,
The sight cannot deceive—
And we the tale believe.

'"Are you that man of sorrow
Of whom our authors write—
Grief comes with every morrow,
And wretchedness at night?
Oh! let us know, are you
Isaac, the Wandering Jew?"

'Then he replied: "Believe me,
I suffer bitter woe;
Incessant travels grieve me—
No rest's for me below;
A respite I have never,
But onward march for ever!

'"'Twas by my rash behaviour
I wrought this fearful scathe;
As Christ our Lord and Saviour
Was passing to the grave,
His mild request I spurn'd,
His gentle pleading scorn'd.

'"A secret force expell'd me
That instant from my home;
And since the doom hath held me
Unceasingly to roam,—
But neither day nor night
Must check my onward flight!

'"I have no home to hide me,
No wealth can I display;
Yet unknown powers provide me
Five farthings every day!
This always is my store—
'Tis never less, nor more!"'—p. xxxiii.

There are two passages we intended to quote, the account of the execution of St. Paul at Rome, and the description of the misery suffered at the siege of Jerusalem. We must confine ourselves to a portion of the latter, which will give our readers some conception of the way in which our author uses historical events to carry out his design. It is a remarkable book in every respect, the production of a thoughtful, imaginative, and well-stored mind.

'Now am I the better prepared to relate to thee, my good Aquila, the melancholy tale I promised, and which is so close a fulfilment of the prophetic words in Deuteronomy just given, and which during so many ages have been constantly read in all our synagogues.

'In the fourth month after Titus appeared before Jerusalem's walls, the famine had become so grievous that even those of the highest rank and greatest wealth were perishing for food. (*Ab* 9th, July 15th.) Corn was then selling at sixteen *manehs* the bushel (about 120*l.* sterling); and in a few weeks after could not be had at any price. Their sword-belts, and the leathern coverings of their shields, their shoes, and various articles of apparel, were eagerly devoured. All the sinks, and every other receptacle of vile things, were searched with avidity, and raked up with care, under the hope of finding something to serve the purposes of digestion! The people were everywhere seen frenzied, and were often found reeling through the streets as if drunk with the sore disease of famine!

'During that calamitous state of things, certain robbers, in the recklessness of their wanderings, passed close by a splendid mansion, and were astonished and ravished with delight at the savoury smell of food, and of such as they supposed

was nowhere to be found in all Jerusalem. They rushed into the house, and with threats accosted a "*delicate lady*" who was then solitarily brooding over her misery. They demanded the instant surrender of the dish of savoury meat she must have feasted on. With a feeble voice, and an eye of maniacal indifference, she said her good friends had come in time, for that she had just eaten one half and placed the rest aside; and then uncovering the dish, behold the remains of her roasted infant!

'The robbers gazed on the food and then on the mother, with horror, wonder, and pity—they were wholly speechless! "*Eat!*" cried the distracted lady, "*for I have eaten!—and are ye more delicate than a woman—more tender-hearted than a mother?—or, if ye are too devoutly scrupulous to partake of such fare, leave the rest to me—and begone!*" The robbers withdrew in awe and silence.

'Poor Mary of Perea! I knew thee well in the day of thy might—in the day of thy luxury—of thy great beauty—and of thy delicateness. Oh, thrice wretched daughter of my valued friend, Eleazar of Bethezob! thy youth and loveliness and wealth, and even thy devoted love toward thy first-born, could not save thee from the loathing act thou hast done. Thy husband too, more fortunate than thou, went before thee and thy tender offspring, and escaped this terrific sight,' &c. &c.—P. 433.

One more extract will show how curiously a conjectural interpretation is given of an obscure passage of the New Testament:—

'Now this Paul, in his then trouble, had, by an epistle from his prison, lately reminded my Nero that if death must come, it should be by decapitation, and not by crucifixion—he being a Roman citizen, possessed of the *jus civitatis* by succession; and moreover, as being of Tarsus in Cilicia, free-born and well-born. He made that appeal for his privilege with strong right, and with confidence that it would be allowed; and hence also he had forthwith written to Troas for his mantle, his parchments, and his books, that he might appear in judicature, not in a less seemly attire, and with his proofs of citizenship, than of right he could, and thus to die the death of a Roman. Paul ever had great and just repute for learning, and for an ardent and most winning eloquence; both well suited for those who were to witness his mock trial and cruel exit; and yet, as all knew, of no avail with Nero or his judges—but possibly of great avail with the multitude, and if not now, in future ages; for Paul's death seemed to him but the *antepast* of heaven.'

It is then added in a note—

'This portion of the "Chronicles" affords an interesting explanation of a verse, 2 Tim. iv. 13, in which, after he knew his fate was soon to die, he still manifests solicitude in regard to matters seemingly of so little moment as obtaining his *cloak*, *parchments*, and *books*. After a solemn exhortation to Timothy as to his care and diligence in the faith, and after some touching allusions to his own approaching death and preparedness, his then loneliness, the perfidy of Demas, and that no one was with him save Luke, he says: "The cloak that I left at Troas with Carpus bring with thee, and the books, but especially the parchments." Now this anxiety respecting the three things asked for has been somewhat carped at by the sciolous, and especially the infidels, as being unsuited to the decorum of his then condition—or by the pious, probably wholly misapprehended as to the true motive.

'That St. Paul pleaded his privilege as a Roman citizen, and was successful in that plea, in that he was *beheaded*, whilst St. Peter (at another time, *when* and *where* we know not of a certainty) was *crucified*, can in nowise be questioned; and that Paul should be solicitous to appear on his trial not only in his national dress, but with his proofs of citizenship, and, if need were, with his books to establish his exemption from crucifixion, are matters extremely probable and natural—and hence he requests the cloak, parchments, and books to be sent. The mantle or cloak had by this time superseded the Roman *toga*, which perhaps had been little if at all worn since the reign of Augustus. It may be here remarked that none of the Biblical commentators have given this explanation of Paul's request to Timothy; but the desire of having the named articles is considered by them as being merely for his comfort during his remaining imprisonment, and that the *parchments* he so especially needed were only his commonplace books! We presume that this verse has nowhere received the illustration which the above passage of Cartaphilus sustains,

except in the two instances, first of the enlightened author of the *Pursuits of Literature*, who, though so emphatically a *layman*, has the merit of originating this view of the matter; which, secondly, has been entirely approved by the eloquent and learned Edward Miller, of Bognor, Sussex (see his Sermons, 1848, p. 107).'—P. 219.

Table-turning; the Devil's modern Master-piece, being the result of a course of Experiments. By the Rev. N. S. Godfrey, S.C.L. of St. Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and Incumbent of Wortley, Leeds; author of Table-moving tested, &c. London: Seeleys, 1853.

We should think the *Journal of Sacred Literature* demeaned itself by noticing the essentially low and ignorant delusion of 'Table-turning,' were it not that it begins to trench on sacred ground, and mix its ridiculous conjurations with Christian texts and doctrines. In this point of view, duty demands that we should warn our readers against its pernicious tendency, especially when we see a grave clergyman of the Church of England maintaining its supernatural character, and giving the whole subject a religious turn. Mr. Godfrey adopts as his motto the expression, *Hear me when I speak, and after that I have spoken mock on*, intimating that there is no other alternative than between believing his theory, and laughing him to scorn.

We *have* read his book, but do not feel inclined to *mock*. Nothing is easier than to apply satire to this production, and indeed it is scarcely possible to treat its contents in any other way.

It seems that Mr. Godfrey has for some time been a patron of table-moving and table-turning, and not only so, but that his curate and the 'lay-agent' of his parish have assisted him in various experiments on the subject. He introduces the professed devilry of this book by telling us, 'On the evening of Monday, the 4th July, a few persons assembled at the apartments of Mr. R——, the lay agent here, and after a short time succeeded in getting the table to turn, and also to lift up the leg in answer to questions. [We assure our readers, nothing but a sense of duty makes us allow ourselves to copy out such stuff, or inflict it upon them.] They immediately sent for me, and four of us, two ladies, *my curate*, and myself, went down to Mr. R——'s house.' Rather questionable employment, we venture to think, of an Incumbent in the parish of Leeds, his curate, and 'the lay agent!' Surely three persons identified with the Church of England might be more profitably engaged than in this formal and serious manner meddling with a popular delusion, which will, through all ages, reflect discredit on England in the nineteenth century. We do not blame a clergyman for taking a part in a little nonsense when it comes in his way, but we had rather he should not seek after it, and join his curate, and 'the lay agent,' in assisting to stimulate morbid imaginations, and, as we cannot but think, crafty deceptions. Nor is this waste of time and influence a single case, for Mr. Godfrey gives several instances of a similar misappropriation. Thus, 'On the afternoon of Saturday, July 9th, (strange preparation for the Sunday!) at the Parsonage, three persons placed their hands, &c.' 'On the evening of Monday

the 9th of July, a few persons were again assembled at Mr. R——'s ("the lay agent"). I was there *two hours*.' 'The following experiments were conducted at the National School Room, Wortley, on the evening of Monday, July 18.' A worse use of a National School room we do not often hear of. Surely the Bishop of the diocese will see to this, and the other strange things of this book. We say this calmly and deliberately, and without being daunted by the sarcastic misapplication of a text of Scripture,—*Hear me when I speak, and after that I have spoken, mock on.*

Well, after these influential parties were gathered together, in conjunction with '*a few persons*,' who are anonymous, between them they raised the dead from the grave—or, horrible to relate, they brought up a spirit from hell, to tell its history, not in a language spoken by mortals or immortals, but in a way never yet chronicled in history—even by the dumb eloquence of a table and its leg! Lest we should be thought to be exaggerating we must quote a passage from the book, although we need make an apology to our readers, for such a mixture of the almost blasphemous with the ludicrous which we place before them:—

'I now wished to ascertain something concerning the spirit itself, and the following is the result of the cross-examination; and none but those who witnessed it and saw the table can form any idea of *the varied expression thrown into the answers by the mode of rising*—sometimes nearly overturning itself, sometimes rising up a long way very slowly, sometimes quickly and decidedly, giving a sharp rap as it descended; sometimes *its answer was so faint as to be little more than the heaving of the table*, and always according to the nature of the question. I asked:—

'Are you an evil spirit?—Yes. [A meek spirit, or it would have resented such a reflection on its character.]

'Are you one cast out by Jesus?—No answer.

'Are you one of Legion?—No answer.

'Were you one of those who entered into the swine?—No answer.

'Are mad men possessed by devils?—Yes.

'Is epilepsy possession?—Yes.

'Can you break this table?—No.

'Can you move the table without our hands?—Yes.

'We took our hands off and commanded it to move. It did not. We replaced our hands, and I asked, Is it necessary to place our hands on the table?—No.

'Why don't you move the table when our hands are off? Are you restrained?—Yes.

'By whom? By the devil?—Yes.

'Are you one of those seducing spirits spoken of by St. Paul?—Yes.

'Are you in suffering?—Yes.

'Are you the spirit of a dead person?—Yes.

'Have you been in hell?—Yes.'

So it seems 'the great gulf' is passed which Dives in vain requested Lazarus to cross, and lost spirits in the nineteenth century can do what those in the first could not accomplish. They can come back to their father's home, and warn their brethren, lest they also should go to the place of torment! But we anticipate, and will rather take the above choice morsel of divinity and philosophy bit by bit, analysing and commenting as we go on.

First, we are anxious that the table should be carefully preserved, to be kept in the national Museum, along with the last veritable witch-

bestridden broomstick. A small subscription from table-turners would accomplish that desirable object, provided 'the lay agent' would sell it.

Secondly, the new ideas of what constitutes eloquence and oratory are worthy of being hailed as modern discoveries and improvements. If a table can be pathetic and emphatic, why not the dullest preacher that ever mounted a pulpit? We certainly did not expect to see the day when a wooden table at Leeds should teach to the clergy the art of moving an audience. But Mr. Godfrey it seems is less fortunate than a certain German professor, whose table became so plastic and expressive that 'the ladies complained that it was painful to see the torture inflicted on that poor cherry-tree table; on asking if it were in pain it answered in the affirmative.' Mr. Godfrey says 'the table was more sagacious than a dog, more obedient than a child;' and 'we feel that there was almost human pathos in the movements of the table.' p. 43.

Thirdly, there is a mysterious and yet undiscovered law which regulated the negations and affirmations of this lone wanderer from a lost world to the place of its former probation. It readily confesses that it is one of those seducing spirits mentioned by St. Paul, and yet is silent when asked whether it was one of legion, or had entered into the swine. How can this be accounted for? We suggest as a *probable* solution of the enigma, that being a *fallen* spirit its infirmities had not been washed away (though *some* of them had, according to Mr. Godfrey), and its *pride* was touched by these questions. To be a seducing spirit has a Miltonic air about it, and Beelzebub himself would probably at once say Yes, when asked if he possessed that character; but to be the tormentor of a poor lunatic, or an inhabitant of a hog, is *infra dig.*

Fourthly, the table never moved except when a motive power, the hands of the operators, was on it. We venture to affirm that it never will, and as long as human beings are necessary to set it going, so long we shall adopt the very natural conclusion that they move it, however they may deny it, or even believe in their excitement that they exert no influence. But in the above extract it is curious to notice how ingeniously this refusal of the table is attributed not to its own *vis inertiæ*, but to the devil, who will only allow it to be oratorical when touched by human hands—thus depriving himself and his coadjutors (for such, wince as they may, are the operators, on the confession of Mr. Godfrey) of the only valid proof that table-turning is supernatural.

Fifthly, the difficulty in the way of Scripture interpretation in relation to dæmoniacal possession is set at rest for ever—*if the table is to be believed;* and, in that case, the future treatment of epilepsy and madness will be by exorcism, not by medicine and moral influence.

Sixthly, that mere matter remains stationary is not owing to the will of God as expressed in a natural law, but to the volition of Satan, for he prevented the table moving in a particular instance, and again took off the veto when it pleased him. That our houses do not fall on our heads is thus, by a natural inference, owing not to the providence of God, but to the forbearance of the devil, for to make a table move without the application of external force, is certainly as difficult a task

as to move a mountain. (*Corollary*, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are now no mystery, as 'literal fire and brimstone are the punishment of hell,' p. 54.)

But we must hasten to conclude these observations, which we have extended far enough to enable any judicious reader to see how fatally opposed are these gross delusions to anything like Biblical science, or enlightened exegesis. That these things should occur among those destitute of education is bad enough, but we were not prepared to find such superstition in a clerical circle at Leeds. But the acme of morbid hallucination is not attained till the close of the book, when the evoked spirit bears testimony to the exorcising power of a clergyman:—

'Can you resist the power that compels you?—No.
'Can you tell us why you are compelled?—Yes.
'*Is it because I am a minister of the Gospel?—Yes!*'

This forms a fit accompaniment to the grave opinion thus delivered:—'My impression is that the placing the hands on the table is a sort of incantation. By it the sitters signify their wish to be brought into communication with the spirit-world. They sit until they are observed by some one of the wandering spirits, who thereupon enters the table, making it crack[a] at the moment of its entering in. The reason why it will not obey any commands, *unless hands are placed on*, has suggested an idea, which, if it be true, is a very solemn one. It occurred to me, while writing, that the table "*moved simply by the laying on of hands.*" L.H. (before referred to) says, 'This moral nothing' (the table) '*on the imposition of your hands begins to live!*' Can it be that this is the beginning of Satan's last struggle, that *on the imposition of hands* the table is endued with power from the devil, as the Lord's servants, *on the imposition of hands*, were, in the Apostles' days, endued with power *from on high?* I merely ask, Can it be?' And we merely ask, Can it be that there is no power in the Church of England to lay hands on and restrain the utterance of such revolting perversion of all theology as this? Are things more easy to be explained than many sleights of hand by wandering showmen, to be allowed to overturn all our delightful faith in the persistance of natural laws, and leave us a mere physical prey to Satan and his angels? We also merely ask how, on his own hypothesis of incantation, Mr. Godfrey dared to publish this book?

We must do what we can, although that may be little, to prevent our own countrymen from becoming as irreverent of Divine Revelation as this delusion has made many in America. In a work published in that country, spirit-rapping is asserted to be a phenomenon of the same character as the hand-writing on the wall seen by Belshazzar, and the

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[a] Extremes meet. From a hymn-book used by a congregation of fanatics in Northamptonshire we ourselves heard the following verse given out and sung, from which it appears Satan has now changed his tactics;—*then* he cracked as a sign of defeat, *now* as a token of power:—

'When Gospel grace comes in a place,
Hell's gates wide open fly;
And devils black give *such a crack*
Like thunder in the sky!'

voice of the angel speaking to Hagar, Balaam, and Elijah. The author concludes his almost blasphemous comparisons by saying—'Saul being on his journey to Damascus, to prosecute the believers in spiritualism, was suddenly arrested by spiritual agency, and he heard a voice saying unto him, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?"' May God preserve our own countrymen from being thus *given over to strong delusion to believe a lie!* [b]

Lectures on the History of Joseph. By the Rev. T. Gibson, Senior Curate and Afternoon Lecturer of St. Matthew's Church, Bethnal Green. London: Heylin.

Although these lectures have been printed some time, they have only recently been published. Their perusal has given us a gratifying idea of the solid and useful pulpit ministrations of their author, in the densely populated district of London which is the scene of his labours. There is a warmth and life in the style of address which are always

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[b] We refer our readers with pleasure to an able article on this subject in the first number of the 'London Quarterly Review,' from which we will quote a few passages, as precisely expressing our own views of the whole subject.

'There have been many popular delusions, but none more monstrous, nor more widely spread than the delusion which is now agitating the minds of men in America, Germany, France, and England, of pretended "spiritual manifestations." There are many points of peculiarity about this mania, one of the most remarkable being the nature of the minds which give it implicit credence; for the believers are not merely idle, gaping, curious, wondering fashionables, susceptible women, and enthusiastic visionaries, but also grave men, authors, judges, *clergymen*, men of science, and—most surprising of all!—professed "infidels." Men who believe in nothing else believe in this. And side by side with these men stand the religious, who hail this new "manifestation" as the advent of a new "spiritual era;" who regard it in the light of corroborative proof of Holy Writ, and do not see the monstrous incompatibility between the teachings of Scripture and the suppositions involved in spirit-rapping. The rapidity with which this delusion has spread is as remarkable as anything else about it. No sooner does it make its appearance in any circle than it is received with shouts of laughter. The laughers, however, are persuaded to give it a trial; it succeeds (as indeed, being a trick, and a very simple trick, it is on the cards that it should succeed); and then the laughing sceptic is turned into a devout convert—his incredulity is replaced by a credulity as rash; and if you attempt to explain to him the trick upon which it depends, he regards you with something of the angry bitterness which he would feel towards you if you were disturbing his most deeply rooted and cherished convictions!'—P. 110.

'Although we cannot help regarding this as an ignoble imposture, and must needs view its spread amongst our intelligent circles with a feeling of sadness at the implied irreverence and the explicit credulity which accompany it, we see in it, as in all other delusions, abundant matter for philosophic instruction. It will teach the inquirer something. If it do not admit him within the arcana of the spirit-world, it will carry him into the mazes of human folly.'—P. 111.

The following passage we recommend to Mr. Godfrey, who would designate those who think him the victim of a superstitious credulity as 'mockers.'

'We are weary of this Galileo-cry. Because Galileo proclaimed a truth, and met with the fate of all great teachers, every noodle who conceives a new extravagance, every inventor who constructs even a new coffee-pot, instantly ranks himself beside Galileo, if his extravagance or his coffee-pot be not instantly adopted by a "persecuting world." It is one thing to stifle inquiry and persecute the inquirer; another thing to confront new schemes with the light of reason, or—if need be—ridicule.'—P. 112.

wanted to make the substance of a discourse acceptable to an audience, and, at the same time, *there is substance* worthy of being presented in an energetic manner. The following extracts will show how useful information, pleasing description, and faithful teaching are combined in these lectures.

'Joseph having given way to a burst of sorrow over the lifeless clay of his honoured father, sets about the speedy execution of his solemn trust, in the discharge of the oath which he had taken: accordingly, he gives commandment to have the body embalmed, after the manner of the Egyptians, which was as follows: Having washed the body (after the extraction of the viscera), they anointed it with oil of cedar and other things for about thirty days, and afterwards with myrrh, cinnamon, and other such matters; which have not only power to preserve it a long time, but also give it a sweet smell; after which it remained whole and entire, and no part of it changed; but the beauty and shape of the face seemed just as they were before, and the person might be known, even the eyebrows and eyelids remaining as they were at first. By this means many of the Egyptians, keeping the dead bodies of their ancestors in magnificent houses, so perfectly saw the true visage and countenance of those who had died many ages before they themselves were born, that, on viewing the proportions of them, and the lineaments of their faces, they took as much delight as if they had been living among them. It was a custom likewise among them to pawn the dead bodies of their parents to their creditors; but then those who did not redeem them fell under the greatest disgrace imaginable, and, when they died, were refused burial themselves (Diodorus Siculus, *Biblioth.* lib. 1, cap. 91-93, Edit. Bipont.).'—P. 263.

'See the venerable old man waiting at the door of his tent for the return of his beloved boy. He says to himself, "Several hours have elapsed since he departed: he might have returned long ere now: the shadows of the evening are falling fast: he will be bewildered in his path: *why* is he so long in coming? Surely he is safe!" Now he walks a little way from the door of his tent to meet him, and his eyes—far more active than his feet—cast many a wistful anxious look towards Shechem. At length a company is seen in the distance; his eager gaze impatiently examines them. "Yes," he exclaims with exultation, "they *are* my sons!" and his heart leaps for joy. As they approach, all his fears and anxieties return with tenfold weight upon him. In vain he runs over the whole company with his eye in search of the object of his affection: Joseph is not with them, and they draw near to confirm, too sadly confirm, his worst apprehensions. The blood-stained robe met the distracted sight of the wretched parent. Most probably hypocrisy shrouded the countenances of these unnatural sons with the borrowed mantle of seeming sorrow. Their tale of falsehood is told: the witness of their story appears in their hand, and the silence of grief gives way at length to the frenzy of despair. "It *is* my son's coat!" he exclaims; "an evil beast hath devoured him. Joseph is without doubt rent in pieces." And he refused to be comforted, and said, "I will go down to the grave to my son mourning!"'—P. 24.

'Have you in any way injured another? It is not enough to say, and to say with grief, "I do remember my faults;" you are in duty bound to repair the injury as much and as speedily as possible. Have you defrauded another of his property? You are bound to restore it, and with interest too. Have you injured another in his character by falsehood, by defamation, by slander? He is your neighbour, your brother man, and you are bound to explain, and to vindicate his character in the most explicit terms. Have you corrupted the heart of your brother by loose talk and infidel principles? You are bound to use every effort to counteract the influence of such deadly evil, and to furnish him with the knowledge of Scriptural truth. Have you injured the health of your friend—his peace of mind—his family comfort? You are bound by every tie of humanity and justice, by every bond of reason and religion, to repair the mischief you have done, and to benefit your friend by every possible means. Repentance is nothing without reformation; and reformation, in many instances, is a mere name without restitution.'—P. 97.

We must mention, as what we consider a defect, the way in which the composition is profusely dashed with italics, *emphasis gratiâ*.

The Interpretation of the Apocalypse, and the chief prophetical Scriptures connected with it. By William Henry Scott, M.A., late Fellow of Brazenose College, Oxford. London: Longman, 1853.

Another, and no mean contribution to Apocalyptic litérature. Mr. Scott writes clearly, seriously, and scripturally, as far, at least, as the latter term expresses a constant reference for proofs and illustrations to the Word of God. We feel bound to introduce such laborious and pious productions to our readers, although we confess it is with regret that so much energy should be expended in endeavouring to do what thousands have attempted, and failed. But this is not the place to enter on so large a subject as the propriety and desirableness of endeavouring to add a new theory to the many which have preceded, on the interpretation of the Book of Revelation, and we will allow Mr. Scott himself to introduce the scope of his work to our readers:—

'It may be well at the outset to put the reader in possession of the main points which the author has undertaken to establish in the following pages. They are these:—That the principal subject of the Apocalypse is the Roman empire, and Rome the capital of that empire; that a minute prophecy of events, times, and persons, connected either with the one or with the other of these, is there given; that, in particular, the abolition of the empire is represented, and that the date of this occurrence is assumed to be the year 476, when the emperors of Rome ceased. Further, that the millennial period following the fall of Rome corresponds to those ten centuries of the reign of the Church known as the Middle Ages; that an interval of forty years is represented as separating the fall of the Roman from the beginning of the Church empire; that the latter, therefore, definitively began in the year 516, and ended with the year 1516; that its overthrow was in fact the immediate result of the Reformation of 1517; that the imperial power of the Church was taken away at the Reformation in punishment for the sins of the Church during the thousand years; that our position from the year 1517 to the present day is analogous to the captivity of Israel in Babylon during the seventy years; finally, that this captivity is not to be perpetual, but that a complete restoration of the Church to her former supremacy is now to be expected; and that this is to be brought about in the midst, and by the agency, of judgments upon the temporal kingdoms of the modern world, analogous to those which overwhelmed the empire of Rome in the fifth century, and so opened the way for the Church empire of the Middle Ages.'

Such is the theory, illustrated in an octavo volume of near five hundred pages. Can we wonder that infidelity should abound, when it is seen that men of learning can, in their own opinions, make the Bible mean almost anything? We are sure the readers of the *Journal of Sacred Literature* will need no comment of ours on a hypothesis which, if true, condemns as false all their most dearly cherished opinions as Protestant Christians.

Narrative of a Journey round the Dead Sea, and in the Bible Lands, in 1850, 1851. By F. De Saulcy, Member of the French Institute. Edited, with Notes, by the Count Edward de Warren. In Two Volumes. London: Bentley. 1853.

In the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries, the works on Palestine in the French language were by far the best in existence, being for the most part written by men well acquainted with the country, and who had often long resided in it. Some of these

works may still be consulted with advantage. More lately the French press has produced little or nothing of solid worth on that country—though we have had more than enough of sentimental travel and of glowing but not over-accurate description, from French travellers. The field has been left to English, American, and German travellers and scholars, and they have cultivated it worthily and well—establishing, as the collective result, a new school of critical travel and laboriously accurate investigation, proper to an historical country, and most exquisitely proper to *such* an historical country as Palestine. Yet it is scarcely 'a new school.' It is rather a revival, under greatly improved conditions, of that old school to which we have just referred, and which was essentially French; for the writers belonging to it were mostly Frenchmen, whether the works they produced were in their own or in the Latin language.

Now we regard the work before us as the first serious attempt made by the French to regain a place in the school of travel of which they were essentially the founders, but from which they have long, by their own default, been shut out. And the attempt is certainly a successful one. The work is far from faultless, and where faulty it is most intensely French; but it is beyond question that it may claim a place among the two or three best works on Palestine our own time has produced; and it is assuredly the best of its kind which any French traveller has put forth since that earlier period to which we have referred. We shall be truly glad if the example of M. de Saulcy draws his countrymen back into this line of travel, in which their place has so long been, in every sense, empty.

In one sense a strange deficiency is felt. We learn from the Preface that the objects of the expedition were primarily scientific; and accordingly M. de Saulcy is continually running after insects and flowers. But we see little of the result in these volumes—which apart from the popular interest of the mere journey, the incidents of which are described with sufficient liveliness, is rather learned than scientific. That is, relatively speaking; for certainly an industrious student who goes through these pages, gathering up the details of natural history in his way, may get together a considerable body of facts in this department. But he will need to be *very* industrious, for he will not get the slightest help of contents, index, or head-lines. There never was a book that more required these helps, or in the use of which their absence is more irritating. There should at least have been an index of proper names, and no one will be able to *use* the work profitably, who does not make one for himself—and that is a trouble which publishers should not impose upon readers. Some of the natural history facts are suspicious—such as that of scorpions in the region beyond the Dead Sea, as large as *craw-fish!* We can only say, that we never saw any larger in the body than a middling-sized frog, and that we doubt whether larger dimensions would not seriously interfere with the comforts and habits of life of any scorpion existing. We have some recollection of having heard that the scientific results of the expedition are to be published separately. If so, the contents will probably supply a very real desideratum, and furnish a most acceptable addition to our know-

ledge of the country. As it is, we can see that M. de Saulcy generally knows, and can name the objects that come under his notice—whether in the animal, the vegetable, or the mineral kingdom—and this is a most important qualification, which scarcely any traveller in Palestine since Hasselquist has possessed. The promise of separate publication is however not very encouraging, unless the matter should be in the hands of the French government, which is always most commendably prompt and active in matters of this kind. Our home experience is different and discouraging—as in the most recent instance of the Euphrates expedition. In that case, after waiting thirteen years for some account of it and some statement of its results—we got two immense, costly, and unreadable volumes of historical and geographical compilation, containing just nothing that we really want to know, and for which we have waited so long. *That* is promised in two more great volumes, for which we may have to wait thirteen more years—perhaps thirty years—perhaps for ever.

The idea of this journey was suggested to M. de Saulcy by 'a severe domestic bereavement' (the loss of his wife), which made him desire to absent himself for a time from Paris and its familiar scenes. Wishing to turn his absence to the best account, he determined to visit, with his son, Greece, Syria, and Asia Minor. Indeed, he conceived that a journey of this kind was calculated to complete advantageously the education of a young man who had just finished his college course. It was also his hope, for himself, to find subjects sufficiently new and interesting to be offered to the distinguished Academy to which he belonged. He considered further, that it would be no advantage to science to tread again the beaten paths already traced by hundreds of other tourists; and that the object of his travelling would be completely lost if he did not attempt to visit countries still unexplored. *Hence* his attention to the Dead Sea and its valley, as a scene over which mystery still hung, and where danger might still be worthily encountered. This sounds strangely in our ears. We did suppose that the Dead Sea was no longer an unexplored region, and that through the labours of Seetzen, Burckhardt,[a] Irby and Mangles, Robinson, and Captain Lynch's expedition, we were already pretty well acquainted with that lake, its shores and its valley. The whole coast has been examined at a little distance from the shore, and often on shore, by Lynch; considerable parts of the western coast have been explored on shore by Robinson and others; and the entire of the southern backwater and peninsula by Irby and Mangles and others. The eastern coast has not been examined by land-travellers, and this precisely—being about one-third of the whole, and the least known, though not unknown, portion—is that which M. de Saulcy left unvisited. So far therefore his journey is not one '*round*' the Dead Sea; but what he has done is, that by traversing the entire western margin, he has visited the parts thereof not previously explored by land-travellers, though surveyed by Lynch, and that he struck out a new route to Kerek from the Dead Sea, returning however by the

[a] Burckhardt did not visit the lake itself, but he got some good information concerning it at Kerek, and explored the neighbourhood lying east from its shores.

usual route. In the other parts of the country, to and from the Dead Sea, we do not perceive that any new routes have been followed or any new country explored. We may say, also, that the indications of Scriptural sites in the quarters away from the Dead Sea are very generally the same as those first indicated by Dr. Robinson, without anything to convey to the mind of the reader of the work before us that the discoveries and conjectures are not here offered for the first time. Still M. de Saulcy, who names that learned traveller with high and just commendation, frequently differs from him, and advances ingenious, plausible, and often good grounds for the difference.

However, as our space is limited, we must pass over much that invites our attention and get at once to the Dead Sea. Here the great point of our traveller is, that he identified the sites of *all* the five cities of the plain. To be able to find these upon the existing shores of the lake, implies that before the day 'when the Lord overthrew these cities, *and all the plain*, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground,' the lake existed as at present (except perhaps that it was not salt). This is contrary to all recent conclusions, which go to show that the present bed of the Dead Sea was then wholly or in part a plain through which the Jordan flowed, and *in* which most of these cities lay. But the other position, strange as it seems, our author stoutly affirms, and labours with much critical learning to establish. He maintains that it is not possible to find in sacred or profane antiquity a single passage from which it might be inferred that the Dead Sea arose suddenly at the time of the destruction of the Pentapolis; and still further, that all these early authorities unanimously establish that the towns were never overwhelmed by the waters of the lake. The argument is well worth reading, although we cannot here follow it and are not convinced by it. We can only observe that no authorities are of any value, save that of the original record upon which all others are founded; that, in such cases, circumstances respecting which history is silent may yet be critically deduced, and may be all but demonstrated by physical conditions, which reduce the alternatives until one only remains possible; and that no one has ever affirmed that the *primary* catastrophe was the submersion of the plain, but that this submersion was the *result* of that catastrophe. All our author's arguments and illustrations are therefore very much beside the mark. We strongly suspect that this theory grew in the writer's mind out of his grand discovery of what he regards as the site of Gomorrah, his identification of which would be impossible without it. But even granting all he requires, this identification, which is evidently in M. de Saulcy the crowning feat of his expedition, stands in serious and self-convicting incongruity with the rest of his identification. *All* the other cities, as thus identified, are placed around the small bay or backwater at the *southern* end of the lake, whereas his Gomorrah stands alone, apart, and far off, near the northern extremity of the lake, at least twenty-five[b]

[b] As measured by scale from the map in the work itself, but fully thirty miles by other maps; but the text says, 'Twenty-five leagues, or seventy-five English miles!' which, but that it must be a blunder, seeing the lake is but forty miles long, would make the matter still worse.

miles distant from Sodom, which is the nearest of the other cities. Now if one thing in this matter be plainer than another, it is that Gomorrah could not be thus distant from all the other cities, and least of all from Sodom, next to which and together with which it is always mentioned in Scripture, so as to suggest to every one—and to suggest rightly, according to Scripture usage—that they were not greatly distant from each other, or at least that Gomorrah was nearer to Sodom than any other of the cities were, instead of being, as our author wishes us to believe, far more distant from Sodom than any of them.

The remains are those of Cyclopean foundation walls formed of great stones, which the careless observer might pass as mere heaps of stones, but when intelligently surveyed, mark out with sufficient distinctness the skeleton of a large town with some large enclosures, the ground plan of which can be recognised, but their use as public edifices only conjectured. That these remains, which cover an extent of four miles, mark the site of Gomorrah, our traveller endeavours to prove by two considerations. First, the analogy of name. The ruins are called 'Kharbet Goumran or Oumran,' unfortunately not given in Arabic characters, which would have enabled us better to estimate the value of the analogy by comparison with the Hebrew. However, as it stands, the resemblance is, it may be allowed, sufficiently striking, and quite equal to those in which important identifications have been founded by Dr. Robinson. The other consideration is contained in the question, 'What city, unless it be one contemporaneous with Gomorrah, if not Gomorrah itself, can have existed on the shore of the Dead Sea at a more recent period, without its being possible to find the slightest notice of it in either the sacred or profane writings?' The argument from the *silence* of history is of little weight here; and although one would certainly not expect that a town of any note would be founded upon the shore of the lake *after* its waters had acquired their present intensely saline and nauseous qualities, yet that these shores were not regarded as uninhabitable even at a comparatively late period, is shown by the fact that Herod established upon them his great palace-fortress of Masada, the ruins of which are still in existence.

In identification of the other 'cities of the plain,' M. de Saulcy of course finds Sodom at the Esdoum (Usdum), a name which is just that of Sodom with the article prefixed, and which therefore he properly enough writes Sdoum, in which others have recognised the name of the doomed city. They, however, merely supposed that the names marked the spot on the shore over against which, now submerged, is the site of the ancient Sodom. But our traveller's theory requires or authorises him to find the site on the existing coast, at the spot denoted by this name, and there he accordingly finds existing traces of the town. In going southward at this point he passed by a hillock fifteen yards in diameter, covered with large rough stones that looked as if they had been burnt, and 'which constituted at some remote and unascertainable period a part of a round structure immediately commanding the shore.' The sea was here only thirty yards off, and the mountain (Jebel Esdoum), or projecting cliff, not more than twenty in the opposite direction. On returning a few days later the locality was more closely

explored, and at a spot where the beach widens into the mouth of a ravine were found other remains.

'Large blocks of stone worn by time, and in the midst of them we soon distinguish regular ruins, being the foundation of ancient walls. We are now unquestionably in the midst of ruins, apparent and distinguishable, covering a space of nearly four hundred yards in extent. . . . . To our left the Djebel-Esdoum [Mount Sodom] has ceased to form a single mass, and we have arrived in front of the vast excrescence, or projecting hillock, bordering the northern point of the mountain, exhibiting positive and infallible evidence of the existence, on this point, of a very considerable town.'

And this town is declared to be Sodom. It may be so; and we are not at all disinclined to *this* identification. But we fear to rely upon it. Bearing in mind the instance of Masada, lately mentioned, and that of Engedi, also on this shore, and which is mentioned in Scripture as a cultivated and inhabited site ages after the destruction of the cities of the plain, and the ruins of which are also found at this day, it seems that at some points of the shore, especially where there are fountains of fresh water, or where ravines open inland and bring down streams of water, there were inhabited sites on the shores long after the great overthrow. Indeed, only about two miles north of this, M. de Saulcy finds other ruins which he identifies with those of Thamara, a place not known until considerably posterior to the Christian era, which we find occupied as a military post by the Romans, having doubtless been originally founded and occupied by the Jews, as the Jewish name Thamara, which in Hebrew means palm-trees, implies. Besides, we know that one of the original cities (Zoar) subsisted after the catastrophe. This Zoar is placed by M. de Saulcy a little to the north of Sodom, where there are some hillocks (of ruins) flanking the wady ez-Zouera, and called by the natives Zouera et-Tahtah. The analogy of name is here very important, occurring as it does in such local connection with that of Esdoum. We have always felt this, and yielded reluctantly to the considerations which tend to place Zoar on the opposite or eastern side of the lake. Our traveller's arguments are very weighty from his own point of view, but lose much of that weight if we suppose that Sodom more probably stood in what is now the basin, than on what is now the narrow shore, of the lake. In fact they apply at all only upon the latter supposition; and the difficulty, which he answers satisfactorily, is entirely of his own creating in abandoning the hypothesis which assumes that, if not the entire lake, at least the southern bay or backwater, was formed in consequence of the great catastrophe.

'We need only read in Genesis the narrative concerning the destruction of Sodom, and the flight of Lot, to remain perfectly satisfied that Zoar—where Lot, who had left Sodom by day-break, arrived at sun-rise—cannot possibly be looked for on the opposite shore of the Dead Sea, and still less at Kharbet-en-Nemaïreh. For were we to agree with the indefensible hypothesis of the sudden formation and rise of the Dead Sea, there would still remain, as the crow flies, several leagues between Sodom and the pretended Zoar. However rapid may have been the flight of Lot with his daughters, it would have been impossible for them to accomplish one-tenth part of the distance between these two points in the short interval that takes place in this country between dawn and sun-rise.'

This assumes that, in any case, Sodom must have stood where he places it, and not possibly in the bed of the present lake. Still the

argument has some remaining weight; for if Sodom did stand in the area which the lake now occupies, it seems reasonable to infer that it stood nearer to the mountains on the west of the valley, from which it derived or to which it gave its name, than to the *opposite* shore; and still therefore the distance of Zoar, if placed on the eastern side, would seem to have been too great to suit the circumstances.

At the place on the eastern side where Zoar has lately been sought by others, M. de Saulcy finds Zeboïm. The name of Taala Sebaan, as resembling that of Zeboïm, with the presence of extensive hillocks of ruins and traces of foundation walls, seems to form the grounds of this conclusion. There are besides evidences of volcanic action in the vicinity, though how that should tend to the special identification of Zeboïm we do not see.

As M. de Saulcy's theory allowed him to look for *all* the five cities of the plain upon the existing shores of the Dead Sea, it was not likely that any one of them should be left undiscovered. We have accordingly to report that Admah also has been found at a place where no one would have been likely to look for it, being about four miles away from the western shore of the Dead Sea, upon the route from Esdoum to Hebron. This is at least the pretension of the map, in which Admah is set down at this place (Qasr-el-Adadah) in the capital type appropriated to the cities of the plain. But we cannot find this in the text, which seems rather to identify this Qasr-el-Adadah with the Adadah of Josh. xv. 20, a much more probable identification.

We have done with M. de Saulcy's Dead Sea inquiries; and we do not mean to follow him in the other parts of his travels. It is not our fault if the tone of exception which we have in this part been sometimes constrained to assume should seem to give an unfavourable impression of a work we really think well of as a whole, and regard as a valuable contribution to Biblical geography.

We shall not, however, close the work without indicating briefly a few points that struck our attention in passing through its pages.

At Jerusalem our author has a tremendously long, but learned and ingenious, dissertation to show that the so-called tombs of the kings are really the tombs of the royal line of David. Of this we are not clear, but M. de Saulcy seems to have fairly met some of the difficulties which opposed themselves to that conclusion.

At Shechem our author discovered the foundation ruins of the Samaritan temple upon Mount Gerizim, and was enabled to make out a ground-plan of the temples, of which he gives a representation. This reminds us that we have seen doubts expressed recently as to the existence of any temple on Mount Gerizim so late as in and after the time of our Saviour. None of these doubters seem to be aware that there is a representation of this temple, with a flight of steps leading to it, upon the reverse of a coin of Flavia Neapolis, of the time of Antoninus Pius, whose head appears on the obverse. The coin is in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, and there is a figure of it in Mr. Ackerman's excellent *Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament.*

M. de Saulcy stands up for Kafr-Kenna as the Cana of Galilee, in opposition to Dr. Robinson, who wants to transfer the identification to

Kana-el-Djalil, which he says is exactly 'Cana of Galilee.' But our author will not admit this translation.

'The words Cana of Galilee, supposing even that the country of Galilee should ever have been called El-Djalil in Arabic, could never have been expressed by Kana-el-Djalil. The last word is positively an adjective, meaning great or illustrious. I then most conscientiously declare that, according to my interpretation, and I dare say according to the interpretation of any native scholar, the words Kana-el Djalil cannot have any other meaning than that of *Kana the great*, or *Kana the illustrious*.'

Our author objects with Dr. Robinson to Tell-Hum as the site of Capernaum; but he also objects to Khan Minyeh, where Robinson finds it, preferring another place, Ain-el-Medaouarah, where the learned doctor would have been glad to find it, but could not discover any such traces of a former site as seemed needful for the identification.

In regard to Bethsaida, our traveller is at issue with the theory of two Bethsaidas—one to the east of the Jordan at its entrance into the lake of Tiberias, the Bethsaida Julias of the tetrarch Philip; and the other to the west of the same, the Bethsaida of the Gospels. He contends that Julias was on the right bank of the Jordan; that Bethsaida Julias is the Bethsaida of the Gospels; and that the fine ruins at Tell-Hum are undoubtedly the ruins of both. This is all well worthy of attention. Let us add that in the land of Moab, east of the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, M. de Saulcy discovered a curious monument, of which he thus speaks:—

'We arrived at the foot of a circular mound, formed of squared blocks of lava, partly covered over with earth, which seem to constitute the base of a small round tower. This ruin is called the Redjom-el-Aabed (the mound of the slave). When I reach it I find our Bedouins sitting near a large block of lava, which they point out to me saying, "Look, there is a stone, like those thou art in quest of." I look, and find myself in front of a magnificent *stélon*, in black compact lava, representing a bas relief, of an antiquity, the date of which I shall not presume to determine, even approximately. It consists of a figure as large as life, with the whole of the lower part wanting from the knees, but which, notwithstanding this mutilation, exhibits a monument of art of immense value. To a certainty we have before us a Moabite sculpture. A personage, wearing a helmet of Assyrian shape, holds with both hands a javelin with a large iron head, with which he seems to strike a man supposed to be in supplication at his knees. The upper part of the body is naked; but from the hips down to the knees he is clothed in a short close tunic, exactly similar to that worn by the Egyptians. Over the right shoulder of this personage, and behind his back, is hung a bended bow, without any apparent string. Behind the warrior is the figure of a lion, of small dimensions, which appears to be merely the ornamented leg of a throne, judging by its diminutive size. The relievo of this figure is well defined, the expression of the face strongly marked, and characterised with a savage energy.'

We have compared this figure with those given in plates 3 and 4 of the number of this Journal for last January, but cannot see that it bears much resemblance to any one of them.

We should have stated before that M. de Saulcy travelled at his own expense, but solicited and obtained permission to do so with the title of Chargé d'une mission scientifique en Orient. He had at first intended to travel only with his son and a very dear friend, the Abbé Michon. He was afterwards joined by three young gentlemen who wished to take part in the expedition, M. de Saulcy retaining the chief command and sole arrangement. One of these gentlemen, M. Edouard

Delessert, has since published an interesting book respecting the journey. At Bethlehem they were joined for the exploration of the Dead Sea by 'Gustavus de Rothschild,' who had been preparing to cross the desert into Egypt, but was seduced by the prospects which a journey of discovery offered. Thus a goodly company was formed, which with servants and followers was in every way adequate to the purposes of the expedition.

We object to the morality which allowed these travellers systematically to exaggerate to an enormous degrec the value of the presents they gave the natives, extortionate as those natives were. Apart from the abstract questions of morality, the deception being discovered, as it assuredly will, cannot fail to be detrimental to future travellers, whose declarations, however truthful, will not be believed. Nothing is of more importance than to uphold the credit of European truthfulness and honour among the natives of the East; and we cannot but think this has been grievously compromised by these proceedings. We observe with pain a certain low, chuckling satisfaction at having deceived (shall we say cheated?) the natives, which seems to us unworthy the character of 'gentlemen.' On one occasion M. de Saulcy was caught in his own trap, by being requested to give, instead of the article offered, its value in money at his own estimate!

The orthography of the proper names is exceedingly careless; and the discrepancies between the text and map are continual.

A new Greek Harmony of the Four Gospels, comprising a Synopsis and a Diatesseron; together with an Introductory Treatise, and numerous Tables, Indexes, and Diagrams, supplying the necessary Proofs and Explanations. By William Stroud, M.D. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons. 1853.

A new Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels; consisting of a Parallel and combined Arrangement, on a new Plan, of the Narratives of the Four Evangelists, according to the Authorised Translation; and a continuous Commentary, with Brief Notes subjoined; being the First Period of the Gospel History. With a Supplement containing extended Chronological and Topographical Dissertations, and a complete Analytical Index. By James Strong, A.M. New York: Carlton and Philips. London: Blackader & Co. 1852.

The full consideration lately[a] given in this Journal to the general subject, relieves us on the present occasion from any other duty than that of describing and characterising the two works before us.

Dr. Stroud is advantageously known to the public for a deeply interesting book on the *Physical Cause of the Death of Christ*, published some years ago; and it is current in religious circles that he has for a long time been taking a very active part in preparation of a new translation of the Scriptures, in which several other competent parties are concerned. Thus, although a physician, he deals with no unfamiliar theme in the work before us. Indeed, he states in his preface

[a] 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' October, 1852.

that it has at intervals engaged his attention for upwards of thirty years, until at length the results of his labour assumed the shape in which he now presents them to the public.

It may be asked what need there can be of any new Harmonies at this time of day? and it must be confessed that there is much ground for the inquiry. A comparison of the different Harmonies will show how little they really differ from each other, the re-adjustment of some few points, seldom of much consequence, being generally deemed a sufficient basis for the production of a new Harmony. They are differenced rather by the apparatus connected with them, such as Introductions, Dissertations, Notes, Tables, than by any very essential variations of textual arrangement. Dr. Stroud, however, makes good his title to add one more to the existing Harmonies of the Gospel. He says of those already before the public—

'Many of them are liable to objection, either for the insufficiency of their preparatory investigation, or the imperfect manner in which they have exhibited its results. Most of them have shown too much deference to ancient traditions—too much readiness to borrow from previous authors, and too much disposition to substitute vague opinion, or bold assumption, for accurate analysis, reasoning, and method. This is the more to be regretted since, as will hereafter be proved, little dependence can be placed on external testimonies, almost all our knowledge concerning the Gospels being derived from their own internal evidence. The information transmitted by the early Christian writers, or Fathers of the Church, as they are termed, is much scantier and more uncertain than might have been expected, some of them having, moreover, committed gross errors respecting matters of fact, or adopted legendary tales which cannot be believed; and hence these Harmonies, which are chiefly founded on traditional authority, have fallen short of that excellence to which they might otherwise have attained.'

How far the present work is likely to supply the required improvement, may be judged from the description of its contents, which the author may be permitted to supply for himself, as we have tested its correctness.

'In the first place it is original, the whole subject having been re-examined and re-arranged. In the Preliminary Dissertation a large amount of historical and explanatory matter is collected respecting the nature and contents of the several Gospels, their authors, and objects, as well as their relation to each other, and to the remaining books of the New Testament. The principles and rules according to which a work of this kind ought to be conducted, with a view to exclude mere conjecture, and, as far as possible, to attain demonstration, are also discussed and determined. The Greek text, which for such a purpose is obviously preferable to any translation, has been corrected by the aid of all the principal critical editions, from the received text to that of Tischendorf; and in the foot-notes the authorities for every material alteration are annexed. The sacred history is carefully analysed and described; being divided into twelve principal parts, subdivided into nearly fifty sections, and more than seven hundred paragraphs, each of which is numbered, and preceded by a short notice of its subject, and a reference to the source whence it is derived. In collating the four Gospels, the order assigned to them is that in which they are here assumed to have been originally published, namely, Luke, Matthew, Mark, John, and for this decision reasons are assigned. In fixing the order of their contents, two very simple but sufficient rules are observed. All passages containing indications of time or sequence are arranged according to such indications; and all others are retained in their actual connection with those of the former class. When passages in two or more Gospels are in concordance, they are present in the double form of synopsis and diatessaron, separated by an intermediate column, showing from which Gospel, and on what grounds, each portion of the consolidated text is selected. It is evident that

neither of these processes is complete without the other, since the reader cannot easily make use of a synopsis, nor can be assured of the correctness of a diatessaron; but, by means of the two when thus combined, he can peruse with satisfaction the statements of the evangelists, either individually with their several peculiarities and variations, or united in a single and continuous narrative, comprising their best expressions and their fullest details. With a view to enable him more conveniently to examine the order of the harmony, which, as far as can be ascertained, is that of time, an abstract of the arrangement, together with the usual indexes, is subjoined. Chronological tables, and various explanatory diagrams, are likewise provided, and the text is throughout illustrated by numerous Scripture references, which supply the substance of a commentary without its form. It is concluded that all the gospels were in the first instance addressed to Christians, that of Matthew to Jews, and the three others to Gentiles; that the gospels of Luke and Matthew are primary and substantive, those of Mark and John secondary and supplemental, Mark's gospel being chiefly designed to combine and harmonise the two preceding ones. The considerable deviations from the order of time which occur in the gospels of Luke and Matthew have been examined and explained to an extent which, it is presumed, has not before been attempted. The early ministry of Christ in Galilee and Judea, and the commencement of his subsequent special ministry in the former region, are more accurately arranged and dated than has hitherto been done. His farewell progress through the provinces of Palestine, constituting the eighth part of the Harmony, and occupying a large space in the narrative, is for the first time fully traced, and forms one of the principal peculiarities of the present work. The events of the last week of his mortal life, commonly termed the Passion-week, have been carefully adjusted; and the account of his resurrection and its connected incidents, is materially simplified and elucidated.'

The reader will at once perceive that a work like this, adequately executed, must form a valuable addition to our Biblical literature. We think the work *is* adequately executed, and that it *is* this addition to our literature. In both the two sources of distinctive character open to a production of this nature—the formation of the text and sequence of parts—Dr. Stroud's Harmony is certainly more original and affords more evidence of thoughtful consideration than any with which we are acquainted; for that of Dr. Robinson, with all its merits, is avowedly little other than an improved edition of Archbishop Newcome's. The alterations in the sequence of events are not and cannot be very numerous; yet there are some instances in which Dr. Stroud differs from many of his predecessors, and a few in which he differs from all of them; and in most of these cases his decision appears to us judicious; as in the very first that occurs, in which he places the appearance of the angel to Joseph before, instead of after, the birth of John the Baptist. The propriety of this is self-evident. There is more that is new and distinctive in the text which has been formed from the four Gospels. Much of this arises from the fact that the author considers the Gospel of St. Luke as the primary narrative, the order being, according to him, Luke, Matthew, Mark, John, the two latter being supplementary to the two former. This fundamental position is not suited for incidental discussion here. It has, however, influenced or guided Dr. Stroud in the formation of his combined text; and whether we receive it or not, it cannot be denied that under this theory he has worked out a harmonised text unequalled for clearness and coherence, unusually free from those harsh dislocations which we painfully witness in the best Harmonies.

The care which characterises this work has been extended to the

Greek text of the Harmony. This is formed upon the basis of Griesbach's, which has been collated afresh with the Textus Receptus, whereof it is a professed emendation, as likewise with the subsequent editions of Knapp, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf. The text here offered is 'to a great extent supported by all the critical editions with which it has been collated; and where this is not the case, either by the majority of them, or by the intrinsic excellence of the readings which have been preferred.' These intimations respecting the course pursued here derive special interest from the purpose of the author and his friends to put forth a new translation. To this purpose Dr. Stroud indeed makes some reference, in alluding to the fact that his quotations from the New Testament exhibit a translation varying to some extent, though more in style than in substance, from the Authorised Version. He says:—

'It is freely admitted by those best qualified to form an opinion on the subject, that this venerable version, however generally excellent, and for practical uses sufficient, is nevertheless susceptible of much improvement, especially in reference to perspicuity, precision, and adaptation to the English language at its present advanced period. There seems indeed to be no good reason why the most valuable book in the world should not be translated in the best possible manner; and it is by no means improbable that, by the united efforts of several zealous persons devoted to this desirable object, some progress will before long be made towards its attainment.'

There is a very large introduction of more than two hundred quarto pages, in which the author very ably lays the foundation of his work, investigating, first, 'the nature and design of an Evangelical Harmony;' then 'the character of the Four Gospels as furnishing the materials of a harmonised narrative;' and lastly, 'on the principles and rules adopted in the Harmony.' This Introduction is a valuable digest of the information proper to the subject, and yet of such wide-scope and general interest, as might render it suitable for independent publication, in a separate and less costly volume. The latter part is occupied with the discussion of those points on which Harmonists are divided, or on which Dr. Stroud differs from other Harmonists. We are disposed in most instances to accept our author's conclusions, and generally for the reasons which he assigns. But we must demur to some of them. We are, for instance, not prepared to consider that he has satisfactorily demonstrated his conclusion that Peter *seven* times denied his Lord.

Altogether, Dr. Stroud is entitled to our thanks for the care and labour he has bestowed upon this work, which ought to find a place on the most accessible shelf in the library of every real Biblical student.

The English Harmony of Mr. Strong does not stand on the same ground as that of Dr. Stroud. It is suited to those who read the New Testament in English, and is calculated to be of considerable service to them. The multifarious contents are sufficiently catalogued in the title, which we have copied at length, and the work on the whole is a fair specimen of that aim at comprehensiveness which we so often witness in American publications. This is indeed overdone in the present work, which is encumbered rather than enriched with an expensive series of

tinted plates and maps, which, being copied mostly from sources already common (such as Mr. Bartlett's Views), add little to the intrinsic value, but much to the cost of the publication. These things may not, however, be so common and accessible in America as they are here, and being in England protected by copyright, could not here be made available for this purpose. Apart from these ornamentations, some of the tabulated materials, and the Exposition, the work serves no use for which the English edition of Dr. Robinson's Harmony is not equally or more than equally sufficient. The arrangement of the text which the author has adopted is, however, claimed by Mr. Strong as his own invention. It is an attempt to combine the advantages of the two essential forms of Harmonies, namely, that mode which exhibits each Gospel separately in parallel columns, and that which works them altogether into a continuous narrative. Instead of either of these courses being followed in the present work, 'the selection of *a leading text* furnishes a simple basis for a full and consecutive account of each event, every considerable omission being coherently supplied, without further trouble, by *the inserted clauses*, while, at the same time, the parallel columns preserve each narrative distinct and entire, yet close at hand for minute comparison.' A difference of type renders all this at once apparent to the eye; and considerable praise is certainly due to this arrangement, which, it will be seen, is in essentials very similar to that of Dr. Stroud in his Greek Harmony. The most prominently new feature is the Exposition. This is a paraphrase, and it seems to us to add much more to the extent than to the value of the work. We must confess to no great liking for paraphrases generally; and it is possible that some little prejudice may influence our decision in pronouncing this to be very nearly, if not quite, the most feeble and tasteless dilution of the sacred text that ever came under our notice. The poetical passages, including quotations from the poetical books of the Old Testament, are paraphrased in what Mr. Strong considers verse, the quality of which the reader can estimate from this sample, which is the song of the angels at Bethlehem:—

> 'Let heaven with praise to God resound,
> We welcome sacred bliss o'er earth;
> Propitious pledge with mortals found,
> In their Divine Redeemer's birth.'

The sense is, however, often brought out with good effect through the care which the author has taken to indicate the logical connection of the thoughts and language—an essential matter, and in which the common reader needs that aid which is perhaps better afforded in a paraphrase than by any other contrivance. Mr. Strong has in his preface a good theory of a paraphrase, but has unquestionably failed to carry it out so well and so fully as might be wished. Yet this paraphrase does embody the results of a good critical knowledge of the Gospels, and will to common readers throw the needful light distinctly upon most of the difficult places in the Gospels.

Although, therefore, this is far from a perfect book, we are disposed to regard it with favour as a useful attempt to promote the most instructive mode of studying the Gospel history.

The Exposition on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians. By John Brown, D.D. Edinburgh: Oliphant & Sons, 1853.

This work belongs to the same class with others from the pen of the same author, which we have had repeated occasion to notice, and which, taken together, already form a contribution to our exegetical literature, such as, whether in extent or importance, no other writer of our age has furnished.

The present is an exceedingly valuable addition to this series of works. Its history has much resemblance to that of the others. Like most of them, though published in the author's advanced age, it is the result of the inquiries and studies of youth and manhood. He states that, 'The Horatian period for retaining in the author's repositories forthcoming publications, has been considerably more than trebled since the first sketch of this Exposition was produced; and during the period which has since elapsed, the manuscript has often been reviewed, corrected, curtailed, and added to. In its substance it has been delivered to a Christian congregation; and, with its philological appendages, repeatedly read in the class of Exegetical Theology, over which I have presided for nearly twenty years.' He adds:—

'In examining some old papers, I found an application made to me nearly thirty years ago, by a numerous class of students in theology, of various Christian denominations, who at that time were accustomed to spend an hour with me weekly in critically examining the New Testament in the original Greek, requesting me to publish the notes on the Epistle to the Galatians, which I had read to them. I was gratified with the expressed approbation of my young friends, but do not regret that I declined complying with their request. The Notes are now a somewhat less inadequate exposition of this important Epistle than they then were.'

We like anecdotes of this sort; and the manly candour of the following declaration is exceedingly pleasant to us, contrasted as it is in our mind with the maudlin affectations of insufficiency which disfigure the prefaces of many other great writers, who would nevertheless be desperately affronted if their readers were to take their productions at their own ostensible estimate of their claims.

'Had I not thought the provision I bring forward wholesome and nourishing, and, moreover, somewhat rare and savoury withal, it would not have been presented. Had I not thought the positions taken tenable, I should never have occupied them. Nevertheless, it will be a satisfaction to me to see a table more abundantly covered with viands from the same exhaustless repository—more rich, more varied, and more skilfully prepared; and in surrendering when fairly conquered, I will [shall] feel gratitude rather than shame; for, to allude to the fine figure of Jortin, next to attending and gracing the triumphs of Truth as her successful soldier, the object of my most fervent wish is to be a captive tied to her chariot-wheels, if I have undesignedly committed any offence against her.'

We discover in the work itself the same clear insight, the same luminous distinctness of statement and expression, the same ripe scholarship, and the same religious fulness, which characterised the author's former works of this class, and which altogether render them the most *nourishing* works of their kind—nourishing both to the mind and the spirit—which have in late times been produced.

These qualities are seen to peculiar advantage in the present work, owing, as it seems, to its being devoted to one subject—the unity of

which, and the cohesion of all its parts, is admirably brought out by the occasion of the Epistle to the Galatians, and its essential topic being kept continually in view by its expositor.

The *occasion* of the Epistle is thus clearly stated:—

'It appears that not very long after their conversion to Christianity, the Galatian churches were visited by some false teachers, who professed to be Christians, but who insisted that, on the part even of the converted Gentiles, submission to circumcision, and an observance of the Mosaic ritual were necessary in order to salvation. As this doctrine was in direct opposition to the Gospel as it had been taught by the apostle and confirmed by miracles, these false teachers left no means untried to shake the attachment of the Galatian churches to their spiritual father, intimating that he was no apostle, in the proper sense of the word, but merely a preacher sent out by the churches at Jerusalem and Antioch; that he was not consistent in his teaching respecting circumcision; that he had abandoned the opinion he once held, and now taught the necessity of submission to the law of Moses, even on the part of believing Gentiles. These unprincipled exertions seem to have been attended with but too much success. To stop the progress of this defection, and to bring back to the simplicity of the faith of Christ, as to the ground of acceptance with God, those who had been seduced, and, in subordination to this object, to vindicate his own character from the aspersions cast on it, the apostle wrote this epistle.'

The essential *subject*, as involved in the apostle's explanation of what he really did teach, and which he again urges upon them, is materially the same with that of the Epistle to the Romans—the ground of a sinner's acceptance with God—the Divine method of justification. But there it is not viewed in exactly the same aspect, or treated in the same manner as in this epistle; and this diversity in the two epistles which have so much in common, arises from the circumstance that the apostle has to do in each of them with a different set of adversaries. In the Epistle to the Romans—in opposition both to Gentiles, who expected to be rewarded on account of the merit of their good works, and to unbelieving Jews, who expected justification through obedience to their Law, and, who maintained that the Gentiles could not be saved without submitting to it—he shows that men are restored to the Divine favour, not by obedience to any law, but by believing the truth as it is in Jesus, 'who was delivered for men's offences, and raised again for their justification;' and that whoever does this, whether Jew or Gentile, shall certainly be saved.

In the Epistle to the Galatians, he contends not with Jews rejecting Christianity, but with Jews professing to embrace it, and yet teaching that the observance of the Law of Moses as well as the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah, was necessary to the salvation even of the Gentiles. In opposition to this dogma he teaches that the Mosaic institution in all its extent never was capable of justifying any person, that it never was intended for that purpose; that it is now entirely abrogated, and that for men to observe its requisitions *with the intention of securing to themselves God's favour*, was not only lost labour, but was a material renunciation of the grand characteristic doctrine of Christianity, to wit, that men are restored to the Divine favour entirely on the ground of Christ's merit, and entirely by means of faith. The doctrine is substantially the same in both epistles. But in the Epistle to the Romans it is laid down in its most general form; in the Epistle to the Galatians it is laid down with a peculiar reference to the false

doctrine taught by the Jewish teachers. At the same time it is worthy of remark, that as, in the general doctrine of the Epistle to the Romans, 'that justification is not by law,' the particular doctrine of the Epistle to the Galatians, 'that justification is not by the Mosaic law,' is necessarily included: so from the principles in which the apostle in this epistle shows that justification is not by the Mosaic law, the general doctrine, that it is not by law at all, necessarily follows.

A charge of inconsistency has sometimes been brought against the apostle, on the ground that the opinions respecting the Mosaic law which, in the 14th and 15th chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, he represents as, though mistakes, yet proper subjects of forbearance on the part of better informed Christians, and those which in this epistle he represents as utterly subversive of the Gospel of Christ, are materially different. From this charge Dr. Brown vindicates the apostle by remarking that the persons mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans were sincere Christians, who looked to Christ and Christ alone for salvation, but who, not being satisfied in their minds as to the abolition of the Mosaic institute, still continued to observe its requisitions, *not as a means of justification*, but merely as religious duties—observances divinely enjoined, and never formally repealed. But the persons referred to in this epistle were men who professed Christianity without understanding it, men who for secular ends had become teachers, and who insisted that circumcision and the keeping of the law were as necessary as faith in Christ in order to justification and salvation. It is therefore by no means wonderful, that although the apostle could bear with the former as well-intentioned though misinformed Christians, he would 'give place to the others, no, not for an hour;' regarding them as the most dangerous enemies of Christianity, traitors to the Saviour's authority, and murderers of the souls of men.

These views of the relation between the two Epistles will probably create a desire for a similar exposition to this, from the same hand, of the Epistle to the Romans; and we rejoice in having reason to believe that this desire is likely to be satisfied.

Cyclopædia Bibliographica. Parts VII.-XII. London: Darling. September. 1853.

The twelfth part of this useful publication brings it to the 1920th column, and to the name Madan. In the parts published since we last noticed this work, we find some names of authors, our acquaintance with whose writings enables us to apply the critical tests with such precision and effect as qualifies us with increased confidence to repeat our testimony in favour of this excellent undertaking. Our attention has now been particularly attracted to the ability and diligence with which Mr. Darling meets the only forcible objection to which his catalogue could be open, namely, that, after all, it was only the catalogue of a particular library. He adds, in a more compact shape, the 'other works' of the several writers; and it speaks well for the 'Metropolitan Library' that these other works are rarely of a theological character, those which claim that character being, with rare exceptions, in the

Library itself, and entered fully in the catalogue. We expected to find the catalogue deficient in German theological literature, but this is by no means the case, the Library having been of late years much enriched in this department.

Four Specimens of a Practicable Method of Teaching Christian Evidences to Bible Classes and Sunday Schools. By the Rev. George Fisk, LL.B., Prebendary of Lichfield, and Minister of Christ Chapel, Maida Hill. Second Edition. Published by the Church of England Sunday School Institute.

We put this little volume into the hands of the parent of a large family, on whose judgment we can rely, and asked for a candid opinion. It was given as follows:—That presuming it is necessary to teach the evidences of Christianity to young persons, the plan is admirable. This *necessity* the author lays down as the basis of his proceedings, and if that is in any case established, we can cheerfully recommend this thoughtful little book. *Otherwise*, the best training is that of so reposing in early life on Christianity as undoubtedly true, that a habit of believing it is formed which no after attacks of scepticism or infidelity can permanently injure. The faith of a child in the Bible, *as the book revered and loved by its parents*, demands no other proof than that of such authority, and anything that tends to weaken that pious confidence is as the withering blast upon the tender leaves of an opening flower.

The London Quarterly Review. No. 1, September, 1853, pp. 296. London: Partridge and Oakey.

Knowing how much influence for good or evil is exerted by our periodical literature, we feel anxious as to the tone and temper of every new candidate for public favour. We are happy to be able to welcome this contemporary as a coadjutor in the best sense, because we find all its articles, light and serious, are pervaded by the principles of the Holy Scriptures. The articles of this number exhibit great talent and deep piety; and we hope and believe the combination will secure for the work extensive patronage. Its papers are,—Christian population of the Turkish Empire—Wesley and his Critics—Forbes's Memorandums in Ireland—Cryptogamic vegetation—Spirit-rappings and Table-movings—Modern and Mediæval Hygiene—Secularism: its Logic and Appeals—Public Education—Ultramontanism; its threatened supremacy in Europe—India under the English. An extract from it will be found in another part of the present number of this Journal.

INTELLIGENCE.

BIBLICAL.

An interesting and spirited undertaking has just been commenced by the issuing of the prospectus of a 'Society for Exploring the Ruins of Assyria and Babylonia, with especial reference to Biblical Illustration,' under the patronage of his Royal Highness Prince Albert. The light that has been so unexpectedly thrown upon the Bible history of the world by the discovery and interpretation of the Nineveh marbles, and the knowledge that many earlier and more important sculptures remain behind, have awakened an anxious desire among antiquarians and literary men for further acquisitions. Mr. Layard, who has a firman from the Sultan to go on excavating, is of opinion that he has, so to speak, only scratched the surface of the Assyrian mounds, and that the most ancient ruins of this most ancient people have not yet been reached. It is certain that since the publication of his book older monuments have been brought to light, and every discovery gives token, after its kind, of newer biblical light. The government not being disposed to give more money, and the British Museum not having funds for the purpose, it is evident that, to secure these valuable historical records to the pride and glory of our country, must be the work of private enterprise. The idea of forming a society among those interested in the matter has been presented to Prince Albert; and his Royal Highness, with a shrewd appreciation of its genuineness and importance, directly sanctioned it with his support. The interest which he so promptly manifested in the undertaking secured at once the co-operation of the most influential noblemen and gentlemen that could be desired, to take part in it; and we question whether it will not be one of the most useful, meritorious, and popular labours with which the honoured name of Prince Albert has been associated. Subscriptions to the amount of 1000*l.*, including five of 100*l.* each, have been contributed privately within the last few days. An expedition will at once proceed to Assyria to carry forward the necessary operations. A photographist will accompany the expedition, and will take copies of all objects of interest discovered. In England facsimilies of the drawings and inscriptions will be issued as often as they come to hand, together with explanatory letterpress, the publication of which Mr. Layard has kindly undertaken to superintend. It will be less the object of the expedition to obtain bulky sculptures than to collect materials for completing the history of Assyria and Babylonia, especially as connected with Scripture. These materials consist chiefly of inscribed tablets in stone, and in clay, bronzes, bricks, and sculptured monuments of various kinds, all illustrating the remarkable advancement of that ancient civilisation. It is confidently believed that the whole history of Assyria may be restored to a very early period, and that discoveries of the most important character will be made in connection with the literature and science of the Assyrian people. It is presumed that the sum of 10,000*l.* will be required to commence operations at once in various parts of Mesopotamia, and to sustain necessary activity during a period of three years. But as it is of the utmost consequence to proceed with the greatest vigour during the first twelvemonth, it is calculated that up to August, 1854, 5000*l.* of the sum named might be expended. In addition to the donations, it is intended to raise annual subscriptions of a guinea each, the payment of which shall entitle the subscriber to the reports and memoirs issued by the society. The present undertaking being regarded as a continuation of the researches already commenced by the British Museum, it is determined that the monuments shall ultimately become the property of the nation.

From the Church Missionary Intelligencer for September we extract the following, as the result of a consideration of the various reports and statements respecting the leader of the extraordinary movement in China:—'That he is probably still alive, and about 40 years of age; that his name is certainly Hung-

seu-tseuen; that he is a native of the Hwa district, some 25 miles from Canton; that he took the first, if not the second, literary degree, but found his way to office barred; that he then turned his attention to the doctrines of Christianity, and was for a time in a direct connection, more or less intimate, with a Protestant medical missionary at Canton; that he afterwards established in Kwang-se a community of Christians, composed of both Kwang-tung and Kwang-se men; that persecution compelled him and his co-religionists to take arms in self-defence; and that, after this, a sense of double injustice and injury from the government, acting on an ambitious mind, strong feelings, and an enthusiastic temperament, gradually brought him, as the success of his arms increased, to the belief that he was the recipient of a Divine mission to exterminate the Mantchoos, abolish idolatry, and found a new Christian dynasty.'

From the 61st (1853) Report of the Baptist Missionary Society we learn that the revision of the Bengalee New Testament, announced last year as in progress, has been completed. An 8vo. edition has already been published, and the reprint of it in a smaller form, as a pocket Bible for the use of the native Christians, has reached the Acts of the Apostles. The Bengalee version continues at present, and is likely for years, to be the only one in circulation in Bengal. In its revision Mr. Wenger has kept in view, in the numerous alterations he has made, the desirableness of following the original as closely as a due regard to the idiom of the Bengalee language will allow, at the same time retaining the elegance stamped upon it by the late Dr. Yates. In Sanskrit the second volume of the Old Testament, containing the historical books from Judges to Esther inclusive, has been completed. A revised edition of Genesis, with the first 20 chapters of Exodus, has also been published. The Hindooee Gospels, in the Kaithi character, have been undertaken and carried through the press to John viii., by the joint labours of Mr. Leslie and Mr. Parsons of Monghir; and some little progress has also been made in printing the Hindoostanee version in the Roman characters.

From the Report of the Foreign Translation Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge we learn that the works completed during the past year are eight in number:—1. A new and revised edition of the Society's French Version of the Bible. 2. A Spanish Translation of the Bible. 3. A Polish Version of the New Testament. 4. A new edition of Diodati's Italian Translation of the New Testament. 5. A new edition of the Society's French Version of the Book of Common Prayer. 6. A new and revised edition of the Spanish Version of the Liturgy. 7. A new and more complete edition of the New Zealand Prayer-Book. 8. A new edition, revised, and with all former omissions supplied, of the Book of Common Prayer in Dutch and English. The following seven works are at present in progress:—1. The new Translation of the Bible into Arabic. 2. The new and completely revised edition of Diodati's Italian Bible. 3. A new revision of the Irish Bible. 4. The printing of the Greek New Testament at Athens. 5. The completion of the Ogibwa Translation of the New Testament. 6. A Translation of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, of the Acts, and of part of the Book of Genesis, into the Arawâk language; and translations of portions of the New Testament and of the English Liturgy into the Loochooan Japanese dialect.

Perhaps our readers may feel interested in a few details respecting these works. The French Bible in 16mo. is a careful revision of the 4to. and 8vo. editions mentioned last year. In this some errors both of translation and the press, as well as certain discrepancies with regard to proper names, have been corrected. The Spanish translation has been carefully compared with former translations and revised by the Hebrew and Greek originals. It is hoped that it will be found to represent honestly and impartially, in correct and appropriate language, the full sense of the sacred originals. It has been carried through the press under the superintendence of the Rev. Juan Calderon. The Polish translation of the New Testament is the Dantzic printed in Roman characters. M. Jakowski, recommended by Count Krasinski as a gentleman well qualified to superintend the work, has modernised the orthography, and replaced some few obsolete words and expressions by others more in accordance with the usage of the present day.

The Arabic translation of the Old Testament is still in progress. Long ago the late Dr. S. Lee formed the design of devoting the last years of his useful and laborious life to a great and most important achievement, never probably attempted before, but for which, by his peculiar talents and remarkable acquirements, he appeared to be eminently qualified, that, namely, of accomplishing a faithful and uniform Arabic translation, from the Hebrew and Greek originals, of the entire volume of Holy Writ. The Foreign Translation Committee gladly accepted his proposals to engage in the work. Faithfully and hopefully did he devote himself to it; and it was his ardent wish, not unfrequently expressed, both in verbal communication and in writing, to be allowed to live to see his task completed. But, in the all-wise dispensations of Providence, his heart's desire was not to be accomplished; and some months before his death he was obliged, in consequence of increasing infirmity, to resign to other hands the superintendence of the work. He had been permitted, however, not only to complete and to witness the publication of the New Testament, but to hear from time to time of the good fruits already produced, under the Divine blessing, by the dissemination of this version in the East; while, under his own care and supervision, the rough draft of the translation of the whole of the Old Testament was accomplished, and the greater part of the Pentateuch, having been carefully revised by the original Hebrew, was set up, corrected, and stereotyped. He had therefore the comfort and satisfaction of living to see that, in this last work of his hands, his labour had not been in vain. Others have now entered upon his labours. At his own desire his share of the work was transferred, during the last months of his life, to his pupil and friend, Professor Jarrett, who, since the death of Dr. Lee, has consented, at the request of the Foreign Translation Committee, to undertake the office of principal editor; and upon the same plan, and with the aid of the same able assistants as heretofore, the work is steadily and satisfactorily advancing.

The somewhat difficult and delicate task of revising and printing Diodati's Italian Bible is progressing satisfactorily. The revised edition of the Scriptures in Irish has been undertaken under the sanction and advice of his Grace the Primate of Ireland.

The Rev. Dr. O'Meara has completed the second volume of his version of the New Testament, containing the Acts, the Epistles, and the Revelation, into Ogibwa; and Mr. Brett has completed the translation of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, and Acts, together with the first eleven chapters of Genesis, into Arawâk, but the copy from neither of them has yet come to hand.

There has been recently formed in London a Society entitled The Anglo-Biblical Institute, 'for the promotion of Biblical criticism; having more especially in view a superior translation of the Bible into the English language.' The Society does not give any pledge for the production of such a work; it only aims at promoting it. The advantages of such an institution will be immediately appreciated by all persons engaged in the study of the Scriptures. The Journal of Sacred Literature, to some extent, and it is every day becoming increasingly so, serves as a means of communication among Biblical students; but such a medium is imperfect in comparison with immediate personal communication. During the year, monthly meetings of the members have been held, papers have been read on different subjects, specimens of English translations of Scripture have been presented for general discussion, and correspondence maintained, not only with the distant members, but with kindred institutions, and with eminent Biblical scholars in various parts of the world. The Treasurer is Dr. Lee, Hartwell House, Aylesbury. Our publishers will supply more detailed information.

The first public meeting to commemorate the labours of Evangelical Christendom for the conversion of the world, was held at Constantinople on the 13th of June last. It took place on account of the jubilee of the British and Foreign Bible Society. There were present about two hundred persons, chiefly English and American. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe presided. His Lordship warmly commended the zeal and discretion that had characterised the agents employed in spreading the Bible in Turkey, and alluded especially to the labours of the English, American, and German missionaries, who had all acted in beautiful harmony in carrying forward the work.

The Jewish Intelligencer for September states that a complete Hebrew Bible printed by Jews is very seldom to be met with. Every learned Jew is familiar with different editions of the Talmud, which have been printed at a vast expenditure of time and money by members of the Hebrew nation; and editions of parts of the Hebrew Bible, accompanied by the commentaries of Rashi and other rabbis, have been multiplied to an extraordinary extent; but how many, or rather we may ask how few, have been the Jewish editions of the complete Hebrew Bible? The book usually met with among the Jews, and that which the common people seem often to regard as if it were really a complete Bible, contains the Pentateuch, accompanied by the Chaldee Targum, the comment of Rashi, and, as a sort of appendix, the Megilloth, or the books which are read at their great festivals, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther, and the Haphtoroth, or lessons from the prophets, which are read in the synagogues on the different sabbaths in the year.

M. de Saulcy, the French Eastern traveller, has presented the Louvre at Paris with a sarcophagus extracted from the tombs of the old kings of Jerusalem.—*Literary Gazette*, Sept. 10.

Mr. Robert Young, of Edinburgh, continues his meritorious labours on behalf of Biblical literature. During the past five years he has issued twenty-six separate publications. Want of room prevents us giving a list of them; but our readers will find them in the advertising sheet. They are all valuable contributions.

The 'United Presbyterian Magazine' for May contains an illustration of the slothful hunter, of Proverbs xii. 27, by the Rev. H. M. Waddell, derived from his experience at Old Calabar. He observes that the Hebrew word here is the same as is used in Daniel iii. 27, 'Nor was a hair of their head *singed*;' and he says that if it were so rendered in Proverbs, 'He *singes* not that which he took in hunting,' the sense of the verse would be better brought out than it is by the present translation. In Calabar, and perhaps also in other countries, small animals used for food—sheep, goats, deer, pigs, &c., are not skinned: the hair is burned off, and the creature is cut up and dried or dressed in the skin; and almost all fish or flesh meat that comes to market is partially roasted and smoke dried. A diligent man going into the wilds to hunt, if he snares or spears a deer or wild pig, perfectly dries over the fire of his hut, what he does not immediately require for his own use, proceeding on his hunting operations, curing as fast as he takes, till he has obtained as much as he can carry home. Not so the indolent man: as long as his first beast lasts him, he idles his time, eating, sleeping, and lounging about his hut, and probably losing half the animal by not quickly or perfectly smoke-drying it. At last he returns, with little to show for the time he has been away; and the little that he has brought, being only half dried, is half rotten.

At the Royal Society of Literature (July 20th), Sir John Doratt, V.P., in the chair, Mr. Greenwood's paper, 'On certain Epochal Periods of Papal History,' was concluded. Mr. Greenwood commenced his paper by a careful revision of the theories of the two principal modern writers on prophecy, Mr. Faber and Mr. Elliott, with regard to that period of 1260 years, 'the reign of the Dragon or Antichrist,' commonly known as the 'prophetical period of St. John.' The first of these writers supposed this period to commence with the edict of the Emperor Phocas. A.D. 606, which, he says, conferred on the Bishop of Rome the title of 'Universal Bishop.' Mr. Elliott, on the other hand, adopts a double commencement for the 'Reign of the Beast,' dating the first from the edict of the Emperor Justinian, A.D. 533, and the second from the edict of Phocas. The object of Mr. Elliott would seem to be to guard against the uncertainty of any single date: while he, at the same time, contends that about the year 533, the Roman Papacy commenced the adoption of those principles of domination over the 'ten kingdoms,' which enabled the pontiffs subsequently to establish their universal rule. Mr. Greenwood objects that the number of ten Gothic kingdoms cannot be proved upon any sufficiently historical grounds, either within the area or at the time which Mr. Elliott's theory requires; while there is an ambiguity in the use of the word 'Gothic,' inasmuch as the Goths were only one branch of the great Teutonic

family. Strictly speaking, there were but two 'Gothic kingdoms' in existence when Justinian published his decree, A.D. 533. Mr. Greenwood considered next the question whether the edict of Justinian was really intended to confer exclusive powers on the Roman Papacy, and showed that for all practical purposes these powers had been conferred before, by the decree of Theodosius, A.D. 380, by the exertions of Pope Leo the Great, and by the edict of Valentinian III., even though the actual phrase, 'Universal Bishop,' may not have been used. He also remarked that the Eastern emperors were often in the habit of giving to the Patriarch of Constantinople the complimentary title of Œcumenical or Universal Bishop, while they maintained their own autocratic supremacy; while the Western emperors, on the other hand, fully admitted the spiritual claim, but withheld the specific title,—a fact which gives more importance to the decree of Valentinian III. than to those of Justinian and Phocas. This view is still more confirmed by the conduct of Pope Leo at the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, at which his legates obtained the first place of honour, while its decrees were drawn up in his name, that especially against Eutyches being signed by his legate in the name of Leo, 'Bishop of the whole Church.' The general probability seems to be, that the subsequent decrees, which have been exalted by the interpreters of prophecy into epochal changes, were in fact only the results of a compromise between the Eastern and Western churches, each of whom claimed the like universal powers. In conclusion, Mr. Greenwood stated that, in his opinion, the power of Rome made a greater advance through the agency of Pope Leo the Great than in any single pontificate previous to the time of Gregory VII., while at no other period was there, on the whole, a more general concurrence of Christendom in the claims put forth by the Roman Pontiff. Mr. Greenwood then noticed several other facts which militate against the theory of the decree of Justinian being the great epochal period, such as the excommunication of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, by Felix III., in A.D. 481, this anathema being issued on the authority of St. Peter and his successor, Felix, 'Bishop of the Universal Church,' and the subsequent acts of Gelasius, Symmachus, and Hormisdas. Again, the character of Justinian as a legislator is against it. Of his own will he drew up a complete code of laws for the universal church, entering into all the minutiæ of doctrine and discipline, &c. Such a ruler may have disregarded, but almost certainly did not intend to promote the power of the Roman bishop. It is clear that Justinian held that the Imperial sanction was necessary to impart the power of law even to ecclesiastical ordinances. Again, a little before the surrender of Rome to Belisarius, the same emperor had aided the recusant bishops of Illyricum Orientale in their attempt to emancipate themselves from the spiritual jurisdiction of Rome. Again, Justinian applies the title of 'Head of all the Holy Churches' to the Patriarch of Constantinople as well as the Pope of Rome, which looks very like a compromise. There are other instances of a similar kind. Mr. Greenwood then showed that so far from the decree of Justinian marking a period of advancement in the Papacy, it really denoted one of decline. With regard to the second point of commencement for the 1260 years—viz., the decree of Phocas in A.D. 606—Mr. Greenwood had some doubts as to its genuineness, as it is only found in Paul Warnefrid's 'History of the Lombards,' written more than a century and a half after the event; but if genuine, the language of it does not impute an exclusive headship to Rome.

LITERARY AND EDUCATIONAL.

A Society for 'Protecting the Rights of Conscience' has been recently formed in Dublin. The first meeting was held in the month of August. The Archbishop of Dublin, who presided, said, 'By rights, we understand, not necessarily that every one is right in the religion that he adopts, but that his neighbours have no right to interfere with him. We merely maintain that a man has a right, not necessarily a moral right, nor a right in point of judgment, but a civil right, to worship God according to his own conscience, without suffering any hardships at the hands of his neighbours in so doing. . . . . When attempts are made to compel men to conform to what they do not conscientiously believe, by the fear of

starvation, by turning them out of employment when they are honest and industrious labourers, by refusing to buy or sell, or hold any intercourse with them, then I think it is, and then only, that a society like this ought to come forward; and that all persons, whatever religion they may be of, or whether they are of any religion at all or not, in a feeling of humanity and justice, ought to look with a favourable eye on such a society as yours, provided it keep itself within its own proper bounds.'

The Wesleyan 'Mediation Committee' have offered one hundred guineas for the best 'Essay on the Pastoral Function in the Christian Church.' The competition is open to writers of all evangelical communions. The adjudicators are, the Rev. J. Angell James, of Birmingham; the Rev. D. Walton, Sowerby Bridge; and Isaac Taylor, Esq., of Stanford Rivers. The prospectus may be had on application to Edmund Heeley, Esq., Birmingham.

A curious correspondence is given in the 'Jewish Chronicle,' relating to the alleged discovery, near Naples, of a marble vase, bearing an inscription in Hebrew referring to the trial and sentence of Christ. The statement first appeared in 'Le Moniteur Judicare,' of Lyons, from which it was copied by 'La Presse,' and then by the 'Gazette de France,' September 18, 1843; and is to this effect, that when making excavations in the kingdom of Naples in 1808, a brass plate was found on an antique vase of white marble, engraved with an inscription in Hebrew, purporting to have issued directly from the court of Pontius Pilate. It was discovered by the Commissary of Arts attached to the French army during the expedition to Naples under the Empire. It was in the sacristy of the Carthusians, near Naples, in a cedar case, and the vase is still in the chapel of Casente. A translation being made, M. Denon took a copy, which, at the sale of his cabinet, was knocked down to Lord Howard for 4,800 francs. It is as follows:—

'Sentence passed by Pontius Pilate, Regent of Lower Galilee, importing that Jesus of Nazareth shall suffer the punishment of the cross.

'Year 17th of the Empire of Tiberius Cæsar, and the 25th of the month of March, in the holy city of Jerusalem, Annas and Caiphas being priests and sacrificers of God.

'Pontius Pilate, Governor of Lower Galilee, sitting on the Presidential Prætor's bench, condemns Jesus of Nazareth to die on a cross between two thieves; the great and credible witnesses of the people saying,—1. Jesus is a seducer. 2. Jesus is seditious. 3. He is an enemy to the law. 4. He falsely calls himself Son of God. 5. He falsely calls himself King of Israel. 6. He entered the temple, followed by an armed multitude.

'Orders,—That the First Centurion, Quirius Cornelius, conduct him to the place of punishment.

'Prohibits all persons, poor or rich, to hinder the death of Jesus.

'The witnesses who have signed the sentence of Jesus are,—

'1. Daniel Robane, pharisee. 2. Johannes Zorobachel. 3. Raphael Robane. 4. Gapet, public man.

'Jesus to go out of the city by the Stuepee Gate.'

This sentence was engraved on a brass plate: on the sides were these words:—

'A similar plate is sent to each tribe.'

From the Twelfth Annual Report of the Bebek Seminary (belonging to the American Mission), Constantinople, we learn that Protestant Christianity is spreading in the East. The number of students is fifty. The departments of instruction in the institution are as follows:—The principal attends morning prayers at half-past six, after which he hears three classes in English grammar and political economy till eight, when the students have breakfast and an hour for manual labour. The forenoon (from nine to twelve) is mostly given to Armenian studies and mathematics. In the afternoon the Rev. Cyrus Hamlin hears one class in intellectual philosophy, one in natural philosophy, and one in mathematics (excepting the two afternoons when the Rev. E. O. Dwight meets the class in theology), and nearly the whole school in music. The class of Mr. Dwight is composed of eleven Armenian students; and were it not for the language, there would have been

six Greeks in addition. None of the class have finished their prescribed course of seminary study. The studies are,—Doctrinal Theology, Ecclesiastical History, and Interpretation of the Scriptures. The Greek department, comprising fifteen scholars, is conducted mainly by M. Synezius, an accomplished Greek scholar. An interesting part is the manual department, the proceeds of which go a great way to sustain the mission. The stone and tin-ware business was first tried, and afterwards an iron and flouring mill was projected to make up the deficiency of employment. Several former pupils have been pursuing various trades in Armenia, in order to meet the increasing demands of the missionary field. One is on his way with extensive and valuable machinery for sawing, turning, sash-blind and door making, &c. They are also looking forward to adding dentistry, iron foundry, model making, biscuit making, and general machinery, such as printing presses, mill and pump-work. One of the former pupils will soon leave for England to learn the art of reducing copper, lead, and silver ores. That these enterprises should all be accomplished by poor young men, of a nation but recently brought to the notice of the Christian world, is a signal and interesting proof of the great change in public sentiment in the East towards the missionary cause. Perhaps by some of the readers of the 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' this question may be put: Has not the Manual Labour Department made the Seminary a school of mechanics rather than a school of the prophets? The reply made is: 1. Constant, sufficient, and remunerative manual labour for three or four hours a-day has the most happy influence on physical and moral health. Health, contentment, and habits of social intercourse are fundamental points in such an institution. 2. It induces a better tone of religious feeling. 3. Some will, doubtless, enter mechanical employments. Hitherto the ministry has been the most remunerative, but the permanence of such a state of things would not consist with the permanent purity and spirituality of the ministry. The clink of machinery will never drown the divine voice in a real call. In the colleges of New England, not more than one-third of the students, on an average, make any profession of personal piety, and not half of these enter the ministry. 4. Successful enterprise will strengthen and cheer the inert Asiatic, and combine and consolidate the elements of Oriental society. This is beginning to be seen: persons from the interior of the country having admired the might and mastery of the little engine of the Seminary, are planning for flour and saw mills.

A scheme has just been projected for printing and circulating in China a million copies of the New Testament, to be placed at the disposal of the clergy and missionaries of all denominations now in that part of the world. A Chinese New Testament could be printed and sold for fourpence; 17,000*l.* is the whole sum required. The Chinese are a reading people, and receive books with avidity; while special favour will be shown to the volume containing an account of that faith which is professed by the leaders of the insurrection. The movement bears much of a religious aspect; and, though mixed with much error, it is evident that many of the revolutionists possess some knowledge of the Bible and Christianity.

It is stated by the 'Patriot' that a remarkable movement is in progress among the Jews throughout the world, a paper being extensively circulated by an influential Rabbi, in which he proves from Scripture that the time has come when the Jews must prepare for returning to the land of their fathers. The document has been printed in Hebrew and English, and a society has been formed to promote the movement.

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND MISCELLANEOUS.

The Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society has received from their agent in Paris an interesting memorial of gratitude from a number of French soldiers belonging to various regiments which successively have formed the garrison of a certain town. It consists of a vase of artificial flowers, more or less artistically prepared with small coloured beads. The town, the name of which is not given, has for many years past been the place of residence of a Christian female—the wife of a former soldier—who takes a lively interest in the evan-

gelization of those who follow the same profession as her husband formerly did. With this object in view she some years back commenced an evening service. It proved a blessing to numbers. The interest increased so much that a request was made that during the winter these meetings might be of longer duration than was ordinarily the case. It was during these winter evenings that the more skilful among them prepared the bouquet in question. It was the result of the labours of many evenings of several winters. Men of various regiments took part in the work. As the hearts of new-comers were gained for the Bible, they were enlisted in the cause of preparing the bouquet of gratitude; and so, little by little, by a goodly number of French soldiers, out of their trifling pay, the work was brought to a successful termination.

We are happy to be able to inform our readers that Dr. Tregelles hopes very soon to put into the printer's hands a portion of his long-expected edition of the Greek New Testament, and that he will be able to avail himself of the collation of Tischendorff's newly-found ancient MSS. mentioned in another page. We regret to hear that the number of subscribers to a work so truly national is yet very small, and hope this allusion to the subject will not be without effect.

Preparing for publication, by subscription, The Repentance of Nineveh, a Metrical Oration, by Ephraem Syrus; translated from the original Syriac, with an Introduction and Notes, by the Rev. Henry Burgess, Ph.D. of Göttingen, Curate of St. Mary's, Blackburn, and Translator of Select Metrical Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem Syrus. This discourse is perhaps the most remarkable of the numerous works of this celebrated Father of the Church. It is written in heptasyllabic metre, and contains nearly two thousand verses. Although apparently composed for the pulpit, it is in reality a fine epic poem, describing with great force of imagination the results of the mission of the prophet Jonah to Nineveh. Apart from its intrinsic excellences, it is well worthy of notice as a specimen of the Syriac Metrical Literature, hitherto so little recognised, although so extensively employed by the Church in the third and fourth centuries. This work will be printed in the same attractive form as the Hymns and Homilies of Ephraem, recently translated and published by Dr. Burgess.

Mr. Parker, the Oxford publisher, has recently extended his agencies in the principal cities abroad, for the purpose of making the works issued by the University more widely accessible.

In the press, The Genealogies of Our Saviour, as contained in the Gospels of St. Matthew and of St. Luke, reconciled with each other, and with the Genealogy of the House of David from Adam to the close of the Canon of the Old Testament, and shown to be in harmony with the true chronology of the times. By Lord Arthur Hervey, M.A., Rector of Ickworth. (Macmillan and Co.)

In the press, a volume by the Rev. George Gilfillan, Dundee, entitled The Grand Discovery; or the Paternal Character of God, 18mo. Blackader and Co.

In the press, Volume II. of Egypt's Place in Universal History; an Historical Investigation. By C. C. J. Bunsen, D.C.L., translated from the German by C. H. Cotterell, M.A.

Shortly, in royal 8vo., about 150 pp., the Prakritaprakasa (or Sutras) of Vararuchi, with the Commentary (Manerama) of Bhamaha; being a Prakrit Grammar, according to the System of the Hindus. The first complete Edition of the Original Text, with various Readings from a Collation of six Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, and the India House, with Notes: to which is added an English Translation, with an easy Introduction to the Knowledge of Prakrit. By Edward B. Cowell, Oxford.

The proposed new edition of Dr. Johnson's Dictionary will comprise the text of 1773, with Dr. Todd's and other emendations and additions, forming three volumes 4to., under the editorship of Dr. Latham.

M. Perthes, of Hamburg, announces the following works as in the press:—The 12th volume of Ritter's History of Philosophy; the 4th volume of Bunsen's Egypt's Place in the World's History; the 26th issue of Heeran and Ukert's History of

the European States, being the 5th volume of Hermann's History of Russia. Only four volumes of Ritter's History of Philosophy, and one of Bunsen's Egypt, have been translated into English.—*New York Literary World*, July 9.

Nearly ready, Thomas Clarkson, a Monograph; being a Contribution towards the History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Fcp. 8vo. (Blackader & Co.)

Professor M. Williams, of the East India College, Haileybury, proposes shortly to offer to the public a free translation, in prose and verse, of 'Sakuntala,' a Sanskrit drama, by Kalidasa.

In the press, Letters of Rosa and Francesco Madiai, written from their prison; with portraits.

The Book and its Story; a Narrative for the Young, on occasion of the Jubilee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with an Introductory Preface, by the Rev. T. Phillips. Its object is to convey, in the most attractive form, a large amount of useful practical information; and pictorial illustrations have not been spared to embellish the story.

St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians, edited, with Critical Notes and Dissertations, &c., by the Rev. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley. (Murray.)

St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans, edited, with Critical Notes and Dissertations, by the Rev. B. Jowett, M.A., Fellow of Baliol College, Oxford. (Murray.)

The Lord's Prayer, and other Sermons, by C. V. Reichel, B.D., Professor of Latin in the Queen's University, Belfast.

In the press, An Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, including a new and improved edition of the 'Elements of the Gospel Harmony,' with a catena on Inspiration, from the writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, by the Rev. B. F. Westcott, of Harrow School. Also, by the same author, An Introduction to the Study of the Canonical Epistles, including an attempt to determine their Separate Purposes and Mutual Relations. (Macmillan and Co.)

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

(*To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.*)

Sir,—It would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that the German Church has been turned into a camp. Thought, always active in German theology, has taken up arms against a superstition which is the natural offspring of its own extravagances and shortcomings. Romanism of necessity springs from Rationalism. Teach men, in religion, to rely exclusively on their own individual reason, and they are sure to hurry off to the other extreme of credulity. Thus, the Rationalists prepared the way for the Romanists; and the Romanists, in the campaign which they entered on after the restoration to his chair of Pope Pius IX., finding in different parts of Europe, and not least in Germany, a receptiveness of mind which amounted almost to a predisposition for any positive form of belief, commenced a propagandism of the utmost vigour, and with alike combined forces and unity of operation. The assault took German Protestants by surprise. Conquest was therefore easy; shouts of triumph ensued; then the old Lutheran spirit began to arouse; inquiry was made as to how the enemy had got into the land. It was found that the pass had been left unguarded. The danger was imminent; the necessity of self-defence was recognised; and a higher feeling, namely, the duty to protect the ark of God, was soon extensively felt. One after another, therefore, the champions of Protestantism put on their armour, and mustered their forces, until at length the armies of the living God appeared on the plains in battle array. The contest began in earnest, and is now proceeding with as yet dubious issue. The final result, however, may be safely predicted: for never has the banner failed to lead to victory, which the German Protestants have unfurled. It is in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ that they have equipped themselves for warfare.

Faith in Christ they have set in array against trust in the Pope; in other words, they have occupied and fortified the pass which Rationalism left open, and holding that key of the land, can at pleasure expel the invader, when once they have broken his forces.

One consequence of these hostilities is, that the energy of the German Church is very much turned into the channel of controversy. The ability, learning, and zeal, which made Shleiermacher great in the philosophy of religion, and Neander abound in the richest fruits of ecclesiastical history, are now mostly absorbed in the discussion of first principles, in part, to put out the last embers of Rationalism, and chiefly to extinguish the burning brands of Romanism. In short, the battle which Luther 'fought and won' has been recommenced; 'Rome against Zion' is the rallying cry.

Works of what the French call *longue haleine*—works, that is, of great compass and considerable labour on subjects of abstract learning are, under the described circumstances, not to be expected. So far as the battle of the churches is concerned, the folio phase of the controversy is over, and even the octavo is passing into the pamphlet form. Meanwhile the warfare is wide enough and hot enough to attract and fix most eyes. Hence, if readers are numerous, students are few; and students being few, scholarship is at a discount. The day is therefore gone by when works of elaborate and original learning came forth from the German press in rapid succession. However, the supply has not wholly failed. Such works of the kind as have come into my possession I shall proceed to notice, subjoining remarks on a few others also lying on my library table, which are of a lighter and more ephemeral character.

The brightest token of a living scholarship that has lately appeared is a 'Theological and Ecclesiastical Cyclopædia' ('Real-Cyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche:' Stuttgart, Scheitlin), recently commenced under the joint operation of the most learned men in Germany, of the moderate and orthodox schools. To any one familiar with German scholarship, the names of Baumgarten, Böhringer, Gieseler, Guericke, Hagenbach, Hoffman, Jacobi, Leo, Lepsius, Lücke, Müller of Halle, Nitzsch, Pelt, Schenkel, Thilo, Tholuck, Twesten, Ullman, and Wieseler, who are among the contributors, will afford sufficient guarantees of the ability and learning, as well as the conservatism of this great undertaking. We call the undertaking great because the work, instead of being, as are most works of the kind, a compilation of more or less heterogeneous materials made by ordinary hands, will contain a condensed and systematic summary of ascertained results in connection with the vast and diversified province of theology and religion, presenting a complete review of the subject, as revised by the investigations and conclusions of the last half century; drawn up and put together by men most eminent each in his own department, and distinguished in and by the very labours of which he here gives a report in outline. The reader will fall short of a correct conception of the undertaking if he supposes that it is limited to theology, in the strict sense of the term. Whatever concerns the Christian religion in its essence, development, and history, is here set forth under that aspect in which it appears before the eyes of learned Protestants. In consequence, philosophy, history, jurisprudence, archæology, and philology, are all made to bestow their contributions. Excellent in conception, the work is also admirably executed, so far as it has yet been seen by me. By this I do not mean to signify my assent and consent to all its statements, positions, and opinions; but I everywhere find the spirit of sound scholarship, as well as a reverence not only for the Gospel, but also for its archives, and also a frank recognition of its inestimable worth. For a person desirous of taking a bird's-eye view of German theology, I can conceive nothing better. Profound scholars may here find useful summaries and instructive disquisitions; while those who think that it is all barren from Dan to Beersheba in the land of Luther may, if they please, be easily undeceived by the perusal of these learned yet readable pages. I have not space to specify the character, or give the substance of particular articles; but I must indulge myself with a special reference to a contribution on Ancient Egypt, from the pen of that eminent Egyptologist, Professor Lepsius, of the Berlin University, in which the Biblical student may find much fitted at once to enlarge his views, and confirm his

convictions in regard to the origin, authority, and value of the Bible. It is a great recommendation of the work, that on each topic, and each branch of each topic, the best as well as the most recent authorities are mentioned. Thus, in the article on Egypt, literary notices and indications are given, sufficient to guide the student to a full investigation of the whole subject of Egyptian history, ancient and modern.

A work of original learning on the Mosaic law, 'Das Mosaische Recht,' von J. L. Saalschütz, Heyman, Berlin, in which good use is made of the views and determinations of the rabbis or doctors in the Jewish law (a source of information either misused or too much neglected), having real and solid value, though defaced by extreme Rationalistic tendencies, has, under the above title, been re-issued, as if in a second edition (1853); while in reality the very book, all save a new title-page and a brief preface, has been on my shelves for the last four years (the work appeared in 1848). A deceit of the kind deserves exposure, though the publisher may be answerable rather than the author; and would have sufficed to prevent my mentioning the work here, did I not know that with its faults it has merits of no ordinary kind, and may be studied by competent English scholars with great and various advantages. The author, in his original preface, remarks that half a century has passed since the publication of the authoritative work by Michaelis on the subject; room, therefore, was there for another work of similar pretensions, the rather that Salvador ('Histoire des Institutions de Moïse') had looked on the subject with an unfriendly eye, and Hüllman ('Staatsverfassung der Israeliten') had indulged unduly in hypothesis; and particularly because no one had made sufficient use of rabbinical learning in handling the subject. While, however, I acknowledge that the time for a review of the author had come, I cannot say that Dr. Saalschütz has completely fulfilled the conditions of a satisfactory treatment, and know nothing better to do than to refer students to the articles bearing on the subject in Winer's most excellent manual, namely, his 'Biblisches Realwörterbuch,' third edition, 1847.

In exegetical theology, I may bring under the notice of your readers a second edition of De Wette's commentary ('Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch, zum Neuen Testament,' Leipsic, Hirzel) on the Epistles of Peter, Jude and James, prepared by Dr. B. B. Brückner, who has incorporated in the text such additions as the advance of knowledge since De Wette's death seemed to him to supply and require. The work, of which this volume forms a part, and another similar work by Meyer, are the only consecutive commentaries on the New Testament put forth by comparatively recent German scholarship. As such they may claim in a scholar's library a place, which their Rationalistic tone would otherwise cause to be refused to them. Of a better tendency are 'Der Zweite Brief Petri ausgelegt' (A 'Commentary on the Second Epistle of Peter,' by W. O. Dietlein, Berlin, Wohlgemuth); and 'Die drei Johannischen Briefe' ('The Three Epistles of John, with a full Theological Commentary'), by Dr. F. Düsterdieck, Göttingen, 1852; but I must fairly warn your readers that the latter work is incomplete, an octavo volume being occupied in a general introduction, and in bringing the commentary down to the 28th verse of the second chapter of the first epistle. This practice of publishing a work piecemeal is much to be regretted, and indeed blamed, for thereby purchasers are often led to lay out money on books which are never finished. 'Der Segen Jakobs' ('Jacob's Blessing, as found in Genesis xlix, Historically Illustrated'), by Ludwig Diestel, Brunswick, 1853, is one of those perfect monographs of which the German literature is full, and which, being each exhaustive on its topic, have done, and continue to do so much for the enrichment of German theology, by supplying materials carefully discussed and rigidly appreciated, towards the composition of more general and comprehensive works. The present treatise may be laid before an English student as a specimen of the manner in which theological essays should be written.

On ecclesiastical history the only recent work of note are two volumes, in continuation of Gieseler's 'Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte,' Bonn, 1852-3; which bring down the general and particular history of the Christian Church in all parts of the world to the year 1648. The work, in almost every respect far superior to Mosheim's, ought to appear in an English dress. The mention of Mosheim's

work draws from me the reflection that so much in arrear is English theological scholarship, that it scarcely borrows treasures until they are almost quite out of date. In this country Mosheim is still generally the great authority on Church history; yet in the land where he saw the light he is known no more except as a matter of antiquarian curiosity.

An antiquarian curiosity, indeed, lies before me, in the shape of a Life of the great rationalistic Achilles, Heinrich Eberhard Gottlob Paulus ('Paulus und seine Zeit, von Reichlin, Meldegg, Stuttgart, 1853, vol. I.). I call this Memoir 'an antiquarian curiosity,' because for the most part it speaks of a 'light of other days;' that is, of aims, views, desires, opinions, which like all untrue things, have passed away, and left only footprints on the sea-shore of the great ocean of Divine truth. The Rationalistic movement, however, was of too grave a character, and produced immediate results of too destructive a bearing to be allowed to sink into oblivion unregarded and unquestioned. Whence it came, why it came, what it was, and what it did, are questions very necessary to be asked, and very important to be answered. The inquirer may find in this Life of Paulus materials no less curious than abundant and various, mixed up and seasoned with grains of self-estimation on the part of both subject and recorder, which, viewed from our present position, are not a little amusing.

To those who wish to ascertain what, at the present moment, is the tone of thought and doctrine, and what the spirit and life of the German pulpit, I recommend as favourable specimens, 'Predigten von M. M. A. Behr' ('Behr's Sermons'), Leipzig, 1852, and two octavo volumes ('Zeugnisse aus dem Akademischen Gottesdienste zu Göttingen') of Discourses by Dr. T. Ehrenfeuchter (Göttingen, 1849 and 1852). 'The Hanoverian Service-Book' (resembling our Book of Common Prayer), 'Agende der Hanoverschen Kirchenordungen,' von D. L. A. Petri, Hanover, Hahn, 1852), offers to such as are curious in Liturgies, the practice and usages of a Church somewhat differently framed and constituted to any in this country. The employment of the term 'Mass' (as frequently in this volume) in a church-service book of a *Protestant* communion, will doubtless surprise those 'who sit at home at ease,' and fancy that all parts of the world are made exactly like the little world in which they live. The author remarking that both the name and thing have remained in the Protestant Church, thus, after considering other views of the matter, expounds the origin and import of the term:—'It appears to me, in accordance with the majority of opinions, that the word *Missa* (Mass), like confessa, remissa, collecta (our Collects), stood with the later Latin writers for missio (so confessio, remissio, collectio), *dismissal*, and that the word came from the form with which, in each case, Divine service was closed, namely, Ite, missa est, Go, you are *dismissed* (or relieved from mass: in German, *messe*; Latin *missa*). This form was of old employed in the midst of Divine service, when the catechumens who were preparing for baptism were dismissed, and thence was employed at the end of the Communion Service, when the congregation broke up. Hence the two portions of the service, the catechetical portion and the Communion, came to be termed—that, *missa catechumenorum*—this, *missa fidelium*. And as by degrees the latter came to be ordinarily the sole service, so did it receive the general name of missa or mass. This change took place in the fourth century. The transference of the name from the Communion to the whole Divine service, which prepared for and followed the Lord's supper, was easy and natural. "The Mass," therefore, was equivalent to "the Communion," as well as to the public worship of God in general.' (pp. 103, 104.) Among the works I have recently seen of a practical character, two deserve commendatory mention, namely, a neat edition (Leipzig, Reclam, 1853) of the celebrated manual of devotion, Johann Arnd's Paradiesgärtlein ('Arnd's Garden of the Soul'), and an elegant little collection of the best German devotional poetry ('Liederleben der Evangelischen Kirche Auswahl' von H. Wendebourg, Hannover, 1852), presenting specimens from Luther down to Zinzendorf and Ludwig von Pfeil. The demand for such books is one of the more promising signs of the revival of religion in the birthplace of the Reformation.

Only two works of controversy can I here notice—they are both in their respective ways of considerable merit. He that wishes to observe the several phases

of the contest between the Pope and the Saviour of mankind, will find his account in reading the Protestantische Monatsblätter ('The Protestant Monthly Magazine,' edited by Dr. H. Gelzer, 1st vol. to June, 1853), which is full, not only of instructive news, but also of important and well-written disquisition. And he that would thoroughly familiarize himself with the principles and the movements of Jesuitism in its origin, but particularly in its actual workings, secret as well as open, in different parts of the world, and specially in Germany, may find full satisfaction in 'Die Propaganda, ihre Provinzen und ihr Recht' ('The Roman Propaganda, considered in its History, its Rights, and its Operations,' by Dr. O. Meyer, 2 vols. 8vo., Göttingen, 1852), in which the whole system is unveiled and laid open, awaiting judgment from man, preliminary to God's judgment at the last great day.—As at once a piece of information, and a token of the state of feeling in the Protestant Church, I may make mention of seven prizes that were, in June, 1853, announced for public competition by Dr. Marriott, the able and zealous editor of 'The True Protestant,' who acknowledges his obligations in the matter to the pecuniary liberality of an opulent, unnamed friend. The subjects on which the Essays are to be written are:—

1. The Jesuits, their doctrine and their practice, in religious, moral, and political relations, from their origin down to the present day, with a reference to their connection with the Roman Catholic Church and with the Pope.

2. On the influence of Protestantism and Catholicism on states and governments, as well as on the life and prosperity of nations, with special reference to the recent attacks of the Ultramontanists on the Protestant Church.

3. The Protestant Church founded on the Word of God alone, is the continuation of the true Apostolic Church, and consequently is more ancient than the Roman Catholic, which is proved to have fallen away from the primitive Apostolic Church, by its gross deviations from Biblical truth; these deviations to be historically traced as they took place in the lapse of ages.

4. The Papacy and the Bible. In the conclusion the writer will show the right and the obligation of the Protestant Church to offer the pure Gospel to the Roman Catholics.

5. Historical proof that the Romish Church places by the side, nay, in the seat of Christ, the Virgin Mary as well as the saints, and that since the Council of Trent, the worship of the Virgin and of the saints has increased, and is still increasing, connected with an exhibition of the difference there is between the sanctity of the Roman Catholic Church and the holiness required in the Gospel.

6. On the authority of the Apocryphal writings in the Romish Church, and their influence on the formation of its doctrines, with special reference to the conduct in this matter of the Protestant communion.

7. A pictorial exhibition of the Roman Catholic doctrine and practice, shown in a history or biography taken from real life.

The ensuing statistical facts regarding the three districts of Silesia, religiously viewed, are not without interest.

	Breslau.	Liegnitz.	Oppeln.	Total.
Number of Protestants . .	699,384	768,703	90,039	1,558,126
Communicants, 1851 . .	409,460	539,553	65,286	1,014,299
„ 1852 . .	451,030	593,046	67,052	1,111,128
Giving, as increase . .	41,570	53,493	1,766	96,829

In the same province of Silesia, there were, in 1850, received into the Protestant Church, 8 Jews, 368 Roman Catholic adults, with their children; while 187 children received Protestant baptism at the request of their fathers, who were Catholics; while in the year 1851, the number of Jewish converts was 26, of Roman Catholics, 648, including three priests, and of children of Catholic fathers, baptized at their request, 466.

TEUTONICUS.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

Discoveries in the Acropolis at Athens by the French Commission—Description of the lately opened Tombs in the vicinity of Capua, and belonging successively to the Etrurians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Christians—Lecture of Raoul-Rochette at the Salle du Zodiac; Criticism of the pretended Portraits of several eminent Ancients, Cicero, Clodius, Seneca, &c.

Paris, July, 1853.

You are aware of the explorations which, under the patronage of the French government, have been conducted for some time back in the Acropolis at Athens. A Report on the final results, by a committee of the Academy, has just been made to this learned body, and received their approbation. I make from it the following abstract of the discoveries.

M. Beulé, a young antiquary of great promise and enthusiasm, and the principal conductor of the undertaking, found, at the foot of the Acropolis and fronting the central door of the Propylea, that which all things appeared to point to as the ancient entrance of this famous fortress, more or less restored under the Romans in the first centuries of our era. He discovered also, over a small extent indeed, but of remarkable construction, the wall of enclosure crowned or coped like the wall of Themistocles [that which fenced the Pyræus] with the entablatures of ancient temples, in which wall was opened the Doric gate of the citadel. In fine, he remarked, outside, five steps remaining still in their place at the foot of the great stairs, which rose directly to the Propylea. Thus much had been announced last year in a communication to the Academy, which saw such promise in these beginnings as to commend their prosecution to the pecuniary protection of the government. This was given with the usual alacrity and liberality. The object now of the explorers was to bring to light the whole entrance by removing the immense quantity of earth, rubbish, and constructions in which it was buried, by opening in any way consistent with prudence a wide breach in the vast modern bastion which concealed it.

This was effected after three months of continuous efforts, and the application of 250 lbs. of powder, with great precaution. The general results may be reduced to the four or five following heads:—

1st. The parallelism of the exterior façade, as newly discovered, of the Acropolis, and the grand façade of the Propylea—the first being about 24 yards wide, the other a little less, and this space divided into three equal parts: in the middle a wall all of marble, pierced with a Doric door, exactly in the axis of the central door of the Propylea; on the right and left a square tower of stone advancing to defend the entrance of the citadel—all these form a general plan of a fortified entrance, of a simplicity and a harmony quite antique and quite Greek, which seems to combine in one and the same conception the discovered entrance and the Propylea.

2nd. The middle wall, preserved in its full height, which is seven yards, composed of marbles taken from different monuments, and in which are embedded seven pedestals bearing inscriptions, of which there is none that is not anterior to the second century after Christ, proves, by this alone, that if the construction be of the Roman epoch, which is not doubtful, it cannot fall lower than the third century and the reign of Valerian, where the positive testimonies of Zozimus and Zonaras tend, in fact, to fix it. On the other hand, the materials composing the wall have been arranged with a certain taste, a certain regularity which seem inspired by an antique model; and as M. Beulé observes, the frieze especially, which crowns the wall with its triglyphs, accords too well with the triglyphs decorating the walls of the Propylea not to be a reminiscence of the primitive plan. The same may be said of a band of black marble of Eleusis, which is also found in the Propylea, namely, at the Pinacotheca.

3rd. The towers—and this is one of the most important points of the new discoveries—appear to have been razed by the Roman soldiers to three yards and a half above the earth, at the time of the destruction of the walls on the taking of Athens by Sylla. This is why they have not been rebuilt, and that they date back to an epoch long anterior to that of the wall, and undoubtedly Hellenic. Recourse was had, in order to give them elevation without addition, to footing them with

stone along to the rock whereon they rest; a plan which doubled the height by lowering the soil around them. Hence the exhibition here of two different epochs: the upper part, left intact and presenting all the characters of a construction of the great ages, that of Pericles or of Conon after Lysander, and the under part, repaired probably in the times of Valerian, when for the first time the fortifications destroyed by Sylla were restored. Then also it was necessary to place below the ancient level the foundation of the wall re-edified in marble, and the threshhold of the door, in order to make it possible to reach the entrance. The Roman façade was therefore constructed at a lower level of base than the Greek, although in the same place, as is proved by the towers, which have not changed their position. The difference between the two surfaces is a yard and three-quarters, and we shall presently see its bearing on the staircase.

4th. The stairs, of which so large a number of steps have been recovered that, from the first day, so to say, the communication has been successfully established between the door of the ancient wall and that of the Propylea, must have been of the most imposing effect, and formed with the rest a whole full of harmony and grandeur. M. Beulé has demonstrated, by arguments which seem decisive, that the design, the disposition, and probably, also, the first construction, go back, like those of the towers, to the original plan, which was doubtless that of Mnesicles himself. But, differently from the towers, the stairs appear to have been rebuilt entirely at the Roman epoch, although this epoch be here, probably, anterior to that of rebuilding the wall.

5th. The stairs have, in their whole and their details, furnished M. Beulé with a field of particular observations and discoveries of great interest. Thus he has remarked at the height of the central pillar, the probable existence of two small doors, one on each side. That on the north would be reached by the well-known stairs of Pan, at present under ground, but in the open air some thirty years ago. To the south door the passage would be under the temple of Victory, and it is the route, in fact, by which the victims ascended into the Acropolis. This is the reason why the steps, continued above the doorway, are broken off in front of the passage which conducted to the south, and give place to very gently inclined ones, and of which the flags are indented deeply. Although the passage has not itself been recovered, M. Beulé has discovered a narrow pathway cut into the rock, in the middle of which is perceptible, from distance to distance, the tracks excavated by the feet of the animals. This pathway, which follows windingly the inequalities of the rock, may well be that which led primevally across the turnings of the Euneapyla to the primitive gate of which the Propylea has left remaining but one pillar, the sole witness, with the Pelasgic wall itself, of that remote epoch.

Such is the substance of these pregnant discoveries, and in the terms of the committee, for in a matter of such nicety I could not venture to do more than translate, although the sketch will seem rather vague, I fear, except to classical or travelled readers. But as we are soon to have the publication of photographic drawings of the whole scene, and of the progressive stages of the exploration, the curious will be thus enabled to supply the faults of the description.

M. Raoul Rochette, in the last number of the 'Journal des Savants,' presents his promised revelation of the *Tombs of Ancient Capua*. It was known since the end of the last century and the commencement of the present, that those ancient tombs, whenever the cultivation of the fields or some other accident brought here and there to light some of the few which had escaped the greedy search of the colonists of Julius Cæsar, contained *painted vases of then antique fabric* (*vascula antiqui operis*), and other objects of a Greek style. The most remarkable of these earlier discoveries was the celebrated Dodswell vase, made under the supervision of Hamilton, the British ambassador at Naples. But it is in our own day, especially on occasion of the construction of a railway from Naples to Capua, that these discoveries are become numerous and important. The works commenced in 1843 have laid bare for the space of a mile, and all along the railway, a vast necropolis, of which the oldest and deepest tombs had been cut into the rock, and furnished a quantity of painted vases, for the most part of ancient style, some in alabaster and of various shapes, objects in bronze, coins, jewellery in gold and silver, &c. The interest thus excited was followed up by other explorations, which pro-

duced, in 1847, the discovery of above eighty tombs, cut likewise in the rock, and consequently of a high epoch, and adorned with somewhat similar objects. The search has been continued to the present moment though with various success, and it is the results of these latest efforts, which have not yet been laid before the public, that the French antiquary proposes to present us. His account of them, as far as not taken from his own personal inspection, he assures us, rests upon the most authentic and expert testimony.

The tombs (he proceeds) of the most ancient date are generally cut into the rock at various depths, according to the circumstances of the soil. This relative antiquity is evinced by the fact that the tombs in question are commonly surmounted by other tombs constructed and arranged in the Roman manner, and furnished with objects of Roman usage, and by this further circumstance, that upon these Roman tombs are usually found, near the present surface, other sepulchres, which are of the Christian epoch. The same general fact was observed in the necropolis of *Nola*, a city quite adjacent to Capua. There, too, were found generally, four stages of superposed tombs, of which the invariable order indicated plainly the historic succession of the divers systems of civilization which had prevailed in the living city; that is to say, the deepest stage contained the tombs of the primitive population, the aboriginal inhabitants of Campania; then followed the Greek tombs; in the third place the Roman tombs; and finally, near the surface, the Christian tombs. There can be no doubt, then, of this capital notion, that the tombs of greatest depth and cut in the rock are of those of the most ancient epoch of Capua, consequently of the Etruscan period.

These tombs are of several kinds. Most commonly they are constructed of blocks of square form, of great dimensions, of a stone furnished by the soil, adjusted without cement in the manner appropriate to high antiquity. The form is generally a quadrilateral, more or less oblong, and the roof is sometimes flat, sometimes triangular, or with flattened front, as represented in the design of the tomb selected by Hamilton. Sometimes, instead of stones, those tombs are formed of large bricks, and sometimes also those bricks are adorned with bas-reliefs, representing scenes of mythology or funeral ceremonies of a style the most commonly archaic. In the number of these bas-reliefs, M. Raoul Rochette remarked himself representations of *combats of armed men*, some on *foot*, others on *horseback*, in a style and an armour which seemed peculiar and local. These bas-reliefs he attributes to the Samnites, the primitive masters of Capua, and thinks them the only authentic monument now existing, perhaps in the world, of the national art of the Samnites at an epoch anterior by a century to the medals of the 'Social War.'

The tombs constructed of bricks, and which were lined inside by these sculptured tablets, were also adorned with *antefixes* facing the walls outside, and exhibiting *Gorgonian masks*, richly coloured on a *blue ground* with details *in white, black, and red*. Others of these *antefixes* present a *female head* in full face, of a style of archaic design surmounted with a *palm-branch*, and entwining it in *spirals*, which must have a symbolical significance. In this the French antiquary recognizes the Nature-goddess of Asia, and thus a proof of the Asiatic origin of the Etrurians.

Others of the tombs in question are constructed of marble, and they are those belonging to later times and of which the furniture presents less interest. But the greatest number are formed of simple bricks without any ornament whatever; and they are those of the common class of the population, which are mingled, however, with the tombs of the higher classes, without any visible distinction. Some are found, in fine, which are simply dug into the virgin earth, become, by the long lapse of ages, almost as hard and compact as the rock ones; and this class of tombs, of the most humble kind, have commonly a lid of long bricks laid flat across them, or flags of stone. Such are the different sorts of tombs found in the environs of Capua, and always situated along the highways, which they border on either side. This is a circumstance which the French antiquary does not explain. But it arises from the touching sentiment inseparable from the primitive man, that in the grave he must receive solace from the contiguity of his fellows. The simple and superstitious have the like aversion that themselves or friends should be left to solitude in the night of the tomb as in that of time. It is the same con-

crete sentiment that placed the furniture in these ancient tombs, and even fixed the Christian graveyards in the midst of cities.

After these designations, M. Raoul Rochette goes on to specify the most remarkable among the tombs, and of which he holds drawings, made by an Italian architect. One of these tombs, which was constructed of flag-stones, upon a pediment, with a triangular covering, formed by juxtaposed flags of the same stone, had a double interior, made by a wall of enclosure dividing it into two cells, occupied, each of them, by a skeleton. The head of these skeletons was laid against the main wall, and there was in the part of the outer wall which corresponded to the heads a small window, worked regularly, with an intention, says the writer, not to be mistaken, and which is a touching trait of primeval manners. This intention he no doubt deems to be to let in light. But the barbarous nations of Northern Asia leave such a hole to pass in food to the dead, and the savages of North America a similar passage for the spirit: may not either of these purposes, in fact or in reminiscence, be rather the object of the orifice in question? However, they would all three spring from the same sentiment above alluded to. A second sepulchre, says the writer, was of a form quite extraordinary; it was of baked earth, and consisted of two pieces, of a semi-cylindrical shape, which, on being adjusted to one another, composed a complete cylinder; they were fixed together at the base by the means of a disc, painted on plaster, representing a Gorgon mask, having the teeth white, and the tongue, extended from the mouth, coloured red. This tomb, the only one of the kind as yet known, contained the bones of a young man, accompanied with but one object, which was a vase of Greek workmanship.

A third tomb offers still more interest by its size, its dimensions, and also the objects which it contained. It was constructed of stone flags, affecting a pyramidal elevation, and terminated by a flat roof. The interior walls had received a coat of *whitewash*, without plaster, and on this white ground were drawn, in *red*, the figures of *warriors*. Along the interior of the tomb was built a bench of the same stone, on which rested the bones of a skeleton of gigantic height; there was also found a military girdle in bronze, with silver buckles in the front, an iron lance, and several utensils, also of bronze, suspended by iron nails to the walls of the sepulchral apartment. The writer thinks them the remains of a Capuan warrior, interred with several pieces of his armour, and of an epoch that might be thought anterior to the wars with the Romans.

Thus far all details of the tombs of Capua accord with the idea of *inhumation*, which we know to have been generally, though not exclusively, practised by the Etruscans, who are also found to have occasionally burned their dead. From this the learned antiquary concludes the two modes of sepulture to have been contemporaneous, not only with the two different races of the same nation, but also in the bosom of the same people. But he here makes the general oversight of an important distinction, which is, that they correspond to two successive *gradations* of civilization, and so also, it may be, to two subordinate *classes* of the same community. He even interverts the order, by assigning *incremation* to the poor, whereas, on the contrary, it was the more advanced of the two usages. And he suggests, as the reason, that it was the more economical; while in British India the very *reverse* was the special practice of the lower castes, and for the same reason of economy, say our philosophers with like discernment. But, adds the Frenchman, the present examples were of *later* date, of the times of the Romans. Here he betrays, unconsciously, his own position. The lower classes reach in time the like degree of *mental* development, which led the upper, at an earlier epoch, to pass from burial to *incremation*. The *rationale* of the progress cannot be stated here; but the curious may consult for it a book referred to more than once, the 'Vestiges of Civilization,' pp. 331—344.

Another of these tombs of Capua, the most singular in point of form, and the most interesting for its contents, is deemed worthy of special mention. It consists of a cube of stone, of four hands in all diameters, which had been hollowed into a spherical form, and which received a square coverlet of the same stone. The interior of this monolith, thus hollowed, was coloured *red*, and it contained, at the centre, a bronze vase, filled with ashes and bones. This vase, which is by itself a monument of the first order, was accompanied by two painted vases, of Greek style and ancient fabric, the one in the form of a *cup*, the other in that of a two

handled *goblet*. The writer promises to have more to say upon these curiosities in his next article.

Still another tomb is specially curious for its style of architecture. The walls, consisting of single stones in blocks of great dimensions, support a quite lofty pyramidal roof, of which the stones, arranged also in a single layer, are resting one against the other. This is a system of construction which resembles, doubtless, on a small scale, that of the celebrated gallery of Tarentum, at the same time that it approaches the Etruscan manner by a curious circumstance. The roof, composed by blocks of stone, adjusted as described, instead of being pointed on the inside as it is on the exterior, is flattened by an horizontal lintel resting on the blocks, underneath the junction point, which offers something very analogous to the roof of the celebrated tomb of *Cuere*, and other monuments of Etruscan and primitive archæology. This tomb, then, affords a confirmation of the Etruscan origin of Capua. It contained a female skeleton, of which the hair was still well preserved. It also contained several vases of blackened clay, but without figures, two rings in bronze, of which one was adorned with the figure of a *sphynx*, well executed, and two small bronze coins of Naples, with the stamp of a *human-faced bull*.

The author reserves for the last place the Capuan tomb of most recent discovery, and also the most important for its mass, construction, and preservation. It is entirely built of blocks of stone, and raised above the ancient soil. It consists of a square mass, resting upon two retreating pediments, so as to constitute in the whole monument one of those *pyramids of three truncated stages*, of which the shape connects it closely with the *pyre* of the Assyrian Sun-god, and of which the employment thus attests the Asiatic origin of the Etruscans. The body of the tomb bears on each face, at the two angles, two pilasters, on which is sculptured, in rather low relief, an *Ionic column*. This is a phenomenon perfectly new in Etruscan antiquity, to which, certainly, belongs the present Capuan tomb. The *Ionic column*, thus sculptured eight times upon the tomb, offers accordingly all the characters of a primitive epoch. It has no pedestal, and the shaft retreats from the lower diameter to the superior, in the enormous ratio of two-thirds of that diameter, while the height of the shaft falls short of three modules—all circumstances of which no examples are known in even the oldest columns of Grecian Doric. Upon this shaft of the column, of proportions so heavy, and inclination so pyramidal, is placed a *voluted capital* of a form the most simple which has doubtless been ever observed in the Ionic order, and which must have belonged to its very infancy. The crowning of the monument is of kindred heaviness and rudeness: it consists of a broad plat-band, serving the purpose of an architrave, and decorated at the bottom with a row of square pieces, which are neither *mutules* nor *modillions*, but rather *denticles*, like those observed on the sort of frieze which crowns the pillars of the Egyptian tombs of Beni-Hassan, and which Champollion and his school term *proto-Doric*. But the same ornament is found on the tombs of *Telmissus* in Lycia; so that the style is Asiatic as well as Egyptian. Here, then, is another proof of the Eastern origin of the ancient Capuans, in contradiction of the opinion of Niebuhr. But, more than this, it would go to show that the 'Ionic order' was of Assyrian origin, as the Doric was undoubtedly of Egyptian. In this way Greece would have only the credit of inventing the Corinthian, and carrying the two older forms to perfection. I beg your readers to take notice, in the book above referred to, p. 285, at the close of the chapter on architecture, of the *à priori* affirmation of this most important doctrine.

M. Raoul Rochette will entertain us, in a future paper, with explanations of the various articles of furniture found in these tombs. From my reiterated reference to the researches of this gentleman, and also his first-class eminence among the antiquaries of Europe, I had yesterday the curiosity to go to hear his weekly lecture. The place is an apartment on the ground-floor of the Imperial Library, and which is peopled around the walls with Egyptian mummies, and other mementos that remind one of the ages of the past. At the bottom of the hall, to which it worthily gives its name, stands the celebrated Zodiac of Denderah; and, fronting the lecturer's desk, is itself, to the reflecting, the most eloquent, however mute, of all lecturers. No attention was, however, paid it by the lively and familiarized throng, who sat in chatting expectation of the appearance of the living orator, and among whom I observed some ladies at the

same time busy at their sewing, but who changed the needle for the note-book on the commencement of the lecture.

This lecture chanced to turn upon three interesting topics, proposing to combat the current conceptions transmitted by statues and engravings respecting three celebrated characters of antiquity. The first discussed was Cicero, whose busts were denied to be genuine, as representing him with a lank, melancholy, mortified expression of countenance, whereas he himself, in his letters to Atticus and other places, says M. Raoul Rochette, describes his face as, on the contrary, expansive, animated, jovial. And this would certainly best consort with his oratorical temperament, a temperament rarely coupled with a rigid, reflective countenance. Witness Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and even Chatham. The same remark would cast a doubt upon the shrivelled portraits of Demosthenes, although his oratory also was exceptionally *stringent*. The alleged mistake in respect to Cicero was imputed by the lecturer to modern archæologists, and more especially Visconti—who, on insufficient data, and from other motives, often personal, proclaim some unknown busts or statues as genuine portraits of eminent ancients.

The second case of this misconstruction animadverted on by the lecturer, was the fatal enemy of Cicero, the infamous Clodius. In some part of Italy, I forget where, there are still preserved two statues—the one of a man dressed in female clothes, and the other of a woman, and which are shown as representing the historically-known device of the said Clodius to obtain an interview with Cæsar's wife, for the purpose of corrupting her, in the exclusively female sanctuary of the *Bona Dea*. But the French antiquary, from a multitude of indications which I cannot specify, thinks this to be another great mistake. These two confronted statues he conceives to be, respectively, Achilles and one of the daughters of Lycomedes, and to form portion of a group which would have been made up originally of the other daughters, the king himself, Ulysses, Neoptolemus, and the other details, as drawn by Ovid after Homer.

The third subject of his illustration was still more interesting or suggestive. In all Italian explorations there is turned up, with singular frequency and on both busts and statuettes, a curtained, sanctified cast of countenance, which, among other characteristics, wears a sparse and shaggy beard. This is taken to be Seneca's, on the *ipse dixit* of Visconti. Two objections have been made to his construction. First, it has been urged that Seneca was not in early ages a personage of sufficient eminence to have occasioned these general honours; and secondly, what was more peremptory, that he must, as Roman, have shaved his beard. Answering the former by the literary popularity of Seneca, Visconti replied to the latter, that the portrait was but 'badly shaven.' And to judge by even his own drawing of it, which was exhibited to us by the lecturer, it must be said to have been *very* badly so indeed—in somewhat the sense that Horace Walpole assented to the assurance of Dr. Robertson's being a 'moderate Whig' by a '*very* moderate.' In other words, the portrait was very plainly not shaven at all. It therefore is not that of Seneca, said the lecturer. And not being Roman it must be Greek, and among the Greeks some great philosopher, whose aspect is not elsewhere recorded or recognized. The learned antiquary would not venture to specify names; he would merely say his general impression pointed to Chrysippus. The conjecture seemed to me felicitous beyond what he perhaps suspected. Chrysippus, it is known traditionally, was the most advanced of the Stoic moralists, and consequently most akin to the Christian system. It was this which brought him, on the eve of the advent of Christianity, a general reverence that would have also sought expression in the way in question.

The manner, too, of the lecturer was interesting by its liveliness, although he *nasalizes* beyond the licence of even his nation. He is a gentleman about some 55 years old; of lowish stature, French head, and the forehead of an antiquary, that is to say, a little pedantic and pugnacious.

Discovery of numerous Coins of the ancient colony of Naxos – Fixation of the site of Ovid's place of exile by an inscription discovered at Varna—Character of Latronne, the late eminent archæologist —His explanation of the Zodiac of Denderah, and of the Statue of Memnon – Discovery of mural paintings of the Middle Ages at Avignon, and their description as masterpieces of the art – Reminiscences of the Bible at Nineveh—A late discovery, illustrative of the topography of the *Odyssey* —Arrival of Egyptian antiquities.

Paris, August, 1853.

The papers mention two discoveries of some antiquarian interest. One was made in the vicinity of Messina in Sicily. In digging on the site of the ancient colony of Naxos—founded 784 years before our era—the workmen came upon four urns, composed of baked earth, and containing some 3000 Greek coins. The material of the coin is bronze, and the date varies from the sixth down to the fourth century before Christ. Thus covering, more or less consecutively, a range of two hundred years, this precious collection must throw fresh light upon at least the local, perhaps the insular history. It has been sent to the Bourbon Museum of Naples.

The second discovery, reported in an Athenian journal, is said to have been made in Bulgaria. It consists of two inscriptions in Greek. One of these establishes the site of the ancient *Tomos*, so famous as the place of exile of Ovid; the other, found at Varna, also identifies this city with the ancient Greek colony of Odessus. Thus would be refuted the opinion which, on the contrary, identified Varna with Dionysiopolis, and misled Catherine to give its classic name to the commercial port of Odessa.——

Here is an interesting sketch of two of the principal achievements that the science of archæology has yet to boast—the explanation of the *Statue of Memnon* and of the *Zodiac of Denderah*. I translate from a recent notice on the chief performer in both the feats, the competitor as well as countryman of Champollion —Latronne. The writer is illustrating the character of this great antiquary, of which the following was, it seems, a leading eccentricity.

One of the many singularities of this man, so formidable in polemics, and so fervid in the strife of controversy, was his patience in awaiting success. More than once M. Latronne, after having thrown out a bold idea, left it thenceforth during ten or fifteen years to make its way. Meanwhile, upon this hint, the critical learned and the curious traveller, French and foreign, had gone to work with assiduity. Texts, drawings, and specimens poured in on every side. Then, resuming the idea, to which so many had contributed, but which still remained essentially his own, Latronne made himself umpire of the competition which he had opened, selected from the rich materials now accumulated to his hand, and rejecting some, adopting others, revised at intervals the whole inquiry, until at last he produced a consummated result.

Such results were, for instance, his curious publications on the antiquity of the zodiacs found in Egypt, and on the age of Egyptian monuments in general. It was a commonly received opinion that all the temples of this country appertained to the Pharaonic epoch, and that the zodiacs which they contained must have been consequently sculptured some twenty-five or thirty centuries before our era. M. Latronne, in 1817, undertook the revision of this theory, which he considered as exceedingly problematical. By the interpretation of some inscriptions, he soon arrived at the conviction that their object was to commemorate the completion and even the erection of certain temples by the Greek kings. In 1821 he developed this opinion in the *Journal des Savants*. Great scandal and vehement agitation took place among the settled doctrines. In 1823 he treated the question anew. This work was not quite through the press, when the architects Huyot and Gau recognized several styles, and, by consequence, several epochs of construction in the Egyptian monuments, and classed among the most recent the temple of Denderah. Then Champollion, having discovered the phonetic alphabet, read the hieroglyphic legends of Nero and Commodus on the bas-reliefs accompanying the zodiacs of Denderah and Esnéh. Finally, M. Caillaud brought from Thebes a mummy, of which the case interiorly painted contained at once a planisphere exactly the same as that of Denderah, and a Greek inscription with the date of the reign of Trajan. Thenceforth the demonstration of what M. Latronne had advanced was superabundantly supplied: the zodiacal representations were at a single blow curtailed of their venerable age by three thousand years. It is thus that Champollion, MM. Huyot, Gau, and

Caillaud, by their toilsome investigations on the spot, had collected the proofs of that which M. Latronne had seen distinctly without leaving Paris.

In this 'question of the *zodiac*,' M. Latronne enjoyed a sort of pleasure for which he had a particular relish, that of attacking an erroneous and accredited opinion. In the great affair of the vocal statue, otherwise styled the 'Memnonian question,' the situation of the subject was quite different. Not an adversary showed himself —it was a case without an advocate; there was no one to be contradicted. What, then, was to be done?

It is known that in the plain of Thebes there are two statues seated melancholily beside each other for now some four thousand years,—giants which, standing up, would reach the height of a hundred feet, and both of which represent King Amenophis III. Twenty-seven years before the Christian era one of these monoliths was cracked by an earthquake, and the upper portion all detached from the mass. At the commencement of the third century it was replaced by Septimius Severus in the condition which it occupies to the present day. The legs are covered with inscriptions, Egyptian, Greek, and Latin. The first revealed to Champollion their mysterious signification, and permitted him to read the name and the royal titles of Amenophis III., who reigned some twenty-seven hundred years before Christ. The others, traced by personages of every condition, generals, prefects, magistrates, women, simple officers, in the midst of which shines the name of an emperor, attest this to be the statue so famous since the Ptolemies as that of Memnon. During the two first centuries of the Roman domination, the colossus of Memnon, in its fractured state as just described, was the monument which, next to the pyramids, excited the most vividly the curiosity of travellers, on account of the sounds which it emitted. To the ancients this phenomenon remained always inexplicable: some suspected it, very wrongly, of being a cheat; to the greater number it was a prodigy, the supernatural result of magic power. Saint Jerome declared this voice of the statue an oracle of the false gods, and an inspiration of the devil. On the revival of letters the learned spoke of the colossus upon the authority of the ancient writers, but without knowing if it existed still. Then came Pococke, who brought back with him a drawing of the two statues, and an incorrect copy of a part of the inscriptions. This was long a theme for the labours of the erudite, who could not reach a satisfactory explanation. Finally, the authors of the 'Description of Thebes' declared expressly that the question was insoluble. Oh, there was the rub! this precisely was what was requisite to set Latronne at work. To proclaim the question to be arduous to the degree of insolubility was to inspire him with an invincible desire of finding the solution.

Here, again, his progress and procedure in this task, the support which he derived from all sides, the originality of this inquiry which he executes in his cabinet upon documents which others are to bring him from afar—all this presents the mind with an interesting study. In 1824, an English consul, by the name of Salt, had copies taken of all the Latin and Greek inscriptions of the colossus, and transmitted them to the Royal Society of Literature of London, who passed them immediately to M. Latronne. They were much more exact and legible than those of Pococke. In 1838, Nestor Lhote took on the spot, not now copies, but *impressions* of the inscriptions. He set out on his return to France, designing his collection for M. Latronne. An accident by sea destroyed the whole. Fortunately the star of M. Latronne would have it that this traveller should have been gifted with the rarest perseverance. He came back to Paris but to obtain from the government the means of setting out anew. He returned into Egypt, repassed over all the traces of his former journey, took again with noble zeal his imprints of all the Memnonian texts, and delivered them, in fine, to M. Latronne altogether, classed in the order of the inscriptions on the statue. It was absolutely as if the colossus itself, transported from its place, had been deposited upon the desk of our philologist. Luckier than Mahomet, M. Latronne had not to go to the mountain; it came to him. With the copies of Salt, and the imprints by Nestor Lhote, he finds himself in full possession of the whole question; he thenceforth knows more of Memnon than all the travellers to Egypt. The testimonies of Diodorus, of Strabo, of Pausanias, of Lucian, of Pliny, he weighs and discusses with authority. The inscriptions mutilated by time or by the hand of man, or incorrectly written by the Greeks and Romans themselves, he rectifies and fills up with that sagacity

which in him arose occasionally to a pitch of divination. After having published in the first place his 'Greek and Latin Inscriptions of the Colossus of Memnon,' and afterwards the 'Vocal Statue,' he returns a third time to the subject in 1848, in the second volume of his magnificent work—*Recueil des Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de l'Egypte.*

I have only space for the explanation of the *vocality* of the statue. Respecting the inscriptions I will merely add a word. Of the seventy-two indited in Greek or Latin characters, thirty-five are dated and comprised between the reigns of Nero and Septimius Severus; twenty-seven are of the time of Hadrian, seven of which were written while this Emperor and Sabina his wife were at Thebes, which was the most memorable epoch of the vocal statue. I add that one inscription consists of only two words, engraved in bold and enormous characters—the *Emperor Hadrian.* With regard to the vocal property, the following is Latronne's solution:—

What was the cause (proceeds the writer before me) of the vocal phenomenon, and how came it that Amenophis was transformed into Memnon? This M. Latronne has examined with his usual lucidity. He informs us that *Memnoun* was, in the Egyptian tongue, the name of a district of Thebes where the dead were prepared for embalmment. Of this Memnoun the Greeks of the times of the Ptolemies made *Memnonia*, and the broken statue being in the neighbourhood of the Memnonia, it was called Memnon. Then, according to their poetic usage, the Greeks thereon built up a scaffolding, and framed upon the vocal power our ingenious history. This colossal Memnon became the son of Aurora. The dews, that every morning were seen to trickle down its cool surface, were the tears of the mourning mother over the premature death of her son; in fine, the sounds were the plaintive accents of the son responding to her grief. As to the real explanation of the phenomenon, it was simple. A property peculiar to the sort of stone of which the statue is made, consists in its fracturing into flaws by the alternative action of the deep moisture of the nights and the intense heat of the days. Hence the *sonorous creaking* which all antiquity took for a miracle. Champollion often heard a similar sound in the granite quarries of Syène, and in the granite department of Karnac. This sonorous vibration cannot take place in a mass of rock which is homogeneous and perfectly sound. When the statue in question was entire, no sound whatever had escaped it; broken, it became the vocal wonder of the world. Septimius Severus, in directing the restoration of the upper part, in hopes of still improving the voice, did but reduce the statue to complete silence. No unfit emblem of other 'restorers' of antiquity!

I sent you, in my July letter, an analysis of the description, by M. Raoul Rochette, of certain tombs of ancient Capua, and mentioned that this antiquary was to give, in a future paper, a critical examination of the artistic portion of the contents. This he has proceeded with in the last number of the same journal. The antique objects of the tombs in question he distributes into three classes:—'1st. Painted vases of clay; 2nd. Vases and figured objects of bronze; 3rd. Figurettes and bas-reliefs of baked earth;' the medals which were also found there will form the subject of a special article.

The first or argillaceous clays engross entirely the present paper. I do not find the details of sufficient popular or general interest to sketch them in any amplitude for your readers. I will merely, therefore, note you the structural character of the chief objects, and the general tenor of the painted symbols that adorn them.

The shape is commonly either that of a drinking-cup (*patera*) or a pitcher (*amphora*), sometimes two-handled, and the correspondence between these two utensils is obvious. The figures are most generally painted in red, upon a black or a yellow ground; the latter being, it seems, the earlier of the two usages. But instances have also occurred where, on the contrary, the ground was red, and then the figures were in black, which is deemed the latest of the three fashions. I say *fashions*, for the author appears to think the thing a mere caprice. The succession which he alludes to is recognized but as a *fact*, derived alone from archæological evidence. But this fact involves a principle, a progression, a philosophy, and is susceptible of demonstration *à priori*. It is much to be regretted that archæologists remain unconcious of the first grand requisite of their inquiries, *a gradation of æsthetical history.* It would enable them to pour new life into the withered relics

of their subject-matter, and make the results of popular interest and universal elucidation.

As to the subjects of these fictile paintings, they are generally Bacchanalian; and not Bacchanalian merely, but some of them are even obscene. The jolly god himself, adorned with vine-leaves, and flanked by women, holds the central place, on either semi-circumference, amongst the vases. And then, the bordering on the interior is decked with nymphs, menads, satyrs, in all their attributes and attitudes of infamy. What a viaticum to place beside the lifeless body of a friend or relative in preparation for the serious passage of the grave! And yet it was not so unsuitable when we consider that he was expected to encounter in his new existence another *Capua*.

Connected with this notion is another fact which the author mentions, but unaccompanied, as usual, with the explanation. One of the rarest of those Capuan vases for exquisite finish and design, is kept in fragments by a neighbouring vender of antiquities. 'For, unfortunately,' says our antiquary, 'it had been *burned* in antiquity; a thing which happened but in case of vases of special value, which used to be *burned and broken* on the funeral pyre of the dead.' But wherefore this queer custom, he does not say. It was clearly, however, in keeping with the combustion and the destruction to which the body, which the vase was destined for, was now subjected. Thus the Siamese throw written papers on the funeral pyre of their dead when they wish the contents to be transmitted with them to the future world. It was simply on the same principle that all these vases were buried whole, while the bodies they accompanied had been interred in their integrity. And the bodies ceased to be so from a tranformation of the religious sentiment. The process of *incremation* was a final effort to preserve the body *in the elementary condition of ashes*, from the decay, the annihilation, which long experience had shown to await it, in the case of burial, and even of embalmment. And this ultimacy of the usage and advancement of the doctrine explain, accordingly, the higher perfection observed in the *burned* and *broken* vases: it was simply that they belonged to a long posterior age of art, as the combustion of the dead does to a maturer age of intellect. It is thus that a touch of philosophy resolves exceptions and eccentricities—or rather what antiquaries so consider—into harmony and rule.

But instead of any similar effort or attention to the *moral* side, to the psychical meaning of these curious articles of the Capuan tombs, M. Raoul Rochette comments alone on the technicalities of style and ornament, and in support of his favourite thesis, the Etrurian origin of Capua. I do not dispute this origin, nor the importance of its discovery, nor even the probatory value of his criticism of the vases. But I conceive (and have over and over, I trust, exemplified in these letters) that the facts themselves which he proceeds upon, demand a previous explanation, and that this requisite would, at the same time, besides enforcing his special object, supply fresh sources of general interest and instruction. However, there may be something of this kind as yet to come, when he is treating the two remaining heads of Bronze Objects and Medals.

A French religious publication, the *Revue des Bibliothèques paroissiales*, reports the following very interesting discoveries. They consist of certain paintings of the highest importance to Christian æsthetics, and just recovered at Avignon, beneath thick coatings of plaster and whitewash.

They were found, some in the apartment which was once the chapel of St. Jerome of the ancient Church of the Celestines, and the other upon one of the walls of the chapel which was founded in 1431, in the Church of Saint-Pierre-de-Luxembourg, and near the tomb of Saint John Réolin, bishop of Autun.

This is, certainly, says the writer, one of the most beautiful pages which the painting of the middle-ages has bequeathed us. The *Campo-Santo* of Pisa can, in the judgment of the most erudite critics, and the most competent artists, show nothing more perfect or better preserved. The picture, which in its utmost breadth may measure about two yards, is painted on the ceiling of the chapel of Réolin, and is composed of twelve figures. The following are the subjects represented:—

A vast landscape. On the right, the interior of a church, of which the finely-veined ceiling is painted in ocean-blue. The arches, which are circular, rest on

marble colonnades of extreme lightness, and which present, upon their Gothic capitals, some statues of a composition combining boldness of design with marvellous delicacy of execution. The artist, so to say, has pierced the Christian temple through and through, to let the light in upon the principal scene of this mysterious composition.

Magdalene is kneeling at the foot of an altar of primitive simplicity, and on the middle of which beams a chalice of gold (in Roman style), covered with the pallium. This altar has no other ornaments than a picture on a golden ground, representing Jesus crucified and bleeding, the head surrounded with a glory in shape of a Byzantine cross, and the two Marys at his feet. Covered with her profusion of long yellow hair, of which the last ringlets roll on the marble of the floor, a glory around her brow, and her hands clasped together, Magdalene is going to receive communion from a holy bishop, wearing a stole and lofty mitre of gold, holding in one hand the holy sacrament, and in the other the paten. This head of a bishop is evidently a portrait. On both sides of the altar, two lovely children, side by side, on their knees, wearing a red robe, and over it a white dalmatic, hold, extended under the hands of the officiating bishops, the napkin of the eucharistic banquet. Three ecclesiastics, in surplices so long as to scarce leave visible the lower edges of their garments—of which one is blue, another rose colour, and the third red—attend, collected and kneeling at the august ceremony. One of them holds a double wax-light, twisted spirally towards the middle. They have all three, like the choral children, the monacal crown of tonsure.

In the middle of the painting, and on the fore-ground, a road is opened, which crosses first the thicket of a wood, after winds up the verdant side of a hill, and then, enclosed between two parapets, leads, through several sinuosities to a white *house*, adjoining which is an enclosure of high walls. Not far off, on the left, arises a Gothic cross of stone. On a remoter ground, is distinguished vaguely a wall, having towards the middle a gate, flanked by two turrets. On the background, towards the summit of the hill, there arises something like the trunk of a decayed tree.

On the left, upon the fore-ground, and near a cell shaded by tall trees, a venerable hermit, with bald head and long grey beard, wrapped in a cloak and ample cassock of hair, the feet bare, contemplates, in astonishment, the communion of Magdalene. He carries at his girdle a rosary, with enormous stones, and terminated by a Greek cross. He is leaning with the right hand upon a clumsy and crooked staff, having at the end a rudely-sculptured human head. The left hand is lifted over his head, to save the eyes from the dazzling light that descends upon him from above. In fact, the firmament of the picture is quite open. Magdalene is represented in the azure of heaven, a glory around her brow, her hands joined upon her breast, covered along to the feet, as with a garment, by her flowing hair, and borne aloft by four angels, with wings extended and tipped with gold. It is a veritable *Assumption*. The four transporting angels are of infinite elegance; they are clothed in rich white robes, over which are floating, light and graceful, their long and rosy-coloured scarfs.

Nothing, concludes the writer, can express the charm, the suavity, and above all, the finish of this original composition. Except some gilt portions, which have been a little damaged, the whole is in fine colour and in perfect preservation. I beg to add that I have allowed him to speak his rapture in his own language, with all its Romish technicality and mediæval veneration.

There are, it seems, other *antiquities*, besides the architectural, at Mossul. M. Place, the French consul, engaged in searching for the latter, sends us, also, in a private letter, the following samples of popular religion.

'This country,' says he, 'abounds in the most curious reminiscences; and here is one that will undoubtedly surprise you. Last week, the town of Mossul has celebrated three fast days, followed by a day of recreation, in commemoration of the penitence imposed on the Ninevites by Jonas. As the observance takes place from time immemorial in this country, it seems quite natural, and I heard nothing of it the last year till it was long past. But this year I resolved to be a witness to it myself, and you may say that you have it from a consul present on the spot, that a whole city consecrates annually, and in the manner just described, one of the strangest and oldest stories of the Bible. What is still more striking is, that

the Mussulmen themselves respect this tradition and keep the festival the same day with the Christians.

'It is true that the Koran has an entire chapter devoted to Jonas, and that in front of Mossul, there is, upon an artificial mound, a very venerated mosque, deemed to cover the tomb of the Hebrew prophet. It is even so venerated, that, although we know this hillock to contain some of the most precious archæological relics of Assyria, it is not possible for us to submit it to exploration. To touch the earth that holds the tomb of Jonas would be to kindle a revolution. Every Friday, at the hour of prayer, it is a place of pilgrimage to the multitude.

'Connect these facts with the respect which still surrounds the tomb of Daniel at Suza, where men of all religions assemble to pray, and which could not be violated without exposing oneself to massacre, and tell me if there be a country which could interest more your ancient pupil. [M. Place has doubtless heard of the late revival of religion—though not the religion of the Bible—at home, and might think of courting 'the powers that be' by this sly suggestion of his pious sympathies.]——

'Would you wish, he proceeds, another reminiscence of the Bible, which is the more curious in that its existence does not depend on the will of men? You remember the famous fish of the youthful Toby, of which it seemed difficult to admit the existence in a river where one would scarce expect a fish so large as to frighten a man.

'Well, this fish does exist; it is frequently caught in the Tigris, and I assure you that it is armed with terrible teeth. When I shall be more at leisure, I will go, with some assistants, to catch one of the largest size attainable, and if I succeed, I will carry the skin to the Museum of Natural History. I was brought one, in fact, yesterday: but, in the first place, it was not I who caught it, and then it weighed scarcely three hundred pounds; it was too small. I gave it to my Christian workmen, who were fasting.'

A late account from Rome says, that a learned Hellenist, of the Vatican library, has just made a discovery of great importance to the ancient topography and the explanation of the poems of Homer.

There were found, a few years ago, in the basement of a house which was pulled down in the street Graziosa, on the Esquiline Hill and near the Santa-Maria-Maggiore, two quite remarkable Roman frescos. In 1850, in demolishing a house adjacent to the former, six other pictures, of which five are in a state of perfect preservation, were turned up. They represented the different episodes of the voyage of Ulysses, such as this prince relates them to Antinous in the *Odyssey*. These curious paintings, detached with care, are now in the Museum of the capital.

After having studied the scenes, the savant alluded to has proved, from the interpretation of a verse of the *Odyssey*, that the first of the paintings, of which the subject is the arrival of Ulysses in the country of the *Lestrigons*, represents the environs of Terracina. This verse (the 104th of the 7th book) and the picture are in perfect accord with the perspective which is present at this day by the seaport named. Thus is found elucidated a point hitherto obscure in ancient geography; for no one could say exactly where lay the port and city of the Lestrigons.

A letter from Alexandria, dated the 5th of August, announces the departure thence of a French post-steamer, having on board, for our menagerie, a living hippopotamus, and a large number of cases full of Egyptian antiquities. Here will be probably a harvest of materials for your correspondent.

A.

Explanation of the astronomical Table found by Champollion in the tomb of Rhamses VI. at Thebes; its importance towards a reconstruction of Ancient Chronology—Jewish antiquities on the borders of the Dead Sea; ruins of Sodom, Gomorrah, &c.; the American discovery of Lot's Wife; veracity of the local traditions about the accursed cities, and strange omission of any mention of the catastrophe in the Bible; its true and natural cause; description and explanation of the 'Tomb of the Kings' at Jerusalem—Explorations of a Roman Cemetery at Lillebonne, in France—Curious contents of the tombs of infants, of whom the bodies were interred unburned—Explanation of this anomaly—Philosophical rationale of the three successive modes of sepulture: Interment, Embalmment, Incremation.

Paris, Sept. 1853.

A FAMOUS document, found by Champollion in the tomb of Rhamses VI. at Thebes, has been the subject of two most interesting memoirs by M. Biot, of which the second has just been read before the Academy. The discoverer, with his usual almost præterhuman intuition, had conjectured the contents to be a table of the risings of certain stars, distributed from fifteen nights to fifteen nights for an entire year; but death prevented his proceeding to demonstration and specification. This is the task which M. Biot, beneath the weight of his fourscore years, has brought his immense learning, both astronomical and mathematical, to accomplish.

The questions to be settled were successively as follows:—Was the nature of the document such as Champollion had indicated—to wit, a list of the risings of stars? Of what kind were the risings? What was the principle of their arrangement? To what period did their dates refer? Which were the stars selected, or were they constellations? Very few readers would imagine the vast variety of researches, as well historical as astronomical and mathematical, which are involved in the fixation of these few particulars, left without date or other direction, as it were, afloat on the chartless ocean of primeval Egypt. Of the landmarks thus established or explored by M. Biot, I can cite, however, but the following curious specimen:—

The Egyptian year, it is known, was measured not exactly like ours: it consisted roundly of 365 days, whereas in reality the earth makes its revolution round the sun in 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 48 seconds nearly. This surplus our present calendar takes in by the contrivance of intercalating a day in every fourth year; but the Egyptians never bethought them of an expedient so seemingly simple. Their years were left to count on regularly without any rectification, and therefore ran into progressive discord with the true period, until the error brought round their seasons, through vast but calculable tracts of time, into exact harmony with the European or astronomical. Well, an instance of this concordance must have occurred in the reign of Rhamses; and the special position of the heavens, at the precise date of the coincidence, is that exactly of which the document found in his tomb presents the table!

Here then is one point rescued from the chronological chaos. M. Biot, by its aid, has determined three or four others. He has established that the principal star of the table was Sirius; that the risings were heliacal: and that three of them occurred respectively in the years 1240, 1300, and 1444 before our era.

Special attention is directed by the learned Academician to two conclusions which he deduces from his disquisitions: one, the fact of the strange perfection which the document supposes in the practical astronomy of Egypt at this early date; the other, the expediency that all the so-called Egyptologists should set to searching for similar records in other tombs, it being—in consequence of such proficiency, and also the testimony of Aristotle—more than probable that there were registers of several eclipses of the sun and moon, and of which the recovery would complete our means of reconstructing ancient chronology.

The solid grounds of the last suggestion are incontestable. Not so with the mental forwardness inferred by M. Biot. He found indeed this specimen of ancient Egyptian astronomy, on being compared with our solar tables, of great exactness. Such a work, he thinks, extended systematically through an entire year, supposes numberless observations, continued long and perseveringly, with a judicious choice of the stars whose risings took place exactly at the assigned intervals. But the structure of the table he deems more surprising still; and most wonderful of all, its execution, its idea; for the thing was practicable but at the precise date when it was tried, or at the epoch of coincidence between the solar and Egyptian years. But does he know that this was choice, and not *chance*—that is, a result of the

perennial repetition of the trial? The observations and the assiduity required to make them are not out of measure with the known patience and primevality of the Egyptian priesthood. In short, the wonder of M. Biot is in large part an illusion.[a]

M. Prosper Merimée, an eminent antiquary and French senator, has lately published, in the *Moniteur*, a very curious critique on the Holy Land. The occasion was the book of M. F. de Saulcy, entitled, *A Voyage around the Dead Sea and in the Biblical Lands*,[b] a book of which I may possibly send you an early notice. Meanwhile I give you an abstract of the lucubrations of the learned critic.

He begins with chiding the incredulity with which the oral statements of M. de Saulcy had been received, it seems, on his return, by the French savants.[b] The observations were many of them questioned, and his conclusions from them denied. It was insinuated politely that he had forgotten what lay before his eyes, and even that he had seen what had no existence. This, according to the critic, is the usual fate of new opinions in France; and the thing is very natural, he adds sarcastically. It is of bad example among the erudites, that instead of discussing and correcting, of amplifying and commenting, the dry texts, one should permit himself to go and see, at his private expense and with 'the eyes of the head' (according to the expression of Napoleon), the places mentioned in these texts. The learned trade must not be spoiled. 'I know,' he says, 'of an inscription on which have been published some ten volumes, and on which it were needless to write half a page, had it only occurred to go and see it. Happily the thing was never thought of.'

In the same vein of French banter, the critic also makes allusion to the famous American expedition, of some three or four years ago, to the Dead Sea, and which resulted in the recovery of the identical wife of Lot, and in the striking foul of the submerged belfries of Gomorrah. The southern shores, he says, of the Dead Sea were, before M. de Saulcy, little known. Since the destruction of Jerusalem, not a Frank (meaning Western Christian) had set his foot on the eastern coast, with the exception of a few Americans, who, with the practical spirit of their nation, took the notion, in 1848, to launch a boat upon the Jordan, in which they navigated the Dead Sea. These gentlemen, who scarcely ever left the boat for land, have acquitted themselves *marvellously* in their hydrographic labours; but they appear to have accepted a little lightly their confirmations of the old opinions about the sea and its environs. I know not if they hooked their anchor upon the point of a steeple of Sodom; but they have perfectly recognised the wife of Lot in one of the blocks of salt precipitated from the mountain on the south of the Lake Asphaltites. They found her pellmell with some hundreds of others, which without doubt had been her waiting-maids, and thus considered beneath notice. M. de Saulcy has looked closer into the matter—not through any incredulity of philosophic prepossession, but he has contracted certain habits from his Polytechnic-School education which temper down the effervescence of the imagination. He has seen neither Madame Lot on the borders of the lake, nor the steeples of Sodom at the bottom of the water; and this has been imputed to him as a crime.

That the cursed cities have in reality been engulfed in the Dead Sea is a fact of which few people doubt, because it has been said for ages, and is reiterated over and over. But who has said it first? This is what I have never been at the trouble of ascertaining. Descartes has written, paraphrasing an apothegm of the Seven Sages, 'that we should never take anything for true, unless we know it evidently to be such.' But the Bible does not say that Sodom and the other cities of the Pentapolis have been submerged beneath the waters. Not a syllable on the subject in the historians of profane antiquity. Not a word in the Fathers of the Church. The honour of the invention belongs, we must own it, to the Mussulmen doctors; but whence have they derived it? It is difficult to say: perhaps from the same repository whence they drew the Simorgua, the mountain of leaf, and the magic mirror of Alexander. Besides, their version has the inconvenience of being irreconcileable with the localities. If, as has been recently pretended, the Dead Sea had been formed by accumulation of the waters of the Jordan in the gulf said to have swallowed up the doomed cities—instead of being co-existent with this river, and destined for its natural reservoir—the operation, calculated by a mathematician

[a] See a paper on Egyptian Chronology p. 109 of this number of the 'Journal.'
[b] Reviewed at large in the present number of the 'Journal.'

from the known depths of the lake, would have lasted at least 300 years and 88 days, which must have given time to the guilty citizens to either repent or gain the open country.

It is on the border of the Lake Asphaltites that M. de Saulcy has recognized the remains of Sodom, of Zoar, of Gomorrah, and the other cursed cities, of which he attributes the destruction to volcanic commotions. Local tradition has preserved, almost to the letter, the names of all those places. On this occasion, and on several others, M. de Saulcy expresses entire confidence in the traditions among the populations of the Biblical countries. M. Merimée assents, but on condition of the limitations laid down as follows by the author himself in his examination of the ruined cities. The traditions which he admits are those which, 1st, are founded on a material fact; 2nd, which are not contrary to common sense; 3rd, which are not repugnant to the most respectable historical notions; 4th, those, in fine, which they who utter them can have no interest in getting adopted. These are rather severe tests in the case in question. However, the tradition in pursuance of which De Saulcy has fixed on the southern shore of the Lake Asphaltites as the site of Sodom, comes off victorious from this quadruple ordeal. In fact, the spot presents some regular layers, denoting several enclosures in large stones, the appearance of which recalls the ancient Pelasgic constructions. These ruins are called throughout the country by no other name than that of *Esdoum*. Nothing in the Scriptures is opposed to this locality. In fine, Jews, Christians, Musulmans, all the inhabitants of the region, concur in showing it as the dwelling-place of the cursed race chastised so terribly. It is manifest that this tradition cannot be other than very ancient; for, on the one hand, it is not known that any city has existed on this section of the coast since the destruction of Sodom; and, on the other, the rude character of the remains do not permit us to refer them to an epoch at all more modern. Another consideration is, that the soil is so hideously desert that no one could have taken it into his head to inhabit it, since the cataclysm of which we see the formidable effects.

Guided by the same principle, under check of his four rules, M. de Saulcy adopts the popular tradition at Jerusalem, which places the tomb of the kings of Judah in the subterraneous sepulchre known by the name of *Qbour el Molouk*. This has, it seems, excited a tempest of opposition. The question that divides the erudites is well exposed by M. Merimée, who also properly precedes it with this brief description of the monument:—

'The tomb of the kings is excavated in the side of a hill adjacent to the gates of Jerusalem. A vestibule hollowed in the rock, and of which the pillars, left subsisting in the mass, are now destroyed, precedes the funeral chambers. It will be readily understood that a subterraneous tomb does not comport with a very sumptuous decoration. Nevertheless a species of frieze above the entrance is covered with reliefs, among which are *triglyphs* and the bunch of grapes, the well-known emblem of the kingdom of Judah. In the vestibule lies the entrance to the tomb, formerly shut by an immense disc of stone revolving in a mortise, and which could be moved but by the means of a powerful lever. To ply this lever there are two small corridors which may have formerly been masked. It is but after having removed the disc, and crossed a pit dug in front of the entrance, that the door is reached. It was formed of a block of stone suspended upon hinges, and incapable of being opened but from without inwards. All these laboured precautions, which are perhaps not equal to a good lock, denote a certain naïve antiquity of invention, accompanied with a rare address in the material execution.

'On entering, you encounter three large apartments sculptured in the rock, and polished by chiselling with great care. They open upon twenty cells which once contained sarcophagi, of which the wrecks are strewn upon the ground. Two of the cells are larger than the others: one, the more remote from the entrance, is precisely in the axle of the vestibule; the other on a lower level than the rest of the monument. Of the eighteen remaining cells, *some are but begun;* and from their state of incompleteness, there is no doubt that they could never have served for sepulture. There remains to remark a final singularity of those tombs. Some of the cells, *not all*, communicated with a small recess, of which the sarcophagus formed a stopper to the entrance. On the interior of the apartments there are neither paintings nor sculptures; but the regularity of the angles, the parallelism

of the walls, the precision with which all is calculated and measured in this monument, have excited the admiration of travellers; and it is found hard to explain how, without the aid of the compass, it has been possible to execute a subterranean work so difficult. It is by this perfection in the execution that *Qbour el Molouk* is distinguished from all the other sepulchres excavated in the rock, which exist in such abundance in Judea.'

I beg to interpose that I do not, for my part, see a solid ground for the perplexity alluded to: still less do I conceive of what necessity could be the compass (*boussole*)—for the mariner's compass, and not the carpenter's compass, is that intended—towards securing the exact quadrature and parallelism of the walls; for the direction—the *orientation*—is, we see, not brought in question. All the nicety so much admired may, with the aid of long experience, be obtained fully by the simple instrument of a *line*. The alleged difficulty is, in fact, but one of the phases of that common illusion respecting the arts, as well as opinions, of a remote past, and which are judged habitually through the complex medium of the actual processes to the same end. It is not adverted to that of all methods, whether mental or mechanical, the progress bears upon the *means*, rather than the *end*: it tends to abridge labour, space, time, not always to obtain the results in higher perfection. When the journey from London to Edinburgh was made by stage-coach or on horseback, or even by the vehicle, more primitive still, of a pair of legs, the traveller had, on arrival, all *as perfectly* attained his end as now, when whirled by all the power and paraphernalia of the steam-engine. The astronomers of ancient Egypt, as in the case above reported, could obtain with the naked eye, and in utter ignorance of sound principles, a system of observations which our present resources cannot *improve*: so that what Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Newton have done *in this respect*, but spare us the countless centuries of time and trouble which were expended on the achievement by the patient priesthood of the Nile, just as the rail-car does but spare the traveller a like expenditure of time and muscle. *This condensation of the work of ages into a moment by the means of instruments is the occasion of our silly wonder about the past.* The scaffolding conceals the building from our eyes. The cant conceit of modern times about our progress in the arts and sciences unfits us for seeing their primitive substitute in length of practice and strength of instinct. In fine, our scientific processes being now employed to the simplest ends, and the general mind being unapt to sever this habitual association, the operations of even this class which appertain to a period of time when the present methods did not exist, are found inexplicable. Hence such works and the arts themselves were referred, by the ancients, to the gods.

These are also, in our own enlightened day, the real causes of the 'difficulty' of M. Merimée and his learned travellers respecting the regularity of the tomb of the kings at Jerusalem. It was the same with certain recent American *savants* or charlatans who could not explain the rotundity of some of the earth-mounds on the Mississippi without supposing a high proficiency in geometrical science. It would appear to have occurred to neither that a naked savage can scoop a tree-trunk into a cavity, of a form much more difficult, and with a symmetry so exquisite, at once of figure and material, that it keeps equipoised in the most moveable of elements; but in this case the constituent facts—to wit, that savages construct canoes, and do not know geometry—are both familiar; whereas, in the former and the like, we know for certain the work alone, but do not see before our eyes the ignorance of the workmen. Hence the vacuum for wonder, for hypothesis, for cant! Poor savants, poor sciences, or rather poor humanity, how really little thou art advanced in *rationality* beyond the savages aforesaid! But to return to M. Merimée and his description of the tomb of the kings.

I have insisted, says he, on all these details, because each has its importance towards the attribution to be given to the tombs. Already the monument had been described, but always very inexactly. *Qbour-el-Molouk* signifies in Arabic, 'tombs of the kings.' It is here, as you are told by all the *ciceroni* of Jerusalem, that the kings of Judea were interred. But the present *ciceroni* have derived it from their predecessors, and these again, through a like transmission of the tradition, from high antiquity. M. de Saulcy sees no reason for discrediting this tradition. There is no other to whom a tomb of this magnificence could have belonged. Not to the Herods, who built their tombs at a distance from Jerusalem. Not to

the Queen of Adiabene, described by several authorities, for her mausoleum had been fronted by three pyramids, and the bases of those three pyramids are found at a little distance adjacent to another excavation. But are there any proofs intrinsic of its belonging to the kings of Judah? M. de Saulcy remarks that it contains *twenty cells*, and that from David to the destruction of the kingdom of Judea, the number of the kings is also *twenty*. Of these twenty kings, there are however some that have, according to the Scriptures, been interred ouside Jerusalem; one of them, even, has not been interred at all—an accident frequent in the revolutions of ancient times. But M. de Saulcy found precisely as many cells *begun* but *not finished*, as there had been kings excluded historically from royal sepulture.

The large cell, in the recess upon the axle of the vestibule, contains a sarcophagus of which the broken lid has been brought to Paris by M. de Saulcy, and presented to the Imperial Museum. This cell he conceives to occupy the place of honour, and to have belonged to the prince, for whom this tumular palace had been excavated. This he justifies, in like manner, by the following fitnesses. It was above remarked that there were little recesses contiguous to the cells. These M. de Saulcy thinks to have contained the money and precious objects that were interred with the respective bodies. There is nothing in the Bible in contravention of this conjecture. It is confirmed by the following curious coincidence. A certain number of the kings of Judea are known to have died *poor*, the rest to have died more or less *rich*. But there are just as many cells with closets as there were kings that died with money. The order too among the cells corresponds exactly to the series, as well as the circumstances, of the kings as related in the Bible. M. Merimée finds these coincidences to be certainly curious, but seems afraid to yield conviction to the conjecture of this author. The truth however is that this conjecture did not need. It is certain that the destination of those recesses is assigned. Nor is it, as might be fancied, a trait significant of Jewish avarice. It is the usage, in primitive times, of all the races and nations of earth, and for the reasons already indicated in these letters.

In hopes of recurring directly to the curious work of M. de Saulcy, I conclude with the following excellent remark of Merimée, in alluding to a verbal contest occasioned by this book, as to the meaning of certain 'Hebrew roots' or phrases: 'I remark that most of the erudites who write so many fine things about the different acceptations of a particle or a preposition, start from the quite contestable principle, that the authors whom they call in evidence, and whom they cite by fragments, have *written always correctly, and said exactly what they intended.*' It is just such a *blind side* as that about the savage and his canoe.——

For some time back an intelligent clergyman, M. l'Abbé Cochet, has been conducting an exploration of the antiquities of Lillebonne, the well-known *Juliobona* of the Roman days of Gaul. In the Roman cemetery of Catillon he has made some curious discoveries. Notwithstanding many previous ravages, he found some fifty interments intact, of which thirty-three were made in urns, and one in a *dolium* of baked clay; two were in tombs of stone, and about a dozen in boxes of wood deposited in graves. Sixteen belonged all to infants under seven years, of which the Roman law did not permit the bodies to be burned. Why it did not, I shall show by and by—not to break at present the description.

The total number of vases disinterred amounts to one hundred and ten, of which twenty were of glass or crystal, and two in a speeies of red earth called *Samian*. The rest were in earth of divers colours, either grey, red, black, or white. In this last category figured thirty urns in the form of a kitchen pot, full of burned and crushed bones; about as many empty pitchers that once contained wine, milk, or some other liquor; probably deposited with the infants, by their mothers or nurses. These are found in all the Roman cemeteries throughout France.

Among the objects of glass or crystal, there is a drinking-glass with flat sides, lachrymatory vials, globes and urns full of burned bones. One of them, like those which are seen in the windows of our apothecaries, was overlaid with an incrustation on which was written in relief, FRO; another, in the shape of a pitcher, but without a handle, had on the bottom these eight letters: FRONT. S. C. F. (*Frontinus senatusconsulto*, or, *sua cura*, *fecit*). This was the owner of a

famous factory in the second century of our era, and of which the products have been found especially in Normandy and Picardy.

The object which is considered the most curious of the exploration is the *dolium*, a sort of cask in baked earth; it is of large capacity, and in excellent preservation. It is perfectly round, and of some ten inches in diameter, covered over with a coat of cement; it contained but some burned bones. The two most beautiful of the vases are—one a flagon of red earth, covered over with a black japanning, like a Campanian vase, and having the protuberance adorned with a bouquet of rose-leaves; this flagon, with a long pole and without a handle, is of extreme elegance. The second article, in wonderful preservation, is a red vase composed of the famous clay, called of *Samian*, and covered with reliefs representing a chase. You see the trees and brushwood under which lie squatting hares, which are pursued by dogs wearing collars round the neck. The name of the fabricator was originally stamped upon the side, but being in projection, it has been effaced by time.

At Lillebonne, as in other ancient cemeteries, the vases or urns had been enclosed in boxes or coffins of wood, of which were found not alone the nails, but also the mounting, composed of brass handles, plates, locks and keys of bronze. From the interior of the urns themselves, the Abbé Cochet extracted pins of bronze and of bone—the head of one of the latter kind representing a dove; spoons of brass, of silver, and of ivory; styles and a writing-tablet of schist and of slate.

The number of infant graves that were turned up was quite considerable. Twelve were found in trenches of small depth, and of which the length was from a foot and a half to three feet, according to the ages, which varied from one to six years. All these little bodies were in wood coffins of great thickness: for the nails, which were found abundantly in the graves, were very long. Some of these coffins contained absolutely nothing but their little inmates; but the greater number were accompanied with various objects—pieces of bronze money (of Trajan and Domitian), a brass ring, with a medal pierced with a hole, to be strung round the neck, a glass cup adorned in relief with an imitation of flowing tears. In one of the coffins was deposited a little cock in baked earth.

But the most curious of all the tombs, and of all the results of the exploration, was a stone coffin found before the barn-door of the farm now enclosing the cemetery. This sarcophagus, in soft stone from the banks of the Seine, was of great thickness, and of equal breadth at each end. It contained, as indicated by the teeth, a boy of five or six years. In addition to the coffin of stone, the body lay in a second coffin of wood, as was evident from the presence of the iron mountings. The mother's tenderness had moreover interred the child in full dress; on each side of the head were found large concave buttons in bronze, the remains of some glittering ornament in form of bandage or of head dress. The same melancholy tenderness had further provided playthings. In a little box of wood, covered with leather, and adorned with nail-heads, were placed under lock a set, or a double set, of gaming implements, consisting of four dice, and twenty-five jetons, all of bone. The dice are quite the same as ours, except that the numbers are marked differently. The jetons are entirely similar to our backgammon pieces; the under part is flat, but the upper is adorned with three circles in counter-sinking: they appear to have been turned with a lathe, and might still be used to play with by the ladies. They supply a justification of the dice of modern structure, which the painters represent among the circumstances of the Passion. Alongside this set of playthings stood a pretty vial of bronze, of exceedingly elegant form, with moveable handles, and a graceful little bronze stopper attached by a chain to one of the handles. There were also near the vial two objects in amber—one representing a little casqued head, resembling absolutely the iron masks of the mediæval knights; the other figured a little boy in a sitting posture, weeping or asleep, the head resting on the right hand, and the elbow leaning on the knee. The attitude is certainly interesting, and the design is said to be perfect. What a world of maternal joys must have been buried in that bedecked grave! This brings me finally to the solution of the problem above postponed; I mean the exception, by the Roman law, of the bodies of *infants* from incremation.

But to show the reason of an exception, we should know the principle of the rule. What then was the motive of incremation, or the combustion of the dead? It was no other than the preservation of the body for future use. The purpose

was first attempted by interment in the earth, which was observed to be less destructive than the atmosphere. Interment was improved, in turn, by the procedure of embalmment, or evisceration and desiccation of the corpse. But this, again, being, in lapse of ages, observed to fail of the desired end, recourse was then had to the expedient of incremation. This process, by reducing the body in its full integrity and freshness to the final elements to which, in those days, it could be known to be resolvable, appeared to put beyond decay the essential *substance* of the individual, and keep it fit to take its pristine *form* beyond the grave. What proves this purpose to the letter is the practice, as in British India, of shaping portion of the ashes, duly moistened, from the pyre into a miniature figure of the dead, designed to typify to sense this expectation of a resurrection.

This explanation of the principle leaves the exception also evident. The bodies of infants were *not* burned, because *unfit for preservation*, because of their presumed imperfection. The same conception led the native Mexicans to except also two other classes, namely, women who died *in child-birth*, and soldiers *mutilated* by the enemy—conditions, both, that seemed to spoil the bodies for their social functions in the other world. A third and higher refinement is duly found in more developed Siam, where the bodies of executed malefactors are superadded to the exception; for incremation, applied to these, would be preserving them for future mischief. I am well aware that all these practices, exceptional and normal, are explained otherwise, at present, by either the natives or those who visit them. It is that the former, now far advanced beyond the primitive point of view, repeat the usages by mere tradition, as the Roman law did by the *mos majorum*; and that our travellers and theorisers, whose point of view is more divergent still, are too profound to recognise the obvious principles of such puerilities—although too puerile for the *reflection*, that these simple notions are but in keeping with the infant ages, and the sensuous instincts that imagined them.

Accordingly, by them alone can we give a colour of explanation to the various contents, above described, in the tombs of Gaul. But they make quite natural not merely these, but the curious furniture of all the tombs of all the countries and all the ages of mankind—from the primitive savage who supplies its rations of daily food to the buried body, to more civilised nations.

A.

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OBITUARY.

On the 5th of September, at the age of seventy, the Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D., pastor of the Baptist church at Hackney. Dr. Cox was latterly one of the leading men in many of the religious societies of the metropolis ; and among the Nonconforming clergy few obtained more universal and merited respect. Of his literary works the most generally known are the 'History of Baptist Missions,' and a volume on 'Antiquities,' reprinted from the 'Encyclopædia Metropolitana.' A 'Life of Melancthon,' a prize essay, entitled 'Our Young Men,' and various theological works, had also reputation in particular circles. (He was also a contributor to the former Series of this Journal.) The name of Dr. Cox is worthy of being associated with those of Ryland, Fuller, Carey, Marshman, Ward, Robert Hall, and John Foster, who in recent times have brought honour on the Baptist denomination by their literary as well as their religious labours.—*Literary Gazette*, September 10.

At Edinburgh, James Simpson, Esq., Advocate, author of various works, and long distinguished as one of the most zealous promoters of popular education. In the establishment and improvement of infants' schools throughout the country he took an active part. In his educational views Mr. Simpson was latterly a devoted supporter of what is called the secular system. In private life he was much respected.—*Literary Gazette*, September 10.

Lately, at Malvern, aged seventy-six, William Fraser Tytler, Esq., Vice-Lieutenant and Sheriff-Depute of Inverness-shire. Mr. Tytler was a man of learning and accomplishments, partaking of the literary tastes which have long been conspicuous in the family.—*Literary Gazette*, September 17.

M. Galanos, a Greek, and the most distinguished linguist amongst his countrymen, died recently at Benares, in Hindostan. He was professor of Sanscrit in the university of that city. He has bequeathed his manuscripts, consisting of learned treatises on the languages of Asia, to the University of Athens.

The Vienna journals announce the death of M. Reitz, an explorer and missionary in Central Africa. From papers left by, and information obtained of him, it appears that he had visited a place called Debr-Eski, on the table-land of Semean, at about 9400 feet above the level of the sea.—*Literary Gazette.*

THE

JOURNAL

OF

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No. X.—JANUARY, 1854.

MAURICE'S ESSAYS. A PLEA FOR THE OLD THEOLOGY.[a]

Mr. Maurice has startled the religious world with the exhibition of a phenomenon it was not prepared to witness. It had seen earnest and yet cautious efforts made by men to maintain their connection with the Church of England, while, as the result proved, they more cordially symbolized with the Church of Rome; but, in this instance, a clergyman and a Professor of Theology makes a most full and frank avowal of a new faith, without appearing to be aware of its dissonance with that which he was pledged to maintain.[b] The *result* is the same in both cases, though our estimates of the persons concerned in the different movements must be widely different;—the Church of England is justly alarmed, and by the powerful aid of her dogmatic possession of Catholic truth, repudiates alike the heresies both old and new which have sought to entrench themselves within her pale.

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[a] 1. Theological Essays, by Frederick Denison Maurice, M.A. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1853.

2. The word 'Eternal,' and the Punishment of the Wicked; a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Jelf, Principal of King's College. By the same. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1853.

3. Grounds for laying before the Council of King's College, London, certain Statements contained in a recent Publication, entitled Theological Essays, by the Rev. F. D. Maurice, M.A., Professor of Divinity in King's College. By R. W. Jelf, D.D., Principal of the College. Oxford and London: John Henry Parker.

[b] 'I accept heartily all our formularies, the three Creeds, the Prayer-book, the Thirty-nine Articles; though I have made it sufficiently clear, that if I were called upon to interpret any of those formularies according to certain popular opinions, which I think they are meant to correct and resist, I should count it a sin to comply with the demand.'—*Mr. Maurice's Letter to Dr. Jelf, in* 'Grounds,' &c. p. 2.

It grieves us much to be compelled to speak of Mr. Maurice in such decided terms, as an opponent of orthodoxy, but we confess our perusal of his Essays has filled us with amazement at the extent of the defection. We had thought it was confined to the ideas which range themselves around the word ETERNAL, and this conviction was deepened by the fact, that Dr. Jelf gives prominence only to the latitudinarian statements of Mr. Maurice on that awful subject. Alas! how sadly have we been undeceived. When there is confessedly so much that is mysterious in the subjects of eternal life and death, we could have accounted for, and excused some aberrations from the right line, in the hope that it would soon be regained. But when other parts of the Christian system, still more accurately defined in the Church to which Mr. Maurice belongs, are explained away, if not actually denied, the case indeed assumes a more serious, and we fear, a hopeless character. As the everlasting duration of future punishment vanishes from Mr. Maurice's creed, so does the article of Christ's sacrifice and satisfaction for the sins of the world, dissolve into an airy nothing under his declamation.[c] What further a correct logical induction may

[c] It may be proper for those who have not read the 'Essays,' to give a few extracts. The following objections respecting the popular view of the Atonement are put into the mouth of an adversary of the school Mr. Maurice wishes to propitiate:—'The doctrines which prevail in Christendom, among Protestants as well as Romanists, darken the sense of right and wrong in the minds of Christians . . . sanction the most false conceptions concerning sin, the most cruel conceptions of God. . . . But they are doomed. Texts of Scripture will not preserve them from burial.' Of this Mr. Maurice says: 'On this point I join issue with them. I say that they are right in imputing to Romanists and Protestants a system of notions —parts of it common to both, parts peculiar to each—which deserves the epithets they bestow upon it; which does outrage the conscience, which does misrepresent the character of God, which does generate a fearful amount of insincere belief, positive infidelity,—also, I think, of immorality. I see, with them, that these notions are becoming more and more intolerable to thoughtful and earnest men; that Christian theology, as expressed in the language of the Bible and of the Creeds, construed most simply, is a deliverance from these oppressive notions, and the only one which has yet been, or ever will be found.'—Pp. 132-134. Unless Mr. Maurice already has a congregation (for these Essays were first *preached*) composed of these scared and terrified victims of the general belief of Christendom, how fatally must such appeals create the objections here alluded to in such exaggerated language!

'It is confessed that Christ was actually the Lord of men, the King of their spirits, the source of all the light which ever visited them, the Person for whom all nations longed as their real Head and Deliverer, the root of Righteousness in each man. The Bible speaks of his being revealed in this character. . . . *One who appears as the actual representative of humanity cannot be a formal substitute for it. We deny him in the first character, by claiming the second for him.*'—P. 144. We ask, to quote only one text out of many, what becomes of this?—'For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.'

'The Scripture says, "The Lamb of God taketh away the *sin* of the world." All orthodox teachers repeat the lesson. They say Christ came to deliver sinners from sin. This is what the sinner asks for. Have we a right to call ourselves scriptural or orthodox, if we change the words, and put "penalty of sin" for "sin;" if we suppose that Christ destroyed the connection between sin and death—the one

find wanting we will not pretend to say, but we confess there are indications of an unhinged and unstable state of mind on most of the topics, which always have been considered as verities in the Christian system. While loving Christ and Christianity, and fervently solicitous, we firmly believe, for the well-being of his fellow men, Mr. Maurice would reconstruct what has been found sufficient, for eighteen centuries, to glorify God and save immortal souls. What else can we deduce from the sometimes stated, but more often implied, reflections on '*the general faith of Christendom?*'

We have said that Mr. Maurice boldly and frankly proclaims his new views, and does not seem to be aware of their utter discrepancy with the articles and formularies of his Church; a fact at first very startling, but which a little reflection enables us to account for. Mr. Maurice seems to be unaware that there is, in theology, if not a mathematical, yet a scientific method of statement and research, to which all writers or speakers on its themes are bound to adhere; and allows himself to expatiate at large, as though the method and arrangement by which such enquiries are to be conducted, had yet to be discovered. Mr. Maurice thinks obscurely, and writes mistily, and the same mental causes which lead him to do this, lead him to mistake his relation to theology and the Church at large. An architect, well capable of conceiving and executing great designs, and yet ignoring, or only recognizing to depreciate, the labours and results of all his predecessors, appears to us to be no unapt emblem of Mr. Maurice as a divine. The same hallucination which enables him confidently to put new interpretations upon the Bible, forbids him to perceive how completely he is out of course with the theological system to which he professedly belongs.

Far be it from us to treat the doubter with severity; *per se* there is much that is admirable, in our esteem, in the mind which thinks bravely for itself. God forbid that we should take advantage of articles of peace and agreement, and convert them from bonds of love, into a net and a snare! Too well do we know what it is to grope our way, and to feel after essential verities among the pit-falls and quagmires of doubts and perplexities, to deal harshly with a brother whose feet may not yet be set upon a rock, and his goings established. But does Mr. Maurice present the aspect of a doubter, or does he appear to feel the need of a

being the necessary wages of the other—for the sake of benefiting any individual man whatever? If he had, would he have magnified the law and made it honourable? Would he not have destroyed that which he came to fulfil? Those who say the law must execute itself—it must have its penalty—should remember their own words. *How does it execute itself, if a person, against whom it is not directed, interposes to bear its punishment?*'—P. 146.

The Italics in the above are our own.

helping hand to place him on *terra firma?* So far is this from being the case, that his dogmas are *ex cathedrâ*, and he moves subjectively bold and confident where others fear to tread.[d] We compassionate Mr. Maurice's position, but we cannot *sympathize* with him; our cares and anxieties are for those whom he may mislead by the confidence he assumes, and by the attractions of style and oratory by which his novelties are enforced. It is on this account that we notice the subject at all in the pages of the JOURNAL. We would gladly leave Mr. Maurice to settle accounts himself with the COLLEGE and the CHURCH, but we dare not pass unnoticed the bearing of his views on THE BIBLE. '*If the foundation be destroyed, what can the righteous do?*'

The whole of these Essays proceed on the assumption that the comparatively little influence exerted by Christianity upon the masses of our countrymen, is owing to the common mode in which Divine Revelation is conceived of and presented. We have been in the habit of thinking, not from speculations in our closet, but from a close and daily contact with the many-coloured forms of life around us, that the irreligion we witness has its source in some such causes as these.—From that fatal tendency to worldliness arising from the radical corruption of human nature, which led Christ to say to the Jews, '*Ye will not come unto me that ye might have life,*' and which, as far as we know to the contrary, always will be an antagonist to the full success of Gospel truth. From a want of a generous and adequate use of the *means of grace* among the masses of our fellow-men; '*How shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they be sent?*' From the neglect of a holy and bright example on the part of

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[d] 'If I may not assert a distinction between time and eternity [i. e. *my own distinction*, he should have said], the whole mystery of godliness, as I have endeavoured to set it forth, in opposition to the Locke materialism of one class of Unitarians, and the Emersonian spiritualism of another, vanishes into air. I cannot say that things earthly are fleeting, and things heavenly substantial; I do not know what earth or heaven, shadow or substance, would mean. To state my convictions on this subject was a duty which I felt that I owed to thousands of young Englishmen, whose faith in the redemption of Christ, even in the being of a God, is at stake. I could not but tell them, because I believe it is true, that the statements, which have led them to identify the God and Father of our Lord with the evil spirit, are not derived from the orthodox faith; that they are a strange product of Calvinism and Locke philosophy, and of the morbid consciousness of individuals; that the orthodox faith is the deliverance from them [*i. e.* Mr. Maurice's subjective notion of what the orthodox faith *should* be]. I knew that in taking this course I must offend some whom I had offended already; that I might offend some from whom I have received only kindness. I consulted none of my friends about the book, lest they should either be suspected of concurring in the opinions of it, or lest they should persuade me to suppress what I was bound to utter.'—*Mr. Maurice's Letter to Dr. Jelf, in* 'Grounds,' &c., p. 2.

Can our readers divine who those are who 'identify the God and Father of our Lord with the evil spirit'? Has some old heresy revived in London?

those who have been the subjects of holy influences; '*Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?*' These, and other kindred causes, we have been simple enough to think have fully accounted for divers and strange doctrines, for apostacies from the faith, and for the gross and open irreligion of the multitude. But we can truly say we never for a moment suspected that the old-fashioned Bible, as read and preached among us, in the light of the experience of eighteen hundred years, was telling a false tale, and must be taught to utter another Gospel. Yet if this is not the meaning of Mr. Maurice, in the volume before us, we have been utterly mistaken in our earnest desire to find out what it is.

While allusion is often made, in these Essays, to a wide-spread irreligion as the result of something wrong in our creeds, the more especial object of the writer is to conciliate the Unitarians; and this, we must say, is done by virtually going over to their camp, and leaving them in possession of the field. Does Mr. Maurice really believe that the objections of Unitarians arise from the misstatements of the orthodox, or that genuine Scriptural truth may be so presented as to win their esteem, and make them willing to become believers in his creeds *as he expounds them*, if not members of his Church? Has Mr. Maurice so wrongly read history, as indeed to fancy that Christianity *ever* could be made to win all men by any Protean shapes it might assume? Sadly must he have forgotten the ten thousand facts which prove that the real obstacle is *within* the heart and not *without* it; subjective, and not objective. Oblivious, indeed, has he become of the saying of the Master, '*If they believe not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead;*' and that of the Disciple and Apostle, '*For they being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God.*'

It is the fixed objectiveness of Christian truth which has, through its abuse by human pride and self-will in every age, been the fruitful source of heresies which, had it been variable as the wayward fancies of man, would have passed for verities. We could do away with Socinians and Quakers and Papists to-morrow, if we would but allow that the Scriptures are to be interpreted according to the wishes and prejudices of individuals, and not according to any standard of fixedness, or any firm principles of historical exegesis. Let us but take the *Bible* as our symbol, that is, a book of paper and ink, leaving to each man to say what is meant by the characters inscribed within it, and theological strife would end; and, in some sense, '*the wolf might dwell with the lamb, and the lion lie down with the kid,*' and the harmonious

pipes of a religious Arcadia be heard on every hand. Such is the uniformity to which Mr. Maurice's principles *lead*, if they have not yet conducted to it. But is this the religion of Christ, or the unity for which His holy soul poured out itself in prayer just before his passion? We believe Mr. Maurice would earnestly say No! to such a question; and yet such is the false peace and soulless harmony to which, we conceive, his principles would conduct us.

That this age, this nineteenth century, is different from all that went before, so as to demand by its intellectuality that prophets should alter their strains, and Christ's plain teaching put on a new dress,[e] is a doctrine preached with great boldness by many, and one which we propose more minutely to consider, since it threatens, if prevalent, to destroy ancient landmarks, to raze the Christian temple, and leave the souls for which Christ died, without hope and without a home. As the political doctrines of socialism have a fairness and speciousness when propounded, as though better fitted *for this age* than the antiquated governments which have

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[e] Unless we believe that all past ages, both early and late, have been under a delusion, and that all colleges and divinity professors have hitherto sent their pupils to declare a false message to the world, we must affirm that Mr. Maurice thinks the nineteenth century needs *another Gospel*. He says, 'I *knew* that not a few of the clergy—yes, of the best and truest among them—had been driven into insincerity by thinking that they were bound by their profession to use phrases respecting God's purposes to men, which they felt that, as ministers of the Gospel, they ought not to use [phrases, that is, found in the Bible and Prayer-book, for no others can a clergyman of the Church of England feel *bound* to use]; *that a number of them had been driven to despair by feeling that they must declare that Christ came into the world not to save it, but to pronounce the condition of ninety-nine out of every hundred hopeless.* I did believe that some must say to the clergy generally—to those for whom they must have to give account particularly,—"You are not forced by the Formularies you have subscribed to put yourselves in this dreadful position. You have good news to preach. You may say 'that there is an abyss of love deeper than the abyss of death.'" I did think that *the task of helping, so far as in me lay, the members of my own order and the multitudes—I repeat the word, the multitudes—who are in misery because they feel as if we had no message to them but one of wrath and destruction*, was not "self-imposed." I thought that it was imposed upon me by my ordination vow; that if I were to shrink from it I should, in the sight of God, be breaking that vow.'—*Letter to Dr. Jelf, on the word* 'Eternal,' &c., p. 28.

This frightful passage speaks volumes, but we can only call special attention to the sentences we have marked in Italics. Mr. Maurice tells us that multitudes, both clergy and laity, taught by the Bible and Prayer-book be it remembered, are in trouble, and some in despair, because they think that they have *no message but one of wrath and destruction!* And this is said in the face of all the tender references which are of constant occurrence in the service of his Church, of which we will quote one, from the Office of the Communion:—'Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) *a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction,* FOR THE SINS OF THE WHOLE WORLD.' And yet with such divinity as this, which has been the common inheritance of Englishmen for more than three centuries, Mr. Maurice finds it necessary to devise something to keep *churchmen* from being driven to despair!

preceded it, and, if realised, would please for a time only to make the ultimate ruin more wide-spread and permanent, so this vaunted facility of Christianity to adapt its teachings to the 'varying hour' would produce a transient peace only to serve as a foil to the fearful confusion it would ultimately entail. But as we believe that Christianity, as understood by all Christian men, substantially, in past ages, is fixed and immutable, so we believe there is nothing in this nineteenth century which should necessitate its alteration. We allude to its fundamental doctrines, which, amidst much variety on other matters, and some occasional obscurity, have from age to age characterised the Gospel system.

When surveyed calmly, away from the excitement of vain self-congratulation, and in the light of past history, we ask what there is in this age to unfit it to be saved by the exhibitions of truth which in former ages proved the power of God unto salvation? It cannot be wealth and luxury, for they fell before the Gospel at Corinth. Knowledge and learning present no peculiar obstacles, for Greeks and Romans, well stored with such acquirements, became subject to the claims of the Cross of Christ. An age of devotion to art, whether painting, statuary, or architecture, cannot be unfavourable to the triumphs of Christian truth, for, if so, the Apostles and early teachers were placed in a position very unfavourable to their success, since they preached in cities among the ruins of which we search for our models. Trade and commerce are not causes of the Gospel becoming effete, for our forefathers were as distinguished in these departments as we are, and yet found the plain orthodox exhibition of the faith sufficient for them. Nor can the fact that in our country, at this time, there are overgrown populations sunk in ignorance and vice, be adduced as a reason why we should instal a new Divinity in the place of the old. Mr. Maurice himself alludes to the triumphs of the simple Gospel among the Kingswood colliers, when administered by Westley, Whitefield, or Hill, and, as far as we can gather, would revise our creeds more for the educated classes than for the ignorant. If we pass from nations to individuals, it becomes still less possible to make out a case to warrant a revision of our dogmatic statements. Surely no persons are now to be found of so peculiar an idiosyncrasy that their prototypes cannot be discovered in past ages, whom the Gospel, as now delivered, made humble, holy, and obedient to the faith. Among the fathers and confessors of the Church we can enumerate orators, painters, poets, metaphysicians, tradesmen, farmers, slaves, rich men and poor men, old and young, men immersed in business, as well as monks and anchorites, who were either terrified into repentance and obedience by the preaching of eternal punishment, or won to the love of Christ by

the statement that he *bore their sins in his own body on the tree*, and made satisfaction to offended justice by the shedding of his blood.

There *is* one feature of this age which may make it more difficult to impress it by the old-fashioned statements of the Gospel, and that is, the *pride* and *self-conceit* which leads it to think itself better than those which have gone before it. The vaunting of our times is too little noticed, because, unfortunately, it has become an epidemic, pervading all classes of the body politic, and only displaying itself in its ridiculousness to a few contemplative minds, who, from 'the loop-holes of retreat,' contemplate 'such a world.' The emaciated greasy mechanic, melted down to a mere frame-work or skeleton of skin and bones in a factory, sits over his newspaper at home or in the public-house, and grins unutterable scorn upon the rustic labourer of the distant village, because he knows nothing of politics or penny magazines, forgetting that, like the generations before him, he may be healthy, contented, and wise in the state in which it has pleased God to call him. In the same manner the bustling tradesman, hurrying from place to place with railway speed, and agitated and excited by the delivery of *three* posts a day, instead of one, wonders how men lived at all in those 'dark ages' when trade had lucid and quiet intervals, and was not driven mad by an overstrained competition. We wish we could exempt the educated classes from this monomania, but Mr. Maurice's volume will not permit us to do so. He[f] has evidently caught the proud infection, and imagines that the Gospel which sufficed for our ancestors (poor simple souls) is not fitted for such a wise and enlightened generation as this! What if, after all, this should be a delusion and a snare, and if, in the eye of God, such passages as these should be applicable to us as a people:—'*There is a generation that are pure in their own eyes, and yet are not washed from their filthiness. There is a generation; O how lofty are their eyes, and their eyelids are lifted up!*' '*Because thou sayest, I am rich and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked; I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire that thou mayest be rich;*

[f] We were about to say *he and his disciples*, and should have been warranted in doing so by Mr. Maurice's own statements of the extent to which others think with him, as may be seen in a previous quotation. But we are inclined to think that this matter is over stated by Mr. Maurice, not knowingly, but by the necessary operation of the principle that what we think strongly upon, we imagine must be received in the same way by other minds. At the same time, as Mr. Maurice confesses that he has now for some years inculcated his peculiar views in the College and the Church, we entertain the painful apprehension that he may have excited the doubts and fears which we are sure his new dogmas will not dispel.

and white raiment that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve that thou mayest see!'

We desire to remember the exhortation, '*Say not thou that the former times were better than these*,' nor are we disposed to make such an assertion. We thank God that our lot is cast at this crisis of the world's history, and in a country which, with all its faults, we love so well, that we would not exchange it for any spot we can think of on the whole habitable globe. But, at the same time, we are not blind to the peculiar sins of our times, and to the folly of fancying ourselves to be intellectually or morally better than our forefathers. This age goes far beyond the past in the possession of the *materials* of knowledge, and these are apt to be confounded with wisdom and understanding. The possession of a library does not necessarily raise a man in intellectual power, no more than wealth makes him generous. Here lies the mistake into which many fall, and even divines and teachers of others among them, that because Providence has placed us in more favourable circumstances than our predecessors, we are, on that account, ourselves intellectually advanced. We abjure the whole theory as a pitiful figment, and are prepared, if necessary, to prove at greater length than we now can do, that we have indeed far more responsibility than our fathers, but are neither more pious, more wise, nor more benevolent. For the present it is enough for our argument to say, that we can see nothing in men or things around us to make the simple Gospel of old time unfitted for its work, except the haughty pride of our fallen nature, which must be brought low before *any Gospel* can produce those benign effects which Mr. Maurice so eloquently desiderates.

What are the concessions which Mr. Maurice would make to the impugners of orthodoxy, but peace-offerings to that unsanctified reason which refuses to acknowledge any doctrines but those which it can measure with its rule and fathom with its plummet? And can it really be supposed, that when these sacrifices are made to this humanly-constituted demigod, its craving will be appeased, and a greater disposition shown, on its part, to receive the truth in the love of it? Little does that man know of the insatiable maw of scepticism who fancies that it will cease to cry 'Give, give,' as long as any traces remain of what God has sanctioned and eighteen centuries proved to be valuable. When the labours of the Danaïdes shall cease to be futile, or when broken cisterns *can* hold water, then, and not before, shall we hope that men who now reject revelation because of its difficulties, will be made its friends and subjects by concessions. The pinnacles are too high; remove them, and the building will be too broad and unwieldy

without them. Take away the wings, to restore something like harmony and proportion, and the insignificant appearance of what remains will be an argument for its entire removal. The '*carved work*' will first disappear, being '*broken down with axes and hammers*,' and then the cry will not be long in following, '*Raze it, raze it, even to the foundations thereof.*' How careful and zealous should we be in opposing the beginnings of that revolutionary spirit in religion, which can only end, if allowed to have its full course, in verifying the description of the Psalmist: '*They set thy sanctuaries on fire, they desecrate to the ground the habitation of Thy name; they say in their hearts, We will recompence it all at once, we will burn all the places of the revelation of God in the land.*'[g]

Let us suppose for a moment that we *could* grant that what appears objectionable to the sceptic is no part of revelation, and *could* remove those portions of orthodoxy to which objections are taken. To come nearer to the question in hand, let it be allowed to Mr. Maurice to remove from our creeds, or formularies, or official and dogmatic statements, all that his Essays find fault with, and we seriously ask him, Do you think you would then have made the path straight, and removed out of the way all its stumbling-blocks? Alas! how long will it be before we all learn that there is no level path to heaven, but that we must ascend the hill of difficulty, and pass through the dark valley! When will the declaration of Christ make us cease from attempting to make that easy which never will be found to be so: '*How strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life.*'[h] For example, let it be conceded that God is '*absolute Love*,'[i] and that justice, as applied to Him, has been a word improperly used, and henceforth to be discarded, and what is the result? Now that we admit retributive justice as a part of the Divine character, we *can* see how misery can exist in the world consistently with His being

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[g] Ps. lxxiv. 7, 8, Hengstenberg's translation.

[h] Matt. vii. 14, reading τί for ὅτι, as is done by some of the editors, and in the margin of the Authorised English Version.

[i] 'The *starting-point* of the Gospel, as I read it, is the absolute love of God; the *reward* of the Gospel is the knowledge of that love.' 'My duty then I feel is this, 1st, To assert that which I know, that which God has revealed, this absolute universal love in all possible cases, and without any limitation, &c.' 'Grounds, &c.,' pp. 5, 8. Objections might be justly taken to these statements *per se*, as being quite irreconcileable with the statements of THE BOOK, from which, after all, we must derive all our knowledge of what God is. But considered, as they must be, in connection with Mr. Maurice's whole teaching, these propositions involve a heresy too pernicious to be treated tenderly and with soft words. Mr. Maurice, unless we utterly mistake his meaning, believes that God is *absolute love* in such a sense that he cannot, 1st, have given his Son to bear the penalty of our sins, nor, 2ndly, allow an impenitent sinner to perish everlastingly, in the sense in which the word *everlasting*, or *eternal*, is popularly understood.

a God of Love; but, admit that he is '*absolute Love*,' and the objection comes upon us with crushing force, Why then does He not employ his power to produce universal happiness? So, in reference to every other modification which is proposed to be made in the old faith of Christendom; by admitting these changes, we only shift the difficulty, without getting rid of it. Surely as this *improbus labor* has now occupied restless spirits in every age, with no satisfactory result, it must be better to thread the hill than to waste our energies in vain attempts to cut through it.

From these general objections to Mr. Maurice's teaching as a whole, we turn to the specimen he has given both of his capacity for demolition, and of inability to reconstruct, in his published opinions on the word ETERNAL. These are alluded to, *indirectly*, in various parts of the Essays, but acquire a substantive form in a few pages at the close of the volume. But it is in the earlier correspondence with Dr. Jelf, and in his own pamphlet on 'THE WORD ETERNAL,' addressed to that gentleman, that Mr. Maurice fully developes and defends the dangerous positions he has advanced. Before we proceed to give our own observations on the question, we must be allowed to express our thanks to Dr. Jelf, on the one hand, for his exposure of Mr. Maurice's error, and our deep regret, on the other, at the captious and unfair way in which Mr. Maurice has replied to him. Dr. Jelf's treatise, for so it really is, although somewhat hastily compiled *pro re natâ*, is all that could be wished, in the delicate and responsible position in which he has been placed, except, as we have before hinted, that a *portion*, and not *the whole* of Mr. Maurice's heteredoxy has been made the ground of complaint by him. But this, being so far favourable to the defendant, should have disposed him to be more gentle in his treatment of the Principal of King's College. We are bound to state that in the calm, dignified, and inductive method pursued by Dr. Jelf, we recognise the features of the solid, and common-sense, and scriptural Theology, of the Church to which he belongs (when viewed as a whole during the last three centuries); while in Mr. Maurice's defence, as in the Essays, we painfully trace a close likeness to a class of mystical writers, who, both on the Continent and in England, have endeavoured to envelope in clouds the fair temple of our Faith.

With all his repudiation of the term, and notwithstanding we believe his perfect honesty in rejecting it, we are compelled to regard Mr. Maurice as a Restorationist, or Universalist; *i. e.* one who thinks that all men will ultimately be saved and restored to happiness.[k] He *thinks* his opinions do not lead to that result;

[k] 'I have said distinctly that I am *not* a Universalist, that I have deliberately rejected the theory of Universalism, knowing what it is, and that I should as much

but this is only another instance of his deficiency in the power of following his statements to their legitimate consequences, an illustration of the mistiness of thought which we find to pervade the Essays, with some few exceptions. We will give two extracts, and thus enable our readers to judge whether we are uncharitable in deriving the conviction from them that the writer is a Universalist.

'It cannot be denied that men are escaping to Rome in search of a purgatory, because they see in that some token that God is merciful to His creatures, that the whole mass of human beings in our streets and alleys, whom we have overlooked and neglected, nineteen-hundredths of the population of all the continental countries, most of the American slaves, besides the whole body of Turks, Hindoos, Hottentots, Jews, will not sink for ever, in a short time, into hopeless destruction, from which a few persons, some of whom are living comfortably, eating their dinners and riding in their carriages, without any vexation of heart, may, by special mercy, be delivered. They say this is the meaning of what they have been told in the land where a Gospel is said to be preached, where Bibles are distributed in every village. They say that a Church which gives them a hope that this is not so—that the threescore years and ten do not absolutely limit the compassion of the Father of Spirits, must be better than the one in which they have been bred. Oh! that such words should be spoken, and should be believed; that we should be supposed to have gained nothing by three centuries of emancipation from the yoke of Rome, but the loss of faith and hope in God—but a more assured perdition, a more utter despair! Let us hasten to wipe off this foul disgrace, to show in deed and in truth that it does not belong to us. We have renounced indeed all notion of defining the limits of purgatory. We know that in the strictest sense this world is a purgatory—that there are fires here for burning up the dross and refining the pure ore. We have renounced the blasphemous notion of paying so much to God for bringing souls out of the condition which belongs to them. We have not instituted prayers for the dead, for Christ has said, that God is not the God of the dead, but of the living, since all live to Him. We have rejected idle fancies about places where spirits may be dwelling; for what do we know of them, and what have they to do with us and those we love? But how dare we define God? How dare we say that Christ is not the Lord of both worlds? How can we check the Spirit of Love, who bids us pray "for all men," or tell him that the prayers must be limited by barriers of space and time, which Christ has broken down? And

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refuse an Article which dogmatised in favour of that theory, as one that dogmatised in favour of the opposite.'—*Maurice*, 'On the word, "Eternal,"' p. 14.

'Mr. Maurice has assured me that he is not a Universalist, and of course I unreservedly believe this. [That is, we presume Dr. Jelf means, that he believes Mr. Maurice *thinks* he is not.] But then, it is not for me to explain how one who repudiates the name and the theory of Universalism for his own person, can think it lawful to permit, nay to encourage others—"thousands of young Englishmen"—to hold the doctrine that there is hope revealed in Scripture of ultimate salvation for all, even for wicked, unbelieving, and impenitent sinners.'—*Jelf*, 'Grounds,' &c. p. 61.

into what blasphemy does this notion lead us? We, poor, selfish, miserable creatures, desire the salvation and well-being of this and that fellow-creature, of Jews, Turks, infidels, heretics; so we are more loving than the God of Love! We are desiring a good for man which He does not desire.'—'Essays,' pp. 439-441.

'We do not want theories of Universalism; they are as cold, hard, unsatisfactory, as all other theories. But we want that clear, broad assertion of the Divine charity which the Bible makes, and which carries us immeasurably beyond all that we can ask or think. What dreams of ours can reach to the assertion of St. John, that death and hell themselves shall be cast into the lake of fire? I cannot fathom the meaning of such expressions. But they are written; I accept them and give thanks. I feel there is an abyss of death into which I may sink at the last. Christ's Gospel reveals an abyss of love below that; I am content to be lost in that. I know no more, but I am sure there is a woe on us if we do not preach this gospel—if we do not proclaim the name of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit—the Eternal Charity. Whenever we do proclaim that name, I believe we invade the realm of night and of eternal death, and open the kingdom of heaven.'—'Essays,' pp. 442, 443.

We feel that we need beg pardon of our readers for occupying our pages with such crude conceptions, and such obscure and aimless writing as the above. 'The Journal of Sacred Literature' has sometimes been blamed for admitting statements which have been thought heterodox, because not precisely in harmony with current opinions; but we can confidently refer to the twelve volumes which the present number completes, to prove that nothing so offensive to good sense, and so subversive of all biblical science, has ever before met the eye of our readers. We cannot stop to point out all the inconsistencies into which Mr. Maurice is betrayed in these extracts, but will briefly defend, as well as we can, the common and orthodox opinions which he impugns.

Mr. Maurice will not be called a Universalist, because *that* would demand his adherence to a *theory*, a species of fetter he is very determined not to wear. And yet, with most amusing, and almost childish inconsistency, he shelters his repudiation of the term under a theory of his own! He will not do as he ought to attempt to do, namely, to make the plain statements of the Scriptures square, by some means, with his opinions. This the Universalists do, knowing that unless the Bible is made to give its sanction to their dogmas, they have little chance of making disciples. Such a plain, matter-of-fact, and Baconian procedure as enquiring, What saith the Scripture? and then following the direction indicated by its utterances, is unsuited to Mr. Maurice's transcendental and airy conceptions, which refuse to be bound by such trammels. But *something* must be done, and therefore the word eternal, as expressed by the Greek αἰώνιος, is deprived of

substance, and taken to the regions of fancy, by a criticism as flimsy as it is novel. Because *eternity* is not *time*, Mr. Maurice endeavours to make it appear ridiculous to bring to the comprehension of it any *temporal* notions. The old idea of eternity is thus thought to be exploded, and Matt. xxv. 46 robbed of those terrors which, according to these Essays, have driven so many to a Romish purgatory. But as the *word* still remains, and something must be done with it, Mr. Maurice finds its definition in John xvii. 3, '*This is life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.*'[m]

We might meet both these views, put forward though they are with rather offensive dogmatism, on various grounds, but we prefer to exhibit them as *novelties*, contrary to the consent of the whole Church of Christ from His day to our own, some occasional

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[m] 'St. John, repeating Our Lord's most awful prayer, takes me a step further. "This," he says, "is eternal life; that they may know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." At first we shrink from the strict meaning of these words. We suppose that they do not mean that eternal life *is* the knowledge of God, but only that those who obtain that knowledge or that life will retain it through eternity. But when I ask myself, Do I then know what *eternity* is? do I mean by eternity a certain, very, very long time? I am shocked and startled at once by my want of faith and want of reason. Our Lord has been training us by his beautiful blessed teaching to see eternity as something altogether out of time, to connect it with Him who is, and was, and is to come. He has been teaching me that I have a spirit which cannot rest in time, which must strive after the living, the permanent, the eternal, after God himself. He has been telling me that He has come to bring me into this state, that He is the way to it. How dare I then depart from His own definition? How dare I impute my own low meaning of "eternal" to Him, and read myself into His words when He is raising me to another meaning infinitely more accordant with the witness of my conscience, not involving the contradictions which my own does?

'Now, believing from my heart that the words in the twenty-fifth of St. Matthew are quite as much Our Lord's words as those in the seventeenth of John, I am bound by reverence to Him, and if not by that, even by ordinary philological honesty [Does then philology teach that words can only have one sense?], to apply to the former the meaning which I have learned from the latter, this being the strictest I can get. I am bound to apply that meaning to both cases in which the word is used, getting rid of the difference which our translators have (not honestly, or with great carelessness) introduced between "everlasting" and "eternal." *I am bound to believe that the eternal life into which the righteous go is that knowledge of God, which is eternal life;* I am bound to suppose that the eternal punishment into which those on the left hand go is the loss of that eternal life, what is elsewhere called "eternal death."

'Now if you ask me, on the strength of this passage, or of any similar one, to dogmatize on the *duration* of future punishment, I feel obliged to say, "I cannot do so; I find *there* at least nothing on the subject. I cannot apply the idea of time to the word eternal. I feel that I cannot; everybody feels it. What do the continual experiments to heap hundreds of thousands of years upon hundreds of thousands of years, and then the confession, after all we are no nearer to eternity, mean, if not this? Do they not show that we are not even on the way to the idea of eternity?' 'Grounds,' &c., p. 5. How many errors, theological, logical, and philological, are crowded into this short but bewildering passage! It is no new statement of Mr. Maurice, but a fresh endorsement of a letter written by him to a friend in 1849.

fancies of individuals perhaps excepted. We ask, what ideas were likely to be conveyed to the disciples of our Lord, or any others who listened to his description of the judgment, in the twenty-fifth of Matthew, by the terms he employed? Would they not think of a happiness contrasted with all human bliss by the *endless duration* of it? and of a misery knowing not that termination which sooner or later must be now, in this life, awarded to pain and suffering? Is it for a moment to be imagined that the fishermen of Galilee, and the other humble persons, for whom, and not for an occasional Scribe or Pharisee, our Lord's discourse was intended, had the remotest conception of the refinements of Mr. Maurice, as stated in the note above? Now, be it remembered, that the sense our Lord intended to convey to *them*, must be *the sense* of the passage, however much a *soi-disant* wiser age may long to refine it away. Their experience and observation abundantly taught them that life was fleeting, and could be measured by threescore years and ten; but their Master urged them to virtue, and dissuaded them from sin, by pointing to a state which, either for weal or woe, should last for ever.

And what those hearers of Christ were taught in that sublime discourse, it has unfolded to the millions of spirits which in all ages, countries, and circumstances, have been taught by the reading of it in their hearing, their own perusal of it, or the discourses founded upon it by their religious instructors. Here and there some wayward mind has speculated, where it ought humbly to have been a learner; and in the question, *Can* God punish a sinner eternally? has lost sight of the plain fact that Christ said so. But, as the rule, men have made time the measure of eternity, and very properly so, that being the only standard by which any definite idea can be obtained of what eternity is. Does Mr. Maurice need to be informed that a portion of what is, in itself, in its whole nature, immeasurable, may yet be measured? The sea may be, in some parts, unfathomable; but the plumb-line, by its very inability to reach the bottom, gives a practical and adequate conception of the nature of the abyss beneath. What can a finite mind know of God, in the sense of a full and complete idea of what He is? And yet we, made in His image, and possessing properties derived from our heavenly Father, can form such a notion as enables us to confide in Him, and what is more, to believe that he is so far like us that we may have his affection, and love him in return. To love God is our privilege and our duty; but, on the principle sanctioned by Mr. Maurice, we might be deterred from this by the infinite disparity of the beings thus brought into contact. So with regard to prayer—can words from mortal lips reach to the ear of heaven, and secure for the worshipper the exertion of the Divine power? Let us but begin to

leave the measures and rules and *media*, by which God himself enables us to climb, as it were, to an idea of infinitude and eternity, and then farewell all comfort and all hope, swallowed up as those anchorless barks must be in the stormy ocean of doubt and scepticism.

Are we to give up the firm-beaten paths of past ages, to be lost in the labyrinths of our own fancies? Our forefathers believed that although time is not eternity, yet by the one they could gain such a notion of the other as served the purpose of comforting the good, and effectively warning the bad. And they had philosophy on their side; if, by that much-abused word, we understand that love of wisdom which led them to take God at his word. For our own part we are content to bear Mr. Maurice's scoff at the 'serious and shocking trifling' of 'heaping up hundreds of thousands of years,' in order to gain an idea of that which is everlasting. We confess we *can* apply the idea of time to the word eternal, and we thank God for the comfort such an application often gives to us. We feel, as much as Mr. Maurice can do, the overwhelming nature of what is conveyed by the everlasting punishment of a sinner, but we dare not be more merciful than God. We could wish there were no misery here or hereafter; but we see the one, and believe in the certainty of the other. What *should* such a belief do, but deepen our love to Him by whom sinners can be plucked as brands from the burning, and make us too industrious and devoted to his prescribed service to allow us time to search into that which is incomprehensible. We remember being impressed in boyhood by one of the illustrations Mr. Maurice seems to think should be now disused; and, on consulting it again for our present purpose, we gladly give it our cordial approval. We put the passage in the form of a note, believing that it contains, on this subject, more ballast for a wavering mind than all Mr. Maurice's volume can furnish.[n]

Let it be remembered that in the future state of existence we shall be the same beings we are now, however more exalted or debased we may become. We shall preserve our identity, and,

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[n] 'We have not, indeed, a positive, adequate, and comprehensive view of eternity; no created being hath so; it is the prerogative of the infinite and eternal mind. But we can conceive of it after an obscure and inadequate manner. Our conception of it is somewhat like the survey a man takes of the ocean from on board a ship sailing in the midst of it. He sees the ocean, though not the whole ocean, and where his sight is terminated by his own weakness, can perceive that the ocean extends further than he can see. Conceive a mountain of sand rising up to the stars; though this amazing heap be supposed to waste but a single grain every million of years, it will in time be exhausted and sink down to a level; but eternity will never never be all spent; when innumerable ages have run out, it will be as far from ending as ever, because, indeed, it hath no end.'—*Grove*, quoted in *Orton on Eternity*. See Orton's Practical Works, Vol. I. p. 534, Tegg's Edition.

as the consequence of this, must use the same powers of intellect we now possess, and we presume, in much the same way. Imagine yourself then in that fair and peaceful clime which has been the object of all holy aspirations; in a state which Mr. Maurice would sever from all affinity with *time*. You are happy in the presence of God, conscious of a peace which leaves nothing to be desired. But unless that state is contrary to all we can conceive of, and to all the known laws of our intelligent nature, must it not have a past, a present, and a future? If there is language there, may it not be said, *I conversed* with Enoch, and *I shall hold communion* with Paul? Must there not be reminiscence, present consciousness, and the volition to do something yet to come? Yet what are these relations but those which subsisted in this world, by which the idea of duration is certainly conveyed! The ideas involved in the words *eternity* and *eternal*, taken absolutely, cannot indeed be grasped by man, not because they imply a never-ending *future*, but because they require that there should be no *beginning* in the subjects of them. To have no beginning is indeed a property which no created mind can understand, because it is utterly out of the range of its experience. But no new mental faculty, and no new laws of thought are wanted to enable us to conceive of what has commenced being for ever perpetuated. The life of man, his consciousness that he lives, moves, and has a being, has a beginning, and from that starting-point admits of measurement, however long it may continue. Hence *everlasting*, the term which Mr. Maurice finds fault with the venerable translators of the English version for using, is the most proper one when a *future eternity*, so to speak, is intended. It is a mere love of mysticism which leads to the assertion that eternity, in this sense, has no relation to time. It is plainly, in reference to a thinking mind, a succession of events and feelings, as capable of being chronicled in a future state as in that in which we are now placed. *Sed hactenus hæc.* We are deeply grieved to have to bring before those who ought to be competent teachers of others, these elementary matters of common sense and of our common faith.

Few words are necessary respecting Mr. Maurice's definition of eternal life and eternal death, or rather the definition which he imagines our Lord himself has given. We need not hesitate for a moment to say that the interpretation put upon John xvii. 3, is contrary to history, and quite indefensible on the ground of rational exegesis. Dr. Jelf has treated the whole question in a very masterly way, and we hope our readers will peruse for themselves his judicious treatise. We believe that when our Lord said '*This is life eternal, that they might know Thee, &c.,*' he pointed out the way in which the eternal life which he had to bestow, was to be

obtained.[o] We also believe that *life* is the subject of our Lord's proposition, and that *eternal* is a predicate of it, introduced for the very purpose of contrasting it with anything bearing the name, as known in this present world. Whatever the disciples understood by *life*, whether happiness, holiness, or any other desirable possession, our Lord taught them that it was contrasted with all the world could offer by being eternal or everlasting.[p] Similar in form is another declaration of our Lord, at the grave of Lazarus, '*I am the resurrection and the life;*' i.e., as explained by himself in the following words, '*He that believeth in me though he were dead yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.*' What can be meant here by the words, *shall never die*, but what is intimated in a different phraseology in the passage, '*This is life eternal, &c.?*'

But our intention is not to give a complete exegesis of the texts of Scripture on which Mr. Maurice seeks to fix a new meaning, but rather to put in a plea for the old interpretation, as sufficient and authoritative. We deprecate *a new theology*, because we feel that if such is necessary it implies that the eighteen centuries of the Church's history have been a mistake and a failure, which, if we could believe, we should be compelled to give up the system which demanded so long a time for its dogmatic development. It is one thing to find every successive age is illustrating, brightening, and confirming the statements of Holy Scripture, and the faith once delivered to the saints, and another to demand that the lapse of years is to render antiquated the substance of the Bible, and necessitate a new statement of its doctrines. We condemn as most destructive to Christianity, because most unsound in its principle, the idea that *this age* must have a teaching, on cardinal points, different from what was held to be essential in time past. We may alter the platform of Church government, we may differ as to certain texts, or as to the exact amount of verbal basis, on

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[o] 'Jesus *gives eternal life* which he had purchased by his death, not only inasmuch as he supplies all things necessary for the support of this life, but inasmuch as by his power he leads the dying from this life to another, and in it rewards every one according to his deeds, and will finally, at some future time, recall the dead to judgment. Thus it pleased the Father, whatever he bestowed on men, to bestow it by *his Son*, and into the hands of his Son it pleased his wisdom and benevolence to deliver the power of eternal life. Hence there can be no other means for the attainment of it than that every one should know and embrace in faith *both the Father* who hath delivered this salvation to his Son, *and the Son* to whom this important work is committed by the Father. And this is what is meant in v. 3, "*This is life eternal, &c.*" Tittman, in Bloomfield's *Recensio Synoptica*, vol. iii. p. 611. It may be worth observing that the Peschito Syriac reads, 'That they may know Thee *that* Thou art, &c. ,إلـهـك الـحـقـيـقـي إلـيـك' a mode of rendering which clearly explains the view of the translators.

[p] 'Ζωὴ, omne genus felicitatis, ex usu loquendi Hebraico; quemadmodum e contrario, θάνατος omnis generis miseria dicitur.' Schleusner in loc.

which this or that doctrine is to be founded; but as to the doctrines themselves, they have received a fixedness which nothing but a subjective tendency to scepticism can imagine to be shaking. It is in this sense that we are in the habit of still hoping bright things for the Church of God, that while there are constantly new theories being propounded, and divers and strange doctrines being maintained, the historical system of Christian truth remains as stable as ever. How can it be otherwise, if, as we firmly believe, the Church has been watched over by its divine Founder from the beginning; not to prevent the attacks of heresies, but to guard against their being fatal; not to root out the tares from the wheat whenever they appear, but to see that while growing together the precious is not choked by the vile.

Revealed religion is built on the basis of history. The Old Testament doctrines and prophecies are linked to events and facts, and must be considered and interpreted by them and with them. So Christianity, as a system made known in the New Testament, is inseparably united with the life of Christ, and the personal labours of his Apostles. We have nowhere in the Bible a code of laws systematically arranged, but all its books, in the New Testament especially, take their origin in circumstances of personal or social interest. How admirably does this fact guard divine truth from perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and ill-judged novelties of such as are well-disposed, but weak and exciteable! If for this broad objective front which can be subjected to critical enquiry and scientific research, we substitute the convictions of individuals, however wise and learned they may be, the glory of Christianity is at once departed. We *must* go to Church history, as the handmaid and inseparable companion of Christian doctrine. This we believe is taught us even in the New Testament, and is *implied* at least in the statement of St. Paul,—'*And are built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord.*'

We have alluded to Mr. Maurice's attack on the venerable translators of our English Version, for being either *dishonest* or *very careless* in rendering the same Greek word in Matt. xxv. 46 by *everlasting* and *eternal*. Certainly, if they had any theory to support by this verbal distinction, they would be liable to blame for the course pursued; but we may confidently affirm that they acted in this case in all true simplicity and integrity, and believing that everlasting and eternal are convertible terms. It surely will not be maintained that a translator is never to use synonymous terms, which give so much pleasing variety to language, and if it is conceded that he may do so, in no instance could the permis-

sion have been more harmlessly employed than in the case before us;—harmless, we mean, to the millions of readers of that excellent version from the day of its publication to the present. As to exceptional cases like Mr. Maurice, and those who believe with him, what objections cannot be found where an end has to be served! As, then, we think the objection most futile, and even childish, so we believe, on the other hand, it is likely to have a very pernicious influence, in disposing ignorant persons to take up a prejudice against the English Version of the Scriptures. Thank God, there is a *general* disposition to take our Bible as substantially agreeing with the originals, and no true friend to the religious well-being of his countrymen would seek to weaken this impression. Yet it is the sort of *nibbling* criticism perpetrated by Mr. Maurice, which has the effect, ultimately, of shaking confidence and generating scepticism. Drops of water will wear away the solid rock, and the teeth of small vermin will eat into the timbers of a ship and endanger its safety. So the questioning of the correctness of our Version gradually leads to a suspicion that it cannot be relied upon. This effect is produced when the objections are founded on want of knowledge possessed by the translators; how much more when they are charged with dishonesty or great carelessness! We have no superstitious feeling towards the English Bible, and of course are aware that, being human, the work is far from perfect; but we always avoid any unnecessary parade of this fact before common minds.

Although touching a little on ground we generally wish to avoid, we cannot help saying a few words on Mr. Maurice's plea, that, in the Articles and Formularies of his Church there is no dogmatic statement on the doctrine of eternal, or rather everlasting punishment. Surely Mr. Maurice must have felt himself but ill-defended by sound arguments, when he rested his case for a moment on such uncertain ground. Whoever thought of maintaining, in any communion of Christians, that nothing can be demanded, either in belief or practice, which is not legally and expressly defined? We confess there is something in this mode of defence, not quite in harmony with our views of an open and manly spirit in matters of controversy, which we exceedingly regret that Mr. Maurice should have resorted to. He knows full well how this negative argument has been used of late years, to enable men to eat the bread of the Church while disliking her doctrines, and he should not have taken such a weapon out of the hands of her enemies to employ it against her. It would be very easy to make out a long catalogue of most important, and some essential matters, which on this principle might be impugned and denied. Then what must be the effect of this view of subscription to

Articles, on the minds of the candidates for the ministry whom Mr. Maurice has been indoctrinating? If they believe their teacher, they may enter the Church with mental reservations, fatal alike to their own truthfulness, and to the peace and edification of others. Their reasoning, on the principle taught them, will be—'We believe the Articles, and are willing to subscribe them, but we will only be bound by their letter, boldly and rigidly interpreted. Anything which is not forbidden in them in so many words, we are not bound to refrain from teaching, and we therefore are able, notwithstanding we have signed them, to repudiate much that is antiquated and conventional in Christian teaching.'

Will Mr. Maurice's strong statement, respecting the Divine benevolence, and his assertions of a great desire to 'administer to minds diseased,' compensate for the loose morality thus taught? We willingly believe that Mr. Maurice would deprecate such results from his teaching, but may they not be legitimately inferred from it? This constitutes one of the most serious objections we have to the 'Essays,' that they leave so much indefinite, and appear to be so reckless in reference to consequences. We would hope that the almost unanimous voice of those who have written on the subject, may lead Mr. Maurice to reconsider, calmly and prayerfully, the whole train of subjects he has brought before us, and be led to see that his 'cast of thought' is neither for his own usefulness and honour, nor for the well-being of others.

Mr. Maurice must not complain if we speak decidedly and warmly. He does so for what he conceives to be the truth, and we claim the same privilege. Our province is not only to treasure up facts and criticisms, but also to maintain great principles relating to Biblical interpretation. We *hoped* to have been able to put in a word on behalf of a zealous and cultivated mind; but we grieve to say conscience forbad us to be charitable when, on reading the Essays, we found all we value in the Bible is at stake. Let Mr. Maurice's principles prevail, and the consistency, and harmony, and influence of the Christian system must quickly disappear.

Although we hope our meaning will not be mistaken when we refer to the uniform belief of the Church in all ages, it will probably be well to remark that we mean *the belief of the Church professedly founded on the Holy Scriptures;* for this alone, in our opinion, can be called the orthodox faith. Wherever the Bible has been studied and preached, and made the standard of appeal both for Christ's ministers and people, there a *generally* uniform

opinion has prevailed as to the essential doctrines of Christianity. In Churches where the Bible is either ignored in reference to the people, or made subservient and inferior to the tradition and authority of a hierarchy, we there recognise a backsliding or an apostacy, and refuse to consider the opinions there entertained as those of the orthodox Church. Gross errors have always prevailed in such cases, and the doctrines of such communities are not included by us in the expression, *the general faith of Christendom.* It is true we exclude, by this process, a very large proportion of those who profess and call themselves Christians, but we cannot help it. Where the Scriptures are slighted, we have no reason to expect the fulfilment of Christ's promise to give to his disciples the Spirit, to guide them into the truth. It is sad to reflect that so many are thus shut out from so precious a boon; but, on the other hand, it is pleasing to know, that when the Bible is made the standard of belief, there is a uniform Christian experience produced, in the midst of many external differences.

RECENT HEBREW LITERATURE.[a]

The steady advance of the study of the Hebrew language is plainly indicated by the publications which issue from the press, either intended to assist those willing to learn, or written for those who have some advancement in so desirable an acquisition. The works indicated below are far from being all that the British press has produced during the last few months; but they are enough for our present object. We shall introduce them severally to our readers, with such observations upon their merits and defects as the faithful, though perhaps imperfect and erring discharge of our duty may suggest.

Mr. Drake aims at the same object as was contemplated in the paper on Clerical Education in the last number of the Journal, confining himself however to the Hebrew language, as the necessary acquisition of every clergyman. His appeal is plain, faithful, and convincing, and we sincerely hope it may tend to the accomplishment of the reformation he wishes to bring about. He states the case as it is, in the following paragraphs:—

'The Church of England may still continue to produce here and there among her ministers men mighty in the Hebrew Scriptures, and able to draw upon the living fountains of Divine Truth for that supply

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[a] 1. A Plea for the Enforcement of a Knowledge of the Old Testament Scriptures in their Original Tongue, upon Candidates for Holy Orders, addressed to the Bishops of the Church. By W. Drake, M.A., Hebrew Examiner in the University of London, and formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Hope and Co. 1853. 8vo., pp. 23.

2. Notes, Critical and Explanatory, on Jonah and Hosea, by the same. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1853. 8vo., pp. 180.

3. Phraseological Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis. By Theodore Preston, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deighton. 1853. 8vo., pp. 290.

4. An easy practical Hebrew Grammar, with Exercises for Translation, &c. Arranged in a series of Letters from a Teacher of Languages to an English Duchess. To which is attached, The Fountains of Salvation, being a Translation, with Notes, Critical and Explanatory, of Isaiah liii. With a Key to the Exercises. By the Rev. P. H. Mason, M.A., Tyrwhitt's University Hebrew Scholar, St. John's College, Cambridge; and Hermann Hedwig Bernard, Hebrew Teacher in the University, Cambridge. Cambridge: J. Hall and Son. 1853. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. xl.-1014.

5. A Comparative Grammar of the Hebrew Language, for the use of Classical and Philological Students. By J. W. Donaldson, D.D., Head Master of Bury School. London: Parker. 1853. 12mo., pp. 96.

6. A Handbook of Hebrew Antiquities, for the use of Schools and Students. By the Rev. H. Browne, M.A., Prebendary of Chichester, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Chichester. London: Rivingtons. 1852. 12mo., pp. 173.

7. Questions proposed to Candidates for Holy Orders at the Eighth General Ordination of Samuel, Lord Bishop of Norwich, November, 1853.

of spiritual instruction which it is their duty to minister in her congregations, but she can never, with entire confidence, claim the title of a Church distinguished for her scholarship, until the great body of her ministers are able to elucidate the Sacred Text by a competent knowledge of Hebrew, and have served at the least an apprenticeship in the attainment of those other cognate dialects, which recent and still progressing discovery has made of such deep value to the extension of Biblical illustration, and to the evidence of Scriptural truth. With what scorn should we dismiss a claim to the honours of classical scholarship from a man whose knowledge of Homer was limited to Pope's translations! With what contempt should we reject his guidance to the criticism or poetical appreciation of the Iliad or the Odyssey! And yet how readily are we satisfied to have Isaiah's noble poems expounded to us by men who know not even the form of the letters, much less the structure of the language, in which the Hebrew Prophet wrote!

'This state of learning, or rather of ignorance, among the clergy of the English Church in regard to the language of the Old Testament, is a deep reproach to her fidelity to the Scriptural principles on which she is founded. The practical result of what is required by the universities and by the Bishops in their examinations for Orders, may perhaps be sufficient, though scarcely satisfactory, as respects the New Testament. Accurate Greek scholarship and critical proficiency are still the heritage of the laborious few; but as a general rule, the clergy of the Church of England *must* possess that knowledge of Greek which will enable them to appreciate the works of the Evangelists and Apostles in their original form, and to speak with some degree of authority to their people on those nicer shades of meaning which the resources of our own tongue are inadequate to convey. I can conceive no sufficient reason why the Scriptures of the Old Covenant should not be thought worthy of equal honour at the hands of their keeper, the Church, since God has declared them to be of equal value and authority, by combining them in one book with the Scriptures of the New.

'That others have felt this is evident from the numerous appeals which from time to time have appeared in behalf of a more general acquaintance with the Hebrew tongue in those who are commissioned to expound the Word of God. If I add my voice to those of previous protesters against the practical neglect of so large a portion of Divine Truth, it is not that I hope to add anything to what has been already said better and more authoritatively by others, but because a deep sense of the importance of the subject at this time constrains me to do more than give a silent vote in the matter.'

It is very difficult to account fully for the inattention shown to the claims of the language of the Old Testament, although some causes are obvious enough. As a matter of scholarship, and for the honour of the profession of the holy Ministry, the defect should be remedied; but there are more weighty reasons, which are alluded to by Mr. Drake.

'But the Scriptures of the Old Testament not only are imperfectly elucidated in the pulpit, by reason of this unacquaintance with Hebrew in those to whom they are entrusted; they also, for the same reason, come in some danger of being more and more neglected, and even banished altogether. A large majority of modern preachers almost wholly confine their expositions to the pages of the New Testament, wisely preferring ground where they feel themselves at home, and where they can speak with authority and with confidence. With the exception of those portions of the Old Testament which are directly explained in the New, and concerning which there can arise no question as to their meaning, we seldom find the difficulties and obscurities of the Old Testament grappled with and explained in ordinary sermons. I cannot but look upon this fact as one deeply to be deplored. The grand assault of modern scepticism upon Christianity is being delivered through the side of the historical books of the Old Testament. It is here that Satan's chief effort of these latter days is being made. The integrity and unity of the Bible ought to be the watchword, as in it is involved the salvation of the Church; and yet we are content to have a large portion of God's Word, one and indivisible, practically omitted from our preaching, and thus to lend countenance to the vulgar error that the New Testament is rather the supplanter than the supplement of the Old.

'Another and important consideration in favour of a knowledge of Hebrew, is its value as an evidence to the authenticity of the entire Word of God. The incidental coincidences of structure and of phraseology which link the several parts of the Holy Volume together, and connect the inspiration of the Old with the inspiration of the New Testament, are of inestimable value in the controversy against unbelief, and should alone furnish motive to every minister of the Gospel to qualify himself for the use of them by the study of Hebrew. Indeed, with regard to the language of the New Testament, Hebrew is in many cases scarcely of less moment than Greek itself to one who would rightly appreciate the peculiar structure and idiom in which the Evangelists wrote, and thus be enabled to lay hold of the full meaning of his author.'

We are much pleased with the way in which Mr. Drake meets the objections taken against a higher degree of learning in the Clergy, especially the alleged want of the Church, at this time, of a large accession of labourers.

'If I am reminded that in asking to have such knowledge universally exacted from candidates for the sacred ministry of the Church, I shall be raising a new obstacle to the fuller supply of ministerial labour at a time when the Church is languishing for want of men to do her work, I fall back upon the question, "What is her work? Is it not to preach the Word of God to a perishing world? Is it not to maintain the integrity of Scripture?" And can we expect men to be able to do this work, to whom the greater portion of the Bible is a sealed book? Can we expect such men to be workmen that need not be ashamed in

presence of the acute scepticism and the learned infidelity of these days of rebuke and blasphemy? No! sure I am that the good old proverb, "more haste, worse speed," is as applicable to the present crying need of the Church as to any other undertaking. If we are bent on sending raw levies into the field without training and without proper equipment, what we gain in numbers, we shall more than lose in efficiency. A longer and a stricter discipline of preparation for the office of winning souls to Christ—a more extended course of probation and study, might thin for a moment the ranks of our candidates, but would far more than compensate this by improvement in their quality. If the progress of infidelity and irreligion is to be stayed, one of the first steps under God required of the rulers of the Church is, that they cease to commission to the office of teaching, young men whose deficiencies of training (by no fault of their own) exposes them to the ridicule of adversaries with whom they are unequal to cope, and who are loaded with the responsibilities of authority beyond their strength to bear at a time when they should still be sitting as learners at the feet of their elders.'

In connection with Mr. Drake's pamphlet we may notice the ordination questions of the Bishop of Norwich, as proving that the neglect of Hebrew as a preparation for ordination in the Church of England is not universal. The candidate for deacon's orders is required to translate some verses in Deuteronomy (printed in the examination paper) into English, and to give a vocabulary of the principal words. We are glad to see this, as indicating a very proper perception of the claims of this department of sacred learning. As we have said on another occasion, the bishops have the matter in their own hands, and we hope the time is not far distant when they will properly take it up. That will be an honourable day for the Church when all her ministers shall enter their holy office, not with a mere smattering of Hebrew acquired by a forced process for the occasion, but such a knowledge of the language as will make the after-study of it a pleasure. This end will be gained not by any false idea that Hebrew is of easy acquirement, which is contrary to fact, but by the appropriation to the study of it of such an amount of care and time as its immense importance deserves.

Mr. Drake endeavours to give authority to his exhortation by publishing, simultaneously with it, his 'Notes critical and explanatory on the Prophecies[b] of Jonah and Hosea, with a summary of the History of Judah and Israel during the period when the Prophecies of Hosea were delivered.' He states his object to be 'to supply a want which has been felt in giving instruction in Hebrew,' viz., of something to assist those who have used the

[b] Jonah is properly called a prophet, but can the book bearing his name be correctly called *a prophecy*?—Ed. J. S. L.

ordinary text-books, and yet have not become masters of the language. 'Between the beginner and the scholar there is a wide interval, and an increasing class of students who, having mastered the earlier stages of Hebrew, may be induced to extend their reading to the more difficult portions of the Old Testament, by the aid of notes intermediate in character between such as are simply elementary and such as might profess to be exhaustive, and to supersede the necessity of further research. I have sought to do for the prophecies of Jonah and Hosea what has so often been done for the works of classical authors, with a view to their being read by *students* as distinguished from *scholars*, though happily, from the nature of the case, with little necessity for conjectural emendation of the text.' We think Mr. Drake's performance fully carries out the plan he has sketched, but it also does more; it supplies in a short compass much that is highly useful as a commentary on the substance of his authors, as well as philological and grammatical elucidations of their text. The notes seem to be such as a student would be likely to enter in an interleaved Hebrew Bible, procured with some labour, and treasured up for future use.

We proceed to Mr. Preston's Phraseological Notes on the Hebrew text of Genesis, which in its general features is similar to the work of Mr. Drake. It will certainly answer the same end, though Mr. Preston does not profess that to be his object, which he says is 'to explain and illustrate the most remarkable peculiarities and anomalies of matter, style and phrase, in the book of Genesis.' He has produced a volume which we have read with great interest, both for its freedom from mere prejudices, and the skill with which real difficulties have been pointed out and explained. The author is quite at home with the Arabic language, in which he has published a valuable work, and used it judiciously for the explication of difficult passages. When we allude to the freedom from prejudice by which these notes are distinguished, we mean his apparent rejection of *à priori* reasonings, and unbiassed adherence to the phenomena of the text. As Mr. Preston does not make any superfluous remarks, either in the preface or elsewhere, we have no means of knowing his precise *locus standi* in reference to dogmatic theology, but have a right to conclude it is that of a sound member of the Church of England. The following quotations will at once give an idea of the work, and illustrate what we mean.—'רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת. This is rendered by the Targumist, "a wind from before God was blowing upon the surface of the waters." רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים may also mean "a very powerful wind," the words God and Jehovah being frequently placed in construction with Hebrew nouns to express merely a superlative,'

&c. This is an irrefragable canon of interpretation, but yet we cannot but think there is some consideration due to the old doctrine, that the Holy Ghost may be here alluded to.

'אֱלֹהִים This name of the Almighty, the plural of אֱלוֹהַּ (from אָלַהּ, *coluit, adoravit*) probably "a plural of excellence or majesty," is here (ch. i. 1), as usual, construed with a verb singular, though in several passages, *e. g.* Gen. xx. 13; xxxv. 7; Psa. lviii. 12, &c. it is construed with a verb plural. It is the only name of God that occurs in this chapter, and in certain other parts of this book, which have been supposed to be *quoted* by Moses *verbatim* from previous records relating to the general history of mankind; those passages being regarded as more strictly his own composition, in which the name יְהוָה constantly occurs (*e. g.* the 2nd chap. &c.). The strongest evidence for such a combination of two distinct records (Mosaic and Præmosaic) in the book of Genesis, is found in the account of the deluge, where, in the part wherein the name אֱלֹהִים alone occurs, Noah is commanded to take two and two of all animals, without reference to their subsequent distinction into clean and unclean; whereas, in the part wherein the name יְהוָה is used, he is directed to take seven of the clean and two of the unclean; and then, again, in a subsequent portion, wherein the sole use of the name אֱלֹהִים is resumed, Noah receives permission to use all animals and birds alike as food, without the ceremonial distinction referred to.'—This seems a very fair induction, and yet, considering the use that has been made of the Elohistic and Jehovistic theory, by the adversaries of inspiration, we should have liked a hint that able men, Hengstenberg, for instance, have accounted for the peculiarities noticed on other principles. In reference, also, to the Elohim being a plural of majesty, while we are decidedly opposed to resting the doctrine of the Trinity on verbal niceties, is it yet quite proved that this peculiar formula has no connection with it? See a dissertation on the subject in Mr. Oxlee's 'The Christian Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation Considered and Maintained on the Principles of Judaism.'[c] With regard to the clean and unclean animals, see some observations in the paper on 'The Antediluvian Theocracy,' p. 402 of the present number of the JOURNAL.

We now come to what is a rare thing in Hebrew literature in our country—a work in two thick volumes, and on the trite subject of grammar. And they are handsome volumes too, leaving nothing to be desired in the departments of paper and typography. Even in their external relations, therefore, these volumes demand

[c] Vol. i. p. 95.

our attention, and we shall proceed to introduce them to the notice of our readers.

We confess to feeling a strong prejudice against the statement of the title-page—'A Hebrew Grammar, Arranged in a Series of Letters from a Teacher of Languages to an English Duchess.' We dislike the form of Letters *in toto* for any work of a scientific character—but Hebrew Grammar in Letters, and those addressed to an English Duchess!—our judgment revolted from the proceeding as one not based on propriety, and likely to damage sadly the success of the work. We are not averse from ladies learning Hebrew; far from it when they have time and inclination; but we would not certainly publish a book to stimulate them to do so, especially at a time when many really great scholars and learned divines are destitute of such an acquirement. But if we *did* think proper to assist the fair sex in such a recondite pursuit, we would refer to them as a whole, and not to a class—to the daughters of Great Britain, and not to a duchess. In literature, if nowhere else, we *do* escape from class distinctions and conventionalities, and we are sorry to see this aristocratic designation introduced, in such a way, into so expensive a work on the study of Hebrew.

Nor can we discover, by any research we have made into the matter, whether this arrangement is a pure fiction, or whether Mr. Mason has really had the honour of instructing the fair lady in the language of Moses and the prophets. So frequently is '*My Lady Duchess*' alluded to, that certainly the Letters have a nature and life about them, as though their sheets, bristling with uncouth consonants and accents, had really been presented to her Grace's eye. It may be so, and then we can only say, that the master seems to have had a most docile and successful, as well as highly-born pupil; it may not be so, and in that case the writer has been at great pains to keep up a fiction which can only result in creating a prejudice against the real claims of his book.

We have stated thus frankly our objections to the mode of arrangement Mr. Mason has adopted, that we may the better be able to speak highly of the work itself. We know that the words in the title will, in many quarters, at once condemn the book, and we have thought it more for the interests of the author, as far as our influence is concerned, to speak plainly of the fault, before we proceed to enunciate the excellencies. We know that Mr. Mason has *intended* well by giving his work the light aspect it assumes, believing as he did, that many would be attracted to a study, if it appeared that it had no difficulties which a female could not overcome. But, alas! that female being a duchess would vitiate this conclusion, for she can command time and

opportunities and teachers, which those whose profession would be really adorned by a knowledge of Hebrew can never possess. But we will now dismiss the subject, and assure our readers that we consider the volumes a valuable addition to our Hebrew literature, in spite of the unfortunate error of judgment we think the author has committed.

The difficulties are removed out of the way of a beginner, by many very efficient arrangements, and by exercises rising gradually from the most simple to the more highly complicated portions of Hebrew Grammar. In this respect, and in clear paradigms, &c., this work will prove invaluable to self-instructors. But it is on higher grounds that we are disposed to value it, for its very various and careful disquisitions on the more difficult and disputed portions of the science on which it treats. Mr. Mason is a devotee of the old Hebrew grammarians, and is ready to tilt on their behalf against all new comers, and introduces for our real benefit their rules in the original Rabbinic. Now while we do not follow him in his defence of these often mistaken writers on the language of their fathers, we are yet greatly interested in the information he furnishes respecting them. But, more than this, the rules and propositions given are defended and illustrated by most copious quotations from the Scriptures, thus enabling the reader to form his own judgment. In fact, we confess we have formed an attachment to Mr. Mason's very laborious and learned production, from the way in which its pages are highly suggestive, and the vast amount of informatiou furnished both on the philosophy and the technicalities of Hebrew Grammar. For instance, there is a full list given of the technical terms used by Hebrew grammarians, and then, as a set off against such a dry morsel, a convivial song, in very pure Hebrew, by Rabbi Solomon Ben Gvêril, and other pieces by modern learned Hebrew Doctors. Dr. Lee's theory of the Tenses, and the Vau conversive, is attacked with great zeal, and with a copious array of examples. Without pledging ourselves to the author's opinions, grammatical or interpretative, we can recommend his volumes to the notice of our readers.

A greater contrast could scarcely be presented than is offered by Dr. Donaldson's grammar, placed at the side of Mr. Mason's. It throws off the fetters of the old Jewish school, and suggests a modern and improved mode of learning the sacred language. The work is independent in its plan, concise and scientific in its details, and will be read with interest by those who prefer some general principles of grammar to old conventionalities. The author has so well expressed the design and plan of the work, that we feel sure we shall do more justice to him, and more benefit our readers

by quoting his Preface, than by any lengthened observations of our own:—

'When I first applied myself especially to the study of Hebrew—a study which I have pursued with increasing interest for some seventeen years—I was struck by the uninviting and irrational method adopted in all grammars of the language which fell in my way; and I am quite sure that many classical scholars have been deterred by the difficulties of which Dr. Arnold complains (*Life*, vol. ii. p. 138). As these difficulties take their rise in the puerile system of the Jewish teachers, which forms the basis of nearly all Hebrew grammars, it appeared to me necessary that some one, acquainted with classical philology, should undertake a comparative grammar of the Hebrew language; that is, one in which the classical scholar might be able to compare the unexplored language with those which are so familiar to him; and, as the field seemed likely to remain unoccupied, I commenced this little work, and announced it as preparing for the press in the spring of 1845. More pressing engagements prevented me from completing it then, and the publication in 1848 of a tract[d] explaining and exemplifying the reform of Hebrew grammar which I wished to advocate, rendered me less impatient to ventilate my method. In the mean time, I was testing its utility by constant practice as a teacher of Hebrew in Bury school, where about forty of the elder boys are always engaged in the study. And I am now able to publish this grammar rather as a successful result than as a precarious experiment.

'As the first difficulty of learning the Hebrew language consists undoubtedly in its system of orthography, so different from that of European idioms, it is my plan to make a study of the language, to a certain extent, ancillary to the acquisition of a familiarity with the characters. Having then furnished the student with the rules of writing, and with a strictly philological, but at the same time very simple method of transcription, I would teach him the grammar in English characters, requiring him, in every case, to reproduce the words in Hebrew letters and vowel-points. Mr. Greenfield may claim the credit of having been the first to see the necessity of this. But his "Book of Genesis in English Hebrew" is not sufficiently explicit and comprehensive in its grammatical introduction, whereas it goes much farther than is necessary in transcribing the whole book of Genesis in English characters.[e] My experience teaches me that all attentive learners will read and write the Hebrew characters with perfect fluency and ease, even before they have gone through a short grammar like the present, and it is highly desirable that the Bible itself should be studied in the Hebrew letters only.

[d] 'Maskil le-Sopher (*i. e.* The Scribe's Instruction); the Principles and Processes of Classical Philology applied to the Analysis of the Hebrew Language. London: J. W. Parker, West Strand. 1848.'

[e] 'The Book of Genesis, in English Hebrew, by W. Greenfield, M.R.A.S., second edition, 1831. I have followed Mr. Greenfield's grammatical introduction in several details of minor importance in the second part of this grammar; but his method of transcription differs materially from mine. For example, he represents א and ע by *a* and *o*, which can only produce confusion in the mind of a beginner.'

'The tract which I have already mentioned, and to which I would beg to refer the philological student, sufficiently explains the method by which I would bring a more scientific philology to bear on the reform of Hebrew grammar. The great point, as it appears to me, is to perceive and appreciate the syntactical character which is impressed upon the language, and the latent analogies which connect it with the classical idioms. The whole nomenclature of the accidence may be retained, and there are many details, such as paradigms and lists of words, which must be copied from existing grammars; but in those particulars which require philological research, especially in the arrangement of the syntax, almost everything remained to be done.

'Like the corresponding Greek and Latin grammars, this little treatise is intended to be at once concise and complete. A grammar is not *concise*, but *imperfect*, if it omits any of the general principles which the language in question exemplifies; it is not *complete*, but *redundant*, if it wearies and perplexes the student with superfluous details belonging to the lexicon or the commentary. By avoiding these errors of excess and defect, and by combining things old and new, I venture to hope that this introduction to the Hebrew language will not only contribute to increase the number of those who can read the Old Testament in the original, but that it may, perhaps, attract to this important study some of those who are most likely to pursue it with advantage to themselves and to the cause of religion—I mean classical scholars, who have cultivated their critical faculties and learned to appreciate the reasonings of general grammar.'

To this we need only add that we should think Dr. Donaldson's grammar more fitted for a class under the eye of a tutor than for self-taught students, and that we congratulate him on having forty Hebrew pupils under him at Bury school. Such a fact speaks for itself, and needs no praise of ours.

We have only space to speak well of the 'Handbook of Hebrew Antiquities' of Prebendary Browne. It is a small volume, but contains, in a condensed form, an immense amount of information, compiled from the latest and best authorities in the department it treats of. It is astonishing what a variety of minor references and details are overlooked in reading the Scriptures, which, when brought together as in this manual, tend to give a perfect idea of Hebrew every-day life. It would be an admirable exercise for students to consult all the references, and write out in full the words of Scripture by which the statements of the Handbook are confirmed and supported.

ARMENIAN TRANSLATION OF EUSEBIUS.

ON THE HISTORICAL ADVANTAGE TO BE DERIVED FROM THE ARMENIAN TRANSLATION OF THE CHRONICLE OF EUSEBIUS.

(Continued from vol. iv. p. 297.)

A CATALOGUE of the Thessalian Strategi is necessarily unimportant in an historical point of view, and incomparably less interesting than a similar list of the Achæan or Ætolian Strategi would have been; still, even the slightest notices of this kind are not to be despised. As the editors have not appended to it the dates of the years, I insert them here in a chronological form, in order to remedy this important deficiency and spare labour to others.

The battle of Cynoscephalæ occurred in the year 555, and before the harvest, but, as it appears, when the corn was ready for reaping;[a] therefore, to be exact, we must refer it to Olymp. 145, 2; though in general, since a proper parallel between Roman and Olympic years is impossible, I follow Polybius, and regard the Roman year, in whose summer the Olympic year begins, as synchronous with the latter. At the date of this battle, according to the chapter before us, Philip had reigned over Thessaly 23 years and 9 months; if therefore the battle took place towards the end of June, he must have ascended the throne in 531, in the Julian September or October, which is, however, about a year too early, so that it seems as if 22 years ought to have been written. Or was the chronographer led astray by the circumstance that the battle took place in the ninth month of the Macedonian year? This uncertainty renders the date useless for historical purposes.

In the following year no Strategus was chosen. The first was—

Olymp. 146, 1 = 557. Pausanias, the son of Echecrates of Pheræ. This is without doubt the Pausanias *princeps civitatis Pherarum*, who is mentioned four years later by Livy (xxxvi. 9).

,, 2 = 558. Amyntas, the son of Crates, *Pierius* according to the Milan, *Pierensis* according to the Venetian edition. The catalogue adds, that in this year T. Flaminius returned to Rome, agreeing with Livy xxxiv. 52. The ethnical appellation is doubtful, for the Pierians were Philip's subjects. Stephanus has a Thessalian city Πηρεία, and its ἐθνικὸν, Πηρεύς.

[a] For Flaminius marched to Scotussa to reap all the corn-fields for forage, and thus to deprive Philip of the means of subsistence.—POLYB. xviii. 3.

Olymp. 146, 3 = 559. Æacides, the son of Callias of Metropolis.

,, 4 = 560. Epidromus, the son of Andromachus of Larissa, for eight months; and afterwards Eunomus, son of Polycletus of Larissa, during the remaining four months.

147, 1 = 561. Eunomus '*rursus*.' Does this mean for the second time, or another? Who could doubt that the former is the true meaning, if it were not stated three years later, Eunomus son of Polycletus of Larissa for the second time? The explanation seems to be that he was not reckoned as an Eponymus in 560. This is the Prætor of Thessaly who was commanded by Titus Flaminius to bring all his troops into the field against the Magnetians (Livy, xxxv. 39). It appears therefore that he enjoyed the confidence of the Romans, and this renders it all the more probable that it was their influence which had raised him to the prætorship in the previous year, and removed his predecessor as suspicious.

,, 2 = 562. Æacides, the son of Callias of Metropolis, for the second time.

,, 3 = 563. Pravilus (in a recapitulation at the end called Praviles) of Scotussa.

,, 4 = 564. Eunomus, the son of Polycletus of Larissa, for the second time.

148, 1 = 565. Androsthenes, the son of Idalius (Italæ, *Venet. ed.*) of Gyrton (following Mai's correct emendation of Gorton).

,, 2 = 566. Thrasymachus, son of Alexander of Atrax (Mai's emended reading of Artax, confirmed by the *Venet.* Atraganus).

,, 3 = 567. Laontomenes (no doubt Leontomenes), son of Damothoes of Pheræ.

,, 4 = 568. Pausanias, son of Damothoes of Pheræ (the name of his birthplace is wanting in the Milanese edition).

149, 1 = 569. Theodorus, son of Alexander of Argos. Mai conjectures the Amphilochian Argos; but that town belonged to Ætolia, at least from the war of Demetrius. We might with more reason suppose that it was the Orestian Argos, for the Orestians would hardly have dared to set up as an independent state after they were separated from the Macedonian empire; and the only peoples with which they could connect themselves were the Thessalians or Epirots. Stephanus names an Argos also in Thessaly itself, and that political union might easily give rise to the misunderstanding of

supposing that this was not the same as the Orestian Argos. But perhaps Atrax ought to have been written instead of Argos. See the note to Olymp. 148, 2.

Olymp. 149, 2 = 570. Nicocrates, the son of Phaxinus, *Cortunensis* (*ed. Venet.* Cotunensis). Mai emends it *Scotusæus*, but we have no right to depart so far from what is written: one is rather reminded of Gyrton, which we have already seen corrupted, or perhaps of Cytina. Some, perhaps, more familiar with the geography of Thessaly, may remember other places with similar names.

,, 3 = 571. Hippolochus, son of Alexippus of Larissa. He seems to be the same who was taken captive at Scotussa in the year 561, with the garrison of Larissa, of which he was the commander.

,, 4 = 572. Cleomachides, son of Æneas of Larissa.

150, 1 = 573. Phyrinus (?), son of Aristomenes of Gomphi. Here it is added in the recapitulation:—

,, 2 = 574. Philippus; unless indeed there is an error here, and it ought to have been said that Philip of Macedon died in the following year, or, as the Catalogue itself says, under Phyrinus. For as we have no idea at what time of year the Thessalian magistrates assumed office, it is impossible to say how far his period of office may have extended into the year Olymp. 150, 2.

From the fact that the list breaks off here, it by no means, however, follows that there were no Strategi after this date; it only shows how completely at random Eusebius framed his compilation; for in the war of Perseus we find a Hippias, prætor of the Thessalians[a] (Livy, xl. 54); and as the nation had evinced their attachment to the Romans in this war, we may conclude with certainty that no alterations were made in their constitution at its close. Nay, when Cæsar penetrated into Thessaly across the Pindus, before the battle of Pharsalus, Androsthenes sustained this dignity; and Thessalian Strategi occur on coins so late as Augustus, Στρατηγοῦ Ἀντιγόνου, and elsewhere a name that cannot be made out (see Eckhel, ii. p. 134).[b]

[a] The Milanese translators call these magistrates *principes* and *copiarum duces*; the Armenian terms must correspond to the Greek ἄρχοντες and στρατηγοί. But the Romans always use the word *prætor* for the Greek στρατηγὸς, especially Livy and Cæsar when speaking of the Thessalians.

[b] Pellerin and Eckhel only err in regarding these Strategi as the magistrates of *single* cities. But the single names, which are sometimes found beside the Jupiter's head on the not uncommon Thessalian silver coins, are certainly names of Strategi of the whole district. Such coins should be everywhere collected by the numismaticians; sometimes we may detect on them names known in history, and then they serve to mark the condition of art at the epoch of their coinage.

It is surprising that the Thessalians should have had a common chief magistrate, if they only regained their freedom as a gift from Cæsar after the battle of Pharsalus (Plutarch, *Cæsar*, p. 730, d.; Appian, *Bell. civil.* ii. 88); for the nations which had lost their freedom were immediately deprived of their senates, consequently also of the right to elect common authorities; after the destruction of Corinth this was decreed by the Romans throughout Greece. It cannot be urged that the dignity of a Strategus was at this time a mere empty title, as was the case at Athens under the Roman emperors (where the Strategus has the charge of providing bread for the city, an office which belonged to the ædiles); the impossibility of electing him without conceding to the different districts of the country precisely the common constitution, which, according to the will of the Romans, they were not to have, is a fatal objection; and besides, they could really exercise authority of the kind indicated by their title,—as we find to have been the case with Androsthenes, for instance. I know of no solution of this difficulty but by one or other of the two following hypotheses —either that Pompey had restored their constitution and their Strategus to the Thessalians, in order to make use of their troops, and that Cæsar, regarding this as null, only promised them that they should retain their freedom; or that the historians have been inaccurate, and that what the Thessalians had lost and Cæsar restored to them was not this so-called freedom, but their Ἀτέλεια.

In either case, however, their situation must have changed for the worse at some time or other after the war of Perseus; for, according to the edict of Flaminius and the ambassadors, they were *liberi et immunes*. This may have taken place after the revolt of Macedonia under the pseudo-Philip (603 = Olymp. 157, 3), for the pretender had more than once transferred the seat of war to Thessaly; and with the universal exasperation against Rome, and the absence of any Roman force in Greece at that time, it cannot have been otherwise but that many places would throw themselves into his arms, for which afterwards all alike would be punished. During the war with Mithridates the country appears to have remained quiet and submissive; in fact it afforded assistance to the undertakings of Sulla (Appian. *Mithr.* 30).

Before its conquest by Macedon, Thessaly must have possessed a species of federative constitution; so also its subjects (not its Πενέσται) appear to have been held in common. But it is evident that practically this constitution was already dissolved at the time of the tyrants of Pheræ, and that one of the larger cities held the sovereignty. Up to within a short time of the Peloponnesian war, the nation had kings, like the Epirots, from whom the ruling people was descended; the office of the Tagus, too, which

was conferred upon Jason, was a royal dignity. Under the Macedonians, the king was the immediate and only ruler of the Thessalians; they could have no subordinate chief, because the Tetrarchies, which had subsisted from primitive times, had been separated by Philip: hence they could not as yet have had any other chief in the year following the battle of Cynoscephalæ. They had to obtain a constitution first, and that this was formed upon the model of the Achæan, is rendered probable by the very fact of the smaller places, such as Gyrton, Atrax, Gomphi, being able to furnish prætors to the nation, which they would otherwise hardly have done; and still more so, because this constitution was framed in the spirit of that age, and is found everywhere under similar circumstances; for the Greek republics no longer possessed subjects since the liberties of all classes had become a prey to the foreigner. The Magnetians, Perrhabians, and Dolopians were states on their own account, independent of the Thessalians; and the Phthiotic Acheans were no doubt united with them, as the Arcadians were with the Achæans, Leucas with the Acarnanians, &c.

VII. The Archon Theophemus (Theophimus is an error occasioned by writing the word according to its pronunciation) is to be added to the Attic Fasti taken from Castor, c. 29 and 48, for the year Olymp. 179, 3 = 693, as the editors also remark.

VIII. The 40th chapter presents us with the complete narrative of Porphyry concerning the Asiatic and Syrian kings, of which a large part is wanting in the Greek original, involving the loss of all relating to the times from Seleucus Nicator to the fall of Antiochus Sidetes; and the portion thus supplied fulfils every wish we could form, considering the nature of the work of Eusebius.

The chronology of the Syrian kings in the Canon coincides precisely with that in this survey; for that, in the former, the year in which a king ascends the throne, and in Porphyry, the first full year is reckoned as the first of his reign, is a difference in the mode of writing, not in the historical statement.[c] Hence, since Porphyry does not count Antiochus the Child and Diodotus Tryphon as kings, they are omitted also in the Canon; and as the former assigns no king for the whole of the 159th Olympiad, the latter gives all these years to Alexander Bala, who died at the commencement of this Olympiad, and counts these as years of his reign.

[c] At all events this is true of the translation of St. Jerome, who, with his usual caution and sagacity, has probably applied here the rule which the Canon in general follows. The Armenian translation takes the inconsistent course of adopting, even in the Canon, the rule of Porphyry with regard to the Syrian kings, and not with regard to any other dynasty.

The objections which present themselves to the chronology of the Canon, partly arising from the first Book of the Maccabees, partly from coins bearing the years of the era, are therefore not obviated by this ἀνέκδοτον. We must not, however, regard as real difficulties and contradictions those passages where a history, which represents the progress and development of events, indicates the year in which an eventually successful pretender to the crown began the war, while a table, which never recognises more than one king at a time (though it might have adopted another system), specifies that as his first year, in which he entered on the undisturbed and acknowledged possession of the sovereignty. But it is a real contradiction when Porphyry places the captivity of Demetrius II. in Olymp. 160, 3 = 615 A.U.C., or the 175th year of the Seleucidæ, while the Book of Maccabees places it so early as the 172nd year of the Seleucidæ (Olymp. 159, 4 = 612); when the former places the accession of Antiochus Sidetes in Olymp. 164, 4 = 616, = year of the Sel. 176, the latter in Sel. 174 (Olymp. 160, 2 = 614). Here we must decide between authorities; and notwithstanding Porphyry's trustworthiness and accuracy, the first Book of Maccabees, which was certainly compiled from older fragments before the overthrow of the empire of the Seleucidæ, incontestably possesses greater weight than even his testimony. This is confirmed with regard to Antiochus Sidetes by coins which name him as king and bear the year of the era 174. But as this year is not a full one (because he became king in the course of it), the following year (175 Sel. = 615 A. U. C., Olymp. 160, 3) is to be accounted his first year, according to the rule of Porphyry; and if the chronographer fixed the taking of Jerusalem in Olymp. 162, 2, he meant by this the seventh year of the reign; consequently one, not two years, is to be subtracted from the date he has given. Thus it falls in Olymp. 162, 1 = 621 A. U. C. = Sel. 181, which agrees exactly with Josephus (*Archæology*, xiii. 16). By the same rule the year of his death is to be assigned to Olymp. 162, 3 = 623 A. U. C. = 183 Sel., and this in spite of the coins bearing his inscription with the years 184, 185, 186. For the hypothesis that he did not perish among the Parthians, but returned and reigned in some part or other of Syria contemporarily with his brother, takes the liberty of overlooking and denying his death, a circumstance which all testimonies concur in asserting; and it would, forsooth, be very like Demetrius II. to concede a territory to his brother, whose heir, a minor, he was seeking to destroy! All these coins, so far as I am aware, display only his circumscription, not his effigy; and how much more probable therefore is the explanation, that places which did not choose to submit themselves to Demetrius from fear of his cruelty, and withheld their

allegiance till they could yield it to a child of Antiochus, who was not able as yet to assume the kingly title, continued to inscribe their coins with the name of the father? And all the more so, as the eldest son of Antiochus was taken prisoner when his father was slain, and was living in captivity at the Parthian court, from which he might one day return; in which case, according to the character of these despots, those who from fidelity to the family had declared for the younger brother, who was present, would have atoned for this as rebels. It was wiser not to decide between two brothers, neither of whom had as yet put forward a claim to the throne.[d]

Are, then, the numbers cited from Porphyry given correctly as he wrote them, or has Eusebius, in this instance too, interpolated and falsified after an unknown bad chronographer, without even taking the pains, bunglingly as he went to work, to obliterate the traces of his falsification? I am well aware that, as a rule, we have no right to alter four passages for the sake of one; but when this one says the truth,—when the proposed alteration would cause it to assert a falsehood,—when all the passages come originally from the hand of a man whose capacity and wish to state things correctly is so beyond all doubt that we cannot imagine how he should have committed a series of egregious errors, but have passed through the hands of another, who interpolates without scruple and without judgment—surely the opposite course must be taken as the rule.

Now Porphyry says (*Arm. Tr.* c. 40, § 20) that Demetrius II. began his second reign in Olymp. 162, 2 = 622 = 182, after he had been held captive ten years. According to this, his captivity is to be placed in Olymp. 159, 4 = 612 = 172, in agreement with the Maccabees. It is true, that his death, after a reign of four years, is, immediately afterwards, placed in Olymp. 164, 1; but this also is false, and Olymp. 163, 1, ought to be read. We must seek the ground of the falsification in the circumstance that Alexander Zebinas, who ruled, partly as a usurper, partly as the recog-

[d] A great chronological abuse has been made of the passage II Maccabees i. 11. In the first place, the date belongs to the conclusion of the first letter; and in the second, both the reference to the end of Antiochus Magnus and to the Anaitis in the Nanæa is unmistakable. Antiochus was already in possession of Cœlesyria, and Judea might have suffered severely enough in the wars; and that the Jews should despatch a letter of triumph from Jerusalem on this occasion to the king's tutor Aristobulus, and the other Jews in Egypt, was all the more natural, as they probably now conceived hopes of returning to Egypt, where the synagogue rejoiced in the possession of unbounded influence. The year 188 of the LXX does not at all harmonize with the time of Aristobulus; hence Scaliger (*ad Euseb.* p. 142) has even thought that another man of that name must be referred to, but such an one is nowhere mentioned. The reading of the Vulgate,—168, looks like an emendation.

nised king, up to the year 190 = 630 = Olymp. 164, 2, was, like Tryphon, erased from the lists of the Syrian kings, and that some heedless writer—certainly not Porphyry—who remarked that an Olympiad was missing, conceived the absurd idea of filling it up by alterations in the years of the preceding kings; and that Eusebius has followed him in his interpolation of the text of Porphyry (unless it was he himself who hit upon the brilliant idea).[e]

Of the following historical data, some were until now not known at all, others but imperfectly so, and others doubtful.

1. Antiochus Soter reached an age of 64 years. He was therefore born, Olymp. 113, 3 = 427, and was by no means a youth when Seleucus resigned Stratonice to his passion. Porphyry mentions three children who were born to him by this queen—Antiochus II. (Theos), Stratonice, married to Demetrius II. King of Macedon, and Apame, married to Magas. That Stratonice was married to Demetrius has been overlooked by the usually very valuable writer Fröhlich, whose work would have assumed an entirely different aspect if it had been written after the publication of these additional notices, though he might have known this circumstance from a passage of Agatharchides preserved in Josephus (*contra Ap.* i. p. 1050, b. ed. Aur. All. 1611). This passage (corrected by the ancient Latin translation) says that Stratonice forsook her husband Demetrius and came to Syria[f] in the hope that Seleucus would marry her; but when she found herself disappointed, and Seleucus undertook the expedition against Babylon, she stirred up the Antiochians to rebellion.[g] Seleucus returned, Antioch was taken, and Stratonice fled to Seleucia, on the sea coast, where she might have taken ship, but, through trusting to a dream, was made captive and executed. Justinus, who relates the motive of her conduct (xxviii. 1), does not mention her name, but only calls her a sister of the Syrian king Antiochus, to whom she returned and persuaded him to make war upon Macedonia, when Demetrius, her husband, accepted Phthia of Epirus, who had been offered to him in marriage.

Unacquainted with this testimony, Fröhlich has taken for granted that Nicæa, the widow of Alexander, Prince of Corinth, was the

[e] It is very easy to reduce the Seleucidæan years to the era of Rome, according to Cato, namely, by adding 440 to them. Seleucus, indeed, took Babylon the year before, but this is reckoned in the reign of Antigonus. It must not, however, be forgotten that while the Olympic years are only two or three months in advance of the Seleucidæan, the Roman are eight or nine; and that when all the three eras have to be compared, we must make use of a different reckoning from that when we have only to compare the Roman with the Seleucidæan.

[f] So reads the old translation instead of the nonsense in the Greek text, '*from Syria to Macedonia.*'

[g] τὴν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος στρατείαν: that is, in order to reconquer the upper Satrapies. I shall return to this passage hereafter for chronological purposes.

daughter of the Syrian king and the wife of Demetrius. If he had not been bent upon finding a name for the latter, he could not have failed to perceive that the marriage with which the crafty Antigonus caught her, was only a feint, of which no further mention was made, when his end was reached and he had obtained possession of the Acrocorinthus. Besides, it seems very inconsistent with his prudence that he should have exposed the life of his son to the opportunities of revenge presented by domestic life to a deceived and insulted woman, who was generally reputed to have poisoned her first husband. The other errors of his statement proceed from the same passage of Justinus. The latter calls the brother of the queen, Antiochus, and the king of Syria; but since Antiochus II. died six years before Demetrius succeeded his father in Macedonia, Fröhlich assumes that Antiochus Hierax is referred to—who, however, at no time possessed the power to make war upon Macedonia—and thus he fancies this queen to be the daughter of Antiochus II. So much of this as is hypothesis no longer requires refutation: there certainly, however, can be no mistake as to the fact that Justinus places the dissolution of the marriage, as well as the mediation of the Romans between the Acarnanians and Ætolians, before the close of the first Punic war (511, = Olymp. 134, 3).[h] If he is correct on this latter point, the succession of events is disturbed, for, at that time, Demetrius was not yet king. The passage in Agatharchides shows that the epitomist has hurried over his work here as in many other instances.

We may conjecture that Apame, the queen of Prusias I. (the Lame), was a daughter of this Stratonice, consequently only a half sister of Philip. That the daughter should be named after the sister of the mother is of very frequent occurrence in the families of these Macedonian princes.

2. Antiochus II., Theos, died at the age of 40; his birth therefore must be assigned to the year Olymp. 123, 1 = 466. The father of his first wife, the dreadful Laodice,[i] was un-

[h] Trogus has, no doubt, borrowed the history of these times from Phylarchus, who could not have invented, only thirty years afterwards, a circumstance at that time so important as the first interference of the Romans with the affairs of Greece, although he may have shaped the answer which he puts into the mouth of the Ætolians, according to his personal feelings. It does not disprove his veracity, that Polybius calls the Roman embassy, which appeared after the Illyrian war, the first that had come to Greece. It was all the more easy to make an error a hundred years later, as the mediation of the Romans had produced no result. It seems a very probable conjecture that it was after this that the Acarnanians first sought and found protection from Demetrius of Macedon; and that this was the occasion of the Ætolian war. The marriage of this king with Phthia the Epirot must be assigned to the first part of his reign; at the termination of which, the dynasty of the Æacides was already extinct, and the republic established in Epirus.

[i] The murder of Berenice may be attributed to jealousy, which is to be judged much more leniently, as well as the murder of Antiochus, if she was really guilty

known ;[k] Porphyry calls him Achæus,[m] and mentions her four children—Seleucus (Callinicus), Antiochus (Hierax),[n] and two daughters, of whom one was married to Mithridates and the other to Ariarathes. No mention is made either of Berenice or of her child who was murdered with her.

Antiochis, the mother of Attalus I. of Pergamus, was also the daughter of a certain Achæus (Strabo, xiii. p. 624 a); and this king and Seleucus II. must have been born about the same time, the former in 485 = Olymp. 128, 1, the latter scarcely earlier than 486 = Olymp. 128, 2 ; because his father was then only just turned twenty, nor later than 490 = Olymp. 129, 2, because he would otherwise not have been sixteen years old at the time of his father's death, and could not have entered on the government without a guardian. Now as it will hardly be imagined that at that date there were two men living at once who bore the very uncommon name of Achæus, and were in such consideration that the one could marry his daughter to the king of the East, who held his court not unfrequently in Anterior Asia, and the other to the heir of the richest dynast of the same regions, we must consider it as amounting almost to an historical certainty that Laodice and Antiochis were sisters. It confirms this conjecture that a daughter of Seleucus II., a granddaughter of Laodice, bore the name of Antiochis (Polybius, viii. 25).

Now of this Achæus we can indeed only affirm hypothetically that he was the father of Andromachus (and through him grandfather of the Achæus who assumed the kingly title this side of the Taurus) and of the Laodice, married to Seleucus Callinicus (who is not to be confounded with her aunt of horrible celebrity); but this hypothesis receives the highest probability from the interchange of the names in the two generations of the directly descending line, which occurs as a rule among the Macedonians. I consider him and not his grandson as the founder of the city of Achaia in Aria (Strabo, xi. p. 516, b. πόλεις εἰσὶ τῆς Ἀρίας, Ἀλεξάνδρεια Ἀρτάκα, καὶ Ἀχαΐα, ὁμώνυμοι τῶν κτισάντων). For when should the younger Achæus have come into these very remote regions? Where, on the contrary, it can be proved that Antiochus

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of this deed; but other horrible crimes are still left, and her revenge on the unhappy Danae, who had saved Sophron's life from her fury, displays a monster. (Athenæus, xiii. p. 593 c.)

[k] Frölich had regarded her as a sister of Antiochus, forgetting that the Syrian annals present no examples of marriages between brothers and sisters ; marriages which, as Pausanias says, were lawful among the Egyptians, but by no means among the Macedonians.

[m] The editors confound this Achæus with the younger one, whose usurpation and tragical end we know from Polybius, and thus make Laodice the niece of her niece.

[n] In the Armenian Eusebius always called Antigonus.

Soter remained long enough to lay the foundation of great structures; and the youth of the grandfather falls in the time of this king. We must also, as I think, understand that passage of Polyænus (iv. 17) to refer to him and not his grandson, which relates how Achæus and Andromachus, the generals of Seleucus II., after gaining a victory over Antiochus Hierax, were decided by the stratagem of the latter, and allowed his defeated army to escape. For Achæus is named as if he held the supreme command, which the younger man would not have done where his father was present; he must besides have been very young at that time. Nothing further is known respecting him, and it is again only an inference from the brilliant marriages of his daughters that he was a Macedonian of high consideration settled in Anterior Asia. I can only state it as a conjecture, but I believe that I have found in the Prologue to the 27th Book of Trogus an account of his death. The dreadfully defaced condition of the text of these tables of contents, in which, in many instances, a few words are all there is to indicate a circumstance, the remembrance of which would otherwise be entirely lost, is well known; no less so the excellent historical and critical treatise on them by the Abbé Longuerue, who, however, was not able to exhaust the subject. After it has been said in the Prologue I refer to, that Trogus relates how the Gauls, vanquished by Attalus, had slain Zielas the Bithynian, it proceeds, '*ut Ptolomæus eum denuo captum interfecerit.*' The emendation of Longuerue, who refers this to Ptolomæus Ceraunus, thus going back forty years, is a most unfortunate idea. Gronovius, however, mentions a various reading, namely, '*adeum*' instead of '*eum.*' Now I believe that here the true reading, '*Achæum,*'[o] lies concealed, and in the following word, '*denuo,*' the name of the place where he was taken captive, which indeed I have not guessed. It is very intelligible that Ptolemæus should avenge the death of Berenice on the father of Laodice, and quite incredible that he should have taken him captive previously and suffered him to escape from his hands. It may serve as a confirmation of the conjecture, that Andromachus was also taken prisoner in Egypt (Polybius, iv. 51); and, as has been cited from Polyænus, the two, Achæus and Andromachus, jointly commanded the Syrian army. He must have been very aged, as his grandson had at this time sat on the throne for some years at least, perhaps for many. Of the two daughters of Antiochus II., the name of

[o] *Acheum.* The error is very natural, particularly in the Lombard character, and many errors in those prologues (so, too, in Varro *de L. L.* and in several of Cicero's orations) may be understood and corrected by remembering how often this character has given rise to corrupt readings, from the difficulty of decyphering it.

the one who was married to Ariarathes of Cappadocia,—Stratonice, was already known from the Eclogues in Diodorus (xxxi. *Ecl.* 3, vol. x. p. 24, *ed. Bip.*). But the name of the consort of king Mithridates of Pontus nowhere occurs, although Justinus has preserved a very remarkable notice respecting this connection by marriage between the royal houses of Pontus and the Seleucidæ, in the speech of Mithridates Eupator which he has inserted at full length from Trogus (xxxviii. 5); namely, that the grandfather of that great king had received Phrygia Major from Seleucus II., as a dowry with his wife. From this it has been inferred, nay, assumed as a settled thing without any examination, that the maiden thus endowed was the daughter of Seleucus II.; and we have no right to find fault with this, for before we knew from Porphyry the age which the first Seleucidæan ἐπώνυμοι attained, the possibility or impossibility of this could scarcely be calculated. But now we may decide that a daughter of Seleucus II. could never have been the mother of that Laodice, the daughter of Mithridates of Pontus, who married Antiochus III. so early as Olymp. 139, 2 = 530, and bore him a son, at latest, two years after. For that this was the daughter of the Syrian princess is unquestionable on account of her name, which had become common in the family of the Seleucidæ, through the mother of Seleucus Nicator and two queens of the house of Achæus, but could only have been introduced into the royal family of Pontus through a princess of their race. Moreover, her receiving a large province as her dowry did not spring from extravagant parental fondness, but seems to have been intended to purchase the alliance of the powerful king of Pontus, at a time when the Syrian empire was verging rapidly towards its fall. It did not indeed produce this result, for in our Porphyry we shortly after find Mithridates as an enemy of Seleucus; and this appears to explain an enigmatical passage in Polybius, iv. 74. This historian says namely, of Logbasis of Selge, that he had been the guest and confidential friend of Antiochus (Hierax), and had with great affection brought up Laodice, who had been confided to his care, and (afterwards) became the wife of Achæus. I have no doubt that we must interpret this by assuming that when Mithridates forsook Seleucus II. and allied himself with Antiochus Hierax, he promised the latter to give him hereafter Laodice in marriage as a pledge of his fidelity; but that as she was then a child, she was committed to the care of a friend of her future husband in the powerful and independent state of Selge. But before she could be transferred to the latter he was a fugitive, and soon after lost his life, and she was married to Achæus, when he had conducted the army across the Taurus. Thus she would also have been a daughter of the same Laodice; and nothing is

more common in the royal families of Macedonian race than to give the same name to two sisters; in fact, the whole circle of names in use among them is extremely limited. This very name Laodice was borne by two daughters of Antiochus Sidetes. Thus, within about fifty years, five queens occur who are called Laodice, and whom it is all the easier to confound in so confused and fragmentary a history, as there is little temptation to occupy oneself with them very carefully. On this account I enumerate them all once more:—1. Laodice, wife of Antiochus Theos, daughter of Achæus. 2. Laodice, wife of Seleucus II., daughter of Andromachus, niece of the first. 3. Laodice, wife of Mithridates, daughter of the first. 4. Laodice, wife of Antiochus III., daughter of the third, granddaughter of the first. 5. Laodice, betrothed to Antiochus Hierax, married to Achæus, sister of the fourth. And here we pass by the other women of this family who bore the same name previously or subsequently. I remark further, that the names of the two daughters of the first Achæus, which are evidently taken from those of the father and mother of Seleucus Nicator, excite our suspicion that he himself was related to the royal family by blood or marriage,—a conjecture which may perhaps be confirmed or elucidated by some passage overlooked by me, for I cannot hope to have overlooked none or only a few, where single notices lie scattered over so wide an extent of surface. The fragment of Porphyry makes no further mention of the wives of Seleucus Callinicus and the following kings, nor yet of their children, up to Antiochus Sidetes; we may be pretty certain, not because Porphyry had carelessly deviated from his plan, but because Eusebius has followed no plan in his abridgment of him.

It is not my intention to write a history of the Seleucidæ, but I wish to profit by this opportunity to refute a few incorrect opinions respecting them. I remark, therefore, that Mithridates, the son of a full sister of Antiochus III. (Polybius, viii. 25), is by no means the son of the Pontic monarch, but a dynast in Armenia, the same who was included in the peace between Eumenes and Pharnaces (xxi. 6), and this explains how it could have been proposed to reward him with Arsamosata as a fief. Again, an attentive consideration will show that the Antipater, who is often mentioned in the history of Antiochus III., and termed his ἀδελφιδοῦς, is not to be regarded as a brother's son of the king, as modern writers, and even Livy, have understood the passage. He must have been about the same age as the king, as he had already commanded a corps in the Cœlesyrian war; and, however young we may suppose him, only the son of a sister of the king could have been old enough to do so at that time.

The war between the empires of Syria and Egypt, which was

occasioned by the inhuman murder of Berenice, was the most prolonged and extensive which the Επίγονοι had waged among themselves, incomparably the most destructive that ever befel Asia. It not only annihilated the results of the repose and prosperity which those countries had enjoyed for more than a generation, but threatened to impoverish and exhaust the whole of the provinces, and brought utter devastation to Anterior Asia, which it opened to the Gauls. This war is very remarkable, on account of the extraordinary vicissitudes of its fortunes, in which fate seemed to take a delight in disappointing the most assured expectations; and on account of the disproportion between the unbounded success which at first crowned the arms of the Egyptian king, and the conquests which remained to him at its close, important and injurious as they were to Syria—conquests which were, however, lost within twenty years of the death of Euergetes, together with the provinces which the Egyptian empire had previously possessed in those regions.

But the remembrance of this most remarkable war has been well nigh extinguished, owing to the destruction of all the historical works which related the events of that period, and the accidental neglect of those who made excerpts from them, so that the statement of the magnitude of its events, which occurs in a trustworthy and contemporary monument, remains incomprehensible; in fact, might be rejected as incredible but that the unimpeachable testimony of a learned father of the Church destroys the suspicion of boastful exaggeration. Nothing resembling an historical narrative has been preserved excepting a few pages in Justinus, which are so confused, so unsatisfactory, so far below the greatness of the events, that we should really believe that we were reading the account of a mere ordinary war, had not an Egyptian merchant, in the time of Justinian, remarked and copied an inscription in the harbour of Abyssinia, and St. Jerome brought historical learning to the exposition of the Book of Daniel.

Even Porphyry fails here—and only here—to justify the hopes that might have been raised from the publication of the whole of his chapter on Syria. On the contrary, he has rather increased than lessened the difficulty of understanding this war, by the only date which he has given us—that of an event, the importance of which remains enigmatical to us, since so many of much greater magnitude have been passed over. Unless Eusebius has shortened him by the omission of long passages, which, indeed, is very likely. He who has so carefully and lucidly traced the progress of the war between Seleucus II. and Antiochus Hierax, has intended to confine his relation chiefly to the internal history of the Seleucidæ. For, on the contrary, he sheds quite a new light

upon the latter war, into which the Egyptian was merged,—on its duration and its progress up to the death of Antiochus, so that the error of the hypotheses started is irrefragably demonstrated, and the whole extent of the misery occasioned by this internecine contest stands revealed.

It would be difficult aud scarcely intelligible to treat of these supplementary passages, and to point out the additions and corrections to our historical knowledge which may be derived from them, without giving an account of this period, so far as that is possible.[p] Seleucus concluded his long life without violating the gratitude due to Ptolemy Soter, to whom he owed his empire. And if the sons of the old generals, who had attained mature age when they came to the throne, did not inherit their fathers' sentiments, yet peace was preserved between them during the earlier and certainly the larger part of the reign of Antiochus I.; so long, indeed, as the latter was occupied by the Macedonian and Gallic wars, the former of which was waged against the common enemy of himself and Ptolemy Philadelphus. That their alliance was broken, was the unhappy consequence of the marriage of Apame, the daughter of Antiochus, with Magas of Cyrene, who, in order to render himself independent of Egypt, seduced the Syrian king into declaring war against the incomparably more powerful and better prepared monarch of Alexandria. Antiochus was tempted to the fatal step by the desire of obtaining Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, whence Upper Syria could be constantly threatened, and to the possession of which the Seleucidæ claimed a right by virtue of the decree of the confederate kings. Ptolemy possessed and availed himself of all the advantages of an incomparably

[p] I transcribe the whole passage from the Milanese edition that the reader may have it before his eyes:—

'Cap. xl. 8. Verumtamen vivente adhuc Callinico Antigonus (this error runs through the whole) minor natu frater, quietis sortisque suæ impatiens, adjutorem fautoremque nactus est Alexandriæ (*sic*: but in the *Venet.* Alexandrum) qui et urbem Sardes tenebat, et Laodices matris suæ frater erat, denique et Gallis auxiliaribus usus est. Duobus prœliis Seleucus in Lydia victoriam nactus est; ita tamen ut neque Sardes caperet, neque Ephesum, quam urbem Ptolemæus præsidio insidebat. Deinde in Cappadocia atque adversus Mithridatem novo prœlio coorto, tum militum ejus xx millia cæsa a barbaris sunt, tum ipse profligatus evanuit.

'9. Ptolemæus autem, qui et Tryphon, Syriæ regiones cum Damasco occupavit, Orthosiamque obsidione cinxit, quæ quidem soluta est. Olymp. 134, 3, Seleuco illic appulso.

'10. Frater autem Callinici Antigonus magnam Phrygiam peragrans tributis incolas onerabat. Quin et contra Seleucum copiarum duces mittebat: quo tempore quum a barbaris suis satellitibus se prodi sensisset, horum manibus elapsus parvo comitatu Magnesiam evasit, crastinoque die Ptolemæi auxiliis fretus prœlium felici Marte conseruit: tum et Zielae filiam nuptiis sibi copulavit. Deinde Ol. 137, 4, in Lydia his armis motis debellatus est. Tum etiam circa Choloen certavit cum Attalo. Denique Ol. 138, 1. Attalum in Thraciam usque fugiens post pugnam in Caria patratam, vita excessit. Jam et Seleucus, cognomento Callinicus, frater Antigoni, postero anno extinctus est.'

superior fleet; he divided and vanquished the forces that could be opposed to him, by making descents upon the extended line of the Asiatic coast,[q] and effected great and lasting conquests, the extent of which I shall hereafter attempt to determine. All the successes of Antiochus in this war, at least all those that were permanent, appear to have been limited to the conquest of Damascus, which was indeed a large and wealthy city (Polyænus iv. 15).

The war continued many years, and was inherited by Antiochus II., to whom the Milesians blasphemously gave the title of Theos,[r]

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[q] Pausanias, i. p. 6, 7, *ed. Sylb.*, says that Ptolemy frustrated all the undertakings of the King of Syria by making diversions with his fleet.

[r] It is much more probable that the story of the historian Phylarchus (as given by Athenæus, x. p. 438, d.) relates to this Antiochus II.—the God—than to his father, that he spent the day in drinking and sleep, and in the evening when he was somewhat refreshed by sleep, began to drink again. Thus he very seldom was sober when he issued decrees, and the business of government was a troublesome interruption to his daily occupations; but as the kingdom had nevertheless to be governed, he left this charge to two Cypriots (by birth subjects of Ptolemy), Aristus and Themison. In those times the arrogance of a favourite almost always assumed an odiously grotesque shape. Themison called himself the Hercules of King Antiochus, dressed himself at festivals in the lion's skin, and bore a club and Scythian bow; the slavish subjects offered sacrifice to him as Hercules Themison (Athenæus, vii. p. 290, a.). It is to be regretted that the king is doubtful to whom this monument of infamy has been erected; meanwhile I decide in favour of 'the God,' on the ground that the favourite would hardly venture to allow himself to be worshipped as a God unless his lord were adored in the same manner;—naturally as the supreme God, namely Zeus. Besides, it is very improbable that any one leading such a life would live to the age of sixty-four, while the loathsome sickness of Antiochus Theos, on the contrary, fully agrees with my explanation. It might indeed excite a doubt that we should suppose Laodice to have tolerated such a favourite (τὰ παιδικὰ τοῦ βασιλέως: Pythermus, quoted by Athenæus). Παιδικὰ! who aped Hercules! How unbounded must have been the indignation of his unhappy contemporaries! It is a pity that we do not know what death befel the monster. It is interesting to notice the distribution of writings that are lost to us. Phylarchus described the excesses of King Antiochus in the sixth book of his history; in the third, he had narrated the naval expedition of Patroclus in the Ægean Sea, which falls about the 127th Olympiad; in the 12th, he treated of the events that took place after the death of Antiochus II., who only reigned fifteen years; his whole work contained in 28 books the interval from the death of Pyrrhus to the end of the 139th Olympiad. This story, therefore, falls about the beginning of the history of Antiochus II. Phylarchus belongs to the authors who excite my pity as much as I deplore the loss of their works. The verdict which Polybius pronounces against him will not have been without foundation, but is still that of a party-spirited Achæan Arcadian; just as he hates Cleomenes likewise, whose great qualities he is nevertheless constrained to acknowledge. For if Fate had not passed her irrevocable decree that Greece should never revive again, Cleomenes was the only man who could have accomplished the blessed work of her restoration; truly in a way that would have been unpleasant to Aratus and the cantonal vanity, which preferred to sacrifice everything. And so in fact his fellow-countrymen did sacrifice him, themselves and all; for the condition of the Achæans after the war of Cleomenes can scarcely be called a political existence. Polybius, with all his great and good qualities, was incapable of comprehending a universal sentiment of Greek nationality; just as he utterly misunderstands Demosthenes. Nay, he was rather inclined to than averse from the Macedonians. And an author, who warms himself in the last rays of the Greek sun, appears to him a fanatic, and annoys him.

because he had freed them from the tyrant Timarchus. It is this Timarchus who must be referred to in a passage of the Prologue to the 26th Book of Trogus, which has been passed over in silence by all historians and commentators, even by Longuerue. I consider this as so certain that I shall take it for granted in the progress of my narrative.[s]

Ptolemy had very wisely chosen the maritime districts of Anterior Asia for the principal objects of his attacks; none were more easy to maintain from Alexandria, where a complete army was always assembled, and their importance in reference to Macedonia and Greece was not less than with regard to the Syrian empire itself. The metropolis of these provinces was Ephesus, which Lysimachus had removed to the sea-coast, and raised to a very populous city by the forced immigration of the Colophonians and Lebedians. This became also the capital of the Egyptian conquests, and a certain Ptolemy, a bastard of Philadelphus, was stationed here as commander of the troops (Athenæus xiii. p. 593, a). I regard him as without doubt that son of King Ptolemy who, supported by Timarchus, revolted from his father in Asia. The Egyptian armies consisted of mercenaries of all nations,—the garrison of Ephesus of Thracians, who, either gained over by emissaries from Alexandria, or discontented with their general, whose rash undertaking probably met with no success, rose against him and murdered him, with his mistress Irene, in the sanctuary of Artemis (Athenæus, ut supra[t]). It was during the progress of these incidents that Antiochus II. appears to have annihilated the tyranny of Timarchus at Miletus.

Whether on account of this revolt, or from the desire of repose natural to old age, certain it is that it was Ptolemy Philadelphus who wished and sought for peace. Respecting its conditions, I shall have occasion hereafter to bring forward some conjectures. It was concluded and guaranteed by the marriage of Berenice, daughter of the Egyptian king, with Antiochus. The royal bride was accompanied by her father as far as Pelusium, and handed over to the Syrians, with a dowry of immeasurable wealth, on which account she is distinguished by the surname φερνοφόρος. Compared to the pomp of the Lagidæ, the sumptuousness of the Syrian kings was mere coarse prodigality; the accounts of the magnificence of Philadelphus, as well as the extent of his treasures, sound fabulous; but they have a really brilliant and right royal character, even if we condemn the excess to which luxury was carried. It is a

[s] The words are, 'ut in Asia filius Ptolemæi regis socio Timarcho desciverit a patre.'

[t] Trogus has related the insurrection of this Ptolemy after Antiochus II. ascended the throne, and before the murder of Demetrius the Fair.

lesson full of grave instruction that the revelling in the possession of this superfluity of splendour and wealth should have brought this king, in other respects so wise, to the absurdity of fancying himself secure from death—a circumstance which, by the way, indicates that the Egyptians, who had, certainly long before Diocletian's time, been working at the philosopher's stone, also sought to discover the elixir of life—and that when a dangerous illness aroused him from his dream, he looked down with sadness and envy from the windows of his palace on the beggars rolling themselves naked, but merrily in the sand. One instance of this luxury was that Berenice drank nothing but Nile-water, which was brought to her in golden vessels by sea from Alexandria. The year of her marriage is doubtful; but it cannot have been very long before the death of both the kings.

Even where polygamy is customary, a king's daughter suffers no other consort to share her throne, and Laodice, with her children, was banished from the court. The security of the succession of the child which Berenice bore,—nay, her own and her child's life depended upon that of Antiochus, and it is very comprehensible that her royal father should have rewarded the physician Cleostratus, who cured the Syrian king of a dangerous illness, with a hundred talents. The death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Olymp. 133, 1 = 505, was, without doubt, the occasion of a change which was conformable to the inclinations of King Antiochus, and he might probably also deem the revenge of a brother less inevitable than that of a father for the affront put upon his favourite daughter, as every new monarch in the Macedonian states had to contend with insurrection or opposition. Laodice, with her children, was recalled to the court, and Berenice appears to have retired to Antioch with her child; for she was there when her murder was undertaken, and her fate would have been speedily and easily decided if she had been in Anterior Asia when Antiochus held his court at Ephesus.

Laodice is almost unanimously accused of having poisoned her husband, whom she had not forgiven for the affront received, and whose constancy she did not trust, if put to the test by the danger of war.[n] A strange story is also told of the stratagem by which she kept his death a secret till she had secured the government to herself and her son (Valerius Maximus, ix. 46, 1).

This did not satisfy her, however, nor yet the revenge which she meditated on the unhappy fugitive. She breathed vengeance against all the adherents of Berenice, and against those who had

[n] Appianus *de Bel. Syr.* 65. Athenæus *ex Phylarcho*, xiii. p. 593, b. St. Jerome, on Daniel xi.

sheltered her from her cruelty. Thus she condemned Sophron, the commander at Ephesus, to be executed, and ordered one of her attendants, Danae, who saved him by giving him a hint of his danger, by which he profited, to be racked to death.[x]

Berenice took up her abode in Antioch, or reached this city, when Antiochus died. The citizens of Antioch,[y] probably already discontented with the long absence of the court, appear to have taken her and her child under their protection, and troops were dispatched to take them captive. This must have occupied a considerable interval, since many cities gained time to fit out a fleet for her rescue, no doubt intended to bring her back to Alexandria, and save the empire from a devastating war. But they arrived too late. Antioch was taken or terrified into submission. Berenice had fled from the city, and taken refuge in the temple of Daphne—it seems rather as a sacred than a secure place—but allowed herself to be persuaded to leave it by oaths and promises, and was slain with her child.[z] It has been often remarked that Oriental despots and their families are even more exposed to the most cruel destinies than the meanest of their slaves.

The cities which had taken up arms had no choice left but to throw themselves unconditionally into the arms of Ptolemy Euergetes, who invaded Syria with his whole army to take vengeance, regained Damascus, occupied the whole of Upper Syria, as it appears, without resistance, carried his arms beyond the Euphrates, and received the submission of all the upper Satrapies as far as Bactriana.[a] These extensive countries were in all wars easily won

[x] This Danae was a daughter of the Epicurean Leontium, and vindicated the truth of her Epicurean denial of a God before the people, as she was led to death, by appealing to the fate of Laodice, who, after murdering her husband, reigned on the throne, and her own fate, who was condemned to a cruel death for a humane deed.

[y] So old is the pronunciation of the η as ι that even the Romans pronounced and wrote Ἀντιωχηνὸς, Antiochinus. For '*bellum Antiochinum*' in the Fasti is not to be translated the war against Antiochus (although that against Antiochus Magnus is referred to), but the war against the King of Antioch, as *bellum Alexandrinum* against the King of Alexandria. We are familiar with the term *rex Alexandrinus*, and might safely wager that the elder Romans gave only this title to the Ptolemies, never that of *rex Ægypti*.

[z] St. Jerome calls the two generals of Antioch, who perpetrated the murder by the queen's command, Icadion and Gemnius; the second name is no doubt corrupted, the first uncertain. According to Valerius Maximus (ix. 10, b. 1), the child of Berenice was murdered first, and she revenged it with a mother's fury.

[a] ἕως Βακτριάνης seems to be an exclusive expression: and if so, the Græco-Macedonian empire of Bactriana must have been already founded at this period, which however unquestionably greatly increased in stability and extent during the calamitous reign of Seleucus. Antiochus I. was still master of Margiana (Strabo, xi. p. 516, b.); but at the beginning of the reign of Antiochus III., Media and Persia were the eastern border provinces of the Syrian monarchy (Polybius, iv. 40). Besides, the reign of Antiochus II. was one in which a remote satrapy might easily throw off the yoke, and the deserts formed then, as now (1819), a natural boundary and security for the empire of Cabul.

and lost, because the natives hated all the foreign rulers alike, and a change was indifferent to them, except on account of the storms which accompanied it; besides, they were probably very slightly garrisoned.

In the opposite direction, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Ionia, the Hellespont, and Thrace, submitted themselves; their troops entered the service of the victor, and the Indian elephants fell into his power.

Of all the provinces that composed the Syrian empire, Lydia, where the citadel of Sardis was an impregnable fortress, and Phrygia Major, are the only ones not mentioned on the Adulitic monument among the conquered countries. Both probably were still retained by Antiochus. We cannot conceive, however, but that, in all directions, fortresses and strong places must have been maintained by faithful commanders, or by inhabitants who would not abandon themselves to an arbitrary victor.

No one will hesitate to place the commencement of this war in Olymp. 133, 3 = 507; but how long a time elapsed ere the troops of Ptolemy could reach the confines of Bactriana it is impossible to say. A very considerable time was necessary for it, even if his movements were as rapid as those of Alexander, and met with still less opposition to retard them. It appears as if his intention had been to unite Asia with his kingdom, and restore the monarchy of Alexander; but an insurrection in Egypt obliged him to return before his empire had had time to consolidate itself. He resolved, therefore, to divide the Syrian monarchy. He retained Syria for himself, and no doubt also the districts on the sea coast of Asia Minor, which he had acquired in addition to those that had been conquered by his father, and the coast of Thrace. Cilicia he conferred upon his friend Antiochus, and the country beyond the Euphrates, with the upper Satrapies, upon Xanthippus.[b] I have not as yet been able to detect the slightest trace that would lead to a conjecture respecting this Xanthippus. Antiochus may have had no connection whatever with the Seleucidæan family; still there is internal probability for the supposition that the expression *his friend* is not to be taken in its strict sense, and that he was no other than Antiochus Hierax; the period of whose independence must be placed in the beginning of the reign of Seleucus, unless all succession of time is destroyed in the Excerpt from Porphyry. Eusebius really appears however to have deranged all chronological order in this paragraph, when we compare it with that which follows. But it is a much more stringent argument that Seleucus would not have invited his

[b] This very important notice, which, unless my memory deceives me, has been hitherto overlooked, is nowhere found except in St. Jerome on Daniel xi. 7.

brother to form an alliance with him against Ptolemy (Justinus, xxvi. 2) if he had not possessed dominions and subjects.[c]

Ptolemy was received as the avenger of an atrocious deed by nations already exasperated by a most worthless government; but the necessity of dividing the country and abandoning the greater part of it, obliged him to act as a harsh conqueror. He cannot be blamed for taking back the sacred images and vessels which the Persians had stolen from Egypt,[d] but he also carried off other statues, to the number of 2,500,[e] together with the costly vessels and jewels of the royal treasury, and extorted an enormous war contribution, whose amount is stated at the incredible sum of 40,000 talents of silver.[f] All this seems to indicate a prolonged occupation of the country.

It is impossible to guess where Seleucus took up his sojourn while nearly his whole realm was lost. In this situation, it must have been through foreign aid—almost certainly that of the Rhodians, who could only maintain their freedom and importance so long as Egypt and Syria were balanced against each other—probably also that of the King of Macedonia, to whose son he was related through his aunt, that he collected a fleet against the revolted cities, which was, however, annihilated by a storm. (Justinus, xxvii. 1.)

That this misfortune touched the hearts of the rebels, as Justinus relates, and moved them to submit themselves once more to their hereditary king, now quite bent down by his calamities, may be true of some individuals; but more probably it was a consequence of the very conceivable hatred occasioned by the plundering and taxes of the Egyptians. It is, perhaps, not unlikely that risings, of the nature often occasioned by the outrages of mer-

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[c] We might likewise adduce in its favour that in the article on Phylarchus in Suidas (it must be allowed a very confused notice) it is said (after mentioning other incidents) that he related the histories of Antiochus and Eumenes; if indeed we are to understand by this, Antiochus Hierax and not Antiochus Soter, who was defeated by Eumenes near Sardes (Strabo, xiii. p. 624, a).

[d] The fact is stated both by the Adulitic monument and by St. Jerome; the latter mentions the number.

[e] According to one of the widely differing accounts of the origin of the religion of Serapis, the third Ptolemy had brought the statue of the god from Seleucia. Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 84. This statement refers to the town on the Tigris and to this war, when the statue was among the images of the gods taken as plunder.

[f] Though I call it incredible, I do not mean that I should reject it as an absolute impossibility, if the number were vouched for by some other testimony besides a single passage which may contain an error of the transcriber. For such it certainly is not, especially if not limited to the war-tax, but to be understood of the collective spoils and extortions, and if the treasures of the crown at Ephesus and Antioch had fallen into the hands of the conqueror. But the accumulation of 740,000 talents in the treasury of Philadelphus would be a pure impossibility if the Egyptian talents, which Appian expressly names (*Præf.* 10), were equal to those of Attica. From the Nubian inscriptions, however, I have discovered express proofs that they were very small in comparison to the latter.

cenary troops, had already been one cause of the heavy military contributions imposed; but the extortions and the stripping of all their treasures and relics from the temples and the empire, still more inevitably excited revolts. The defection must certainly have been very general, as is stated in Justinus, else no fleet could have been got together capable for a moment of coping with that of Egypt. This circumstance I connect with the notice in Porphyry, that, in Olymp. 134, 3 (= A. U. C. 511), Seleucus with a naval force relieved the long besieged Orthosia. Fortune, however, quickly withdrew her favour; his fleet was totally defeated and dispersed by the Egyptians, and he himself escaped to Antioch with very few followers.

According to Porphyry, it was at Sardis that Antiochus Hierax assumed the diadem; and when it is said that he was supported by a brother of his mother, it is probably to be understood that this uncle was satrap of Lydia, and yielded into his hands the invincible fortress. His name, Alexander, mentioned nowhere else, was scarcely to be divined from the Milanese translation; as I conjecture, owing to an error in Zohrab's transcript. I have remarked above that, according to all appearance, Ptolemy Euergetes not only acknowledged him as King of Anterior Asia, but likewise ceded Cilicia to him. If we now disentangle the events which Justinus has crowded together as if they had rapidly succeeded each other in the course of a war, whereas they really occupied a space of twenty years, it may be pronounced, with that hypothetical probability which is all we can attain, that Seleucus probably acknowledged his brother as king over these provinces after his naval defeat, consequently somewhere about Olymp. 135, 1 (A. U. C. 513), and directed his own forces towards Upper Asia, to bring back to their allegiance the Satrapies beyond the Euphrates.

For it is only of an expedition to Media and Persia that we can understand the expression, ἡ ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος στρατεία, used by Josephus in a passage already quoted. That is to say, Stratonice's return to Syria after quitting her husband Demetrius, who had offended her by marrying Phthia of Epirus, cannot have taken place earlier than Olymp. 135, 2, or at the very earliest 135 ,1 (A. U. C. 514 or 513). Her object was to induce her nephew Seleucus, who was several years younger than herself, to marry her, and revenge her by making war on her unfaithful spouse. Seleucus was just then engaged in the above-mentioned campaign, not inclined to fulfil her wishes, and, moreover, could have been in no condition to execute her vengeance. Hereupon she incited the ever discontented population of Antioch to rebellion, which obliged Seleucus to return. The city was taken;

the authoress of the troubles fled to Seleucia, on the sea coast,[g] where, trusting to a dream, she neglected an opportunity of escaping by ship, was taken captive and executed.

Taking all these circumstances into consideration, it appears indubitable that Seleucus could not have been in a condition to undertake the re-conquest of Upper Asia, until he had secured himself against attacks upon Syria, and that, consequently, the ten years truce with Ptolemy must be placed before the arrival of Stratonice, somewhere about Olymp. 135, 1 (A. U. C. 513). Not even a woman maddened by the thirst for vengeance would imagine Seleucus able to make war upon Macedonia, until he was at peace with Egypt and in alliance with Antiochus (which alliance, according to Justinus, preceded, and was the cause of, the peace with Egypt).

The war with Antiochus, which ended with the re-union of Anterior Asia, is said by Justinus to have been occasioned by the attempt of this young prince to wrest the whole empire from his brother. He conducted it with Gallic mercenaries, taken from among those Gauls who, ever since Nicomedes of Bithynia had brought them over into Asia, had been the scourge of that beautiful but unhappy country. In what year the war commenced, cannot be at all determined, but all the circumstances prove that it must not be placed before the raising of the siege of Orthosia, as the excerpt from Porphyry would seem to place it.

Seleucus succeeded in entering Lydia, and gained two battles, but was nevertheless unable to conquer either Sardis, which held out for Antiochus, or Ephesus, which was garrisoned by Ptolemy's troops. On this, Mithridates of Pontus declared for Antiochus. He, too, fought with Gallic troops, and Porphyry says that Seleucus lost the decisive battle against him in Cappadocia, which Trogus (according to the Prologue) placed at Ancyra, and in which he only names the Gauls as victors, not him who had hired them. Seleucus lost 20,000 men in this defeat, and the annihilation of his army was so complete, that it was not even known what had become of himself.

After this battle, Antiochus (probably because the Gauls, satisfied with the booty which the neighbourhood afforded them, refused to follow him to the conquest of his distant provinces) marched through Phrygia Major, and exhausted it by military contributions. The forces which he sent against Seleucus were, it seems, insufficient to prevent the re-organisation of the Syrian

[g] This town cannot have been occupied by Egyptian troops at this time; I conjecture that it had been reconquered after the renewal of hostilities, and that the expressions of Polybius, v. 58, are not to be taken quite literally.

army, which transferred the seat of war once more into Asia Minor. The Gauls, who saw his fortunes sinking, resolved to betray him. He escaped from their hands, and took refuge in Magnesia, where he won a battle the next day with the troops of Ptolemy. After this, he received in marriage a daughter of Zielas, King of Bithynia. The latter events seem to belong to the year Olymp. 137, 3 (A. U. C. 523); not until then would the ten years' truce with Egypt have expired, before the end of which Antiochus would have been unable to use the troops of Ptolemy against his brother; and Porphyry places the incidents immediately succeeding, in the next year, Olymp. 137, 4 (A. U. C. 524). In this year, Antiochus sustained two decisive defeats in Lydia, and at last was beaten at Choloe,[h] in a skirmish with Attalus, from which time he led the life of a fugitive. Now, if we connect the relation of Justinus with the summary statement of Porphyry, it must have been at that time that Antiochus, after a flight of many[i] days, reached Ariamnes of Cappadocia, the husband of his father's sister, Stratonice, with whom he hoped to find safety; but discovering that the pusillanimous and treacherous barbarian intended to deliver him up to his brother, he was obliged to renew his flight. As, in the meantime, however, Zielas had been slain by the Gauls, and there was no asylum opened to him, he surrendered to a commander of some Egyptian troops.[k] At this time the war between the Alexandrian king and Seleucus must have been terminated by a formal peace, for Ptolemy commanded him to be kept under a guard. With the assistance of a good-natured girl he escaped from custody, and wandered through Thrace, but fell into the hands of Gallic robbers, who slew him. Their leader, Centoarates, seized on the warhorse of

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[h] In the Venetian edition *Coloa*. I can nowhere find a place of this or any similar name in ancient geography. It seems, however, as if Porphyry could not have referred to any other than the battle of Choloe, when he speaks of a battle in Caria, after which Antiochus fled to Thrace. If so, it must be sought for in Caria.

[i] As Justinus calls this Ariamnes (his bad text reads Artamenes, which however had been long since corrected) the *Socer* of Antiochus, the Milanese editors have tormented themselves to make out how, if so, the latter could have married the daughter of Zielas. But it has been long ago remarked that here nothing but a relationship of any kind by marriage is to be understood. The Greek (Phylarchus) used the word κηδεστὴς, and very likely Trogus himself, through haste and carelessness, wrote *Socer*, of which word it cannot be proved, like the Greek, that it had any wider signification than its usual one.

[k] This is an hypothesis, it is true, but one whose certainty is evident. According to Justinus, we might indeed believe that he went to Alexandria; but how did he get from thence to Thrace, and with his war-horse? The Syrian kings had maintained the Thracian maritime cities ever since the destruction of the empire of Lysimachus, or since the wars of Antiochus I., but Euergetes had subdued and retained possession of them. It is in one of them that Antiochus must have surrendered, and from thence have escaped into the interior of the country.

the murdered man as his booty, and the noble animal avenged his old master by the death of his murderer.[m]

The Prologue of the xxviith Book of Trogus places the flight of Antiochus to Ariamnes, after a defeat sustained in Mesopotamia, from Seleucus; and Justinus likewise makes it the result of the loss of a battle with the latter, which took place subsequent to the victory of Attalus over the Gauls. It is not possible to reconcile these contradictions; and in attempting to frame a connected narrative, I have felt obliged to give the preference to Porphyry's chronological account, however it may be perverted in the abridgment.

That victory of Attalus over the Gauls, which broke the tyranny they had exercised for many years over Asia Minor, and freed at least the state of Pergamus from the payment of tribute to them, was highly brilliant, and has remained in glorious memory. (Liv. xxxii 21, xxxviii. 16; Polyb. xviii. 24.) No doubt it was not a victory obtained over them as a nation, but as the hired auxiliaries of Antiochus (comp. Justinus, xxvii. 3);[n] and was probably one of the battles mentioned by Porphyry. From that day, Attalus assumed the title of king, but among the forty-four years of his reign are included the eleven or twelve during which he had previously (ever since Olymp. 135, 1) governed as Dynast at Pergamus, and let no one suppose that we must place his victory in Olymp. 135, 1.

We now, further, obtain a date for the death of Zielas, and the accession of Prusias the Lame; according to the Prologue of Trogus xxvii., both are to be placed after the victory of Attalus, therefore about Olymp. 138, 1.

Seleucus built cities—at Antioch an entire new quarter of the city; and hence we may conclude that a considerable portion of

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[m] P. It is Ælianus (*Hist. Anim.* vi. 44) who has preserved the knowledge of this remarkable circumstance. I should not have known this passage but for Frölich, who however does not cite the title of the work, but only the name of the author. In mentioning this story, he (whose errors I think it is a duty to pass over when we simply owe our correcter views to the newly-discovered Porphyry) ought not to have referred it to the poisoned Antiochus II., and if he had remembered the passage in Prologue xxvii. of Trogus (*quo a Gallis occiso*) he could not have been able to mistake the fate of Antiochus Hierax. Nay, the expositor of Polybius ought in the Antiochus ὁ μεταλλάξας τὸν βίον περὶ Θράκης (Polybius, v. 74) to have been able to guess the Hierax, of which we have now direct proof. The Gauls possessed at this time settlements and a state in Thrace (Polyb. iv. 46). To an earlier Thracian campaign of the same Antiochus, I refer what Polyænus (iv. 16) relates of the stratagem by which Antiochus the son of Antiochus took Cypsela in Thrace. For we cannot attribute the account of a clever action of his own invention to the Theos; and that, immediately after, a chapter is devoted to Antiochus Hierax proves nothing; the whole thing is just like Polyænus, who, for instance, confounds together the three Antigonuses, Μονόφθαλμος, Γονατᾶς, and Δώσων.

[n] Justinus calls Eumenes King of Pergamus in his stead; thus making two errors. The latter is quite inexcusable; the former leads to a conjecture that hostilities had commenced between the Dynast Eumenes and Antiochus.

his reign elapsed in peace, and that his subjects were at least able to pay the taxes, if they did not entirely recover from the ravages of war. His ten years' truce is indeed only known to us through Justinus, still there is not the very slightest inducement to doubt the correctness of this notice. The only question, therefore, concerning it is, whether it was immediately followed by a formal treaty of peace, or whether hostilities were renewed before this took place. For that such a peace subsisted between the two empires, when Antiochus III. ascended the throne, is evident from the position of affairs at the beginning of the Cœlesyrian war, of which we have a full account by Polybius (particularly in v. 67, where the attack upon Cœlesyria is considered as πρασπόνδημα). I have already declared for the latter conjecture, because Antiochus availed himself of the help of Ptolemy's forces at Magnesia, and if it be objected that this might have been against Attalus, we can scarcely help perceiving a state of warfare indicated in the assertion of Porphyry, that Seleucus was not able to obtain possession of Ephesus after his first victories in Lydia, because it was occupied by the troops of Ptolemy.

As we are unable to determine the chronological succession of events in the great Egyptian war, so too we cannot represent, with as much exactness as we could wish, the changes effected by the treaty of peace, no doubt founded upon actual possession, in the boundaries of the two empires as compared with their state before the war. Still, with regard to these, we can approach nearer to exactness and certainty than with regard to the incidents of the war itself; and I shall take advantage of this opportunity to display the gradual extension of the Alexandrian empire.

According to the Adulitic monument, Euergetes inherited from his father Egypt, Libya, (Cœle-) Syria, Phenice, Cyprus, Lycia, Caria, and the Cyclades. His dominions in Arabia and Ethiopia are passed over. In his Panegyric of Ptolemy Philadelphus (xvii. 86 - 90), Theocritus names them also as extra-Egyptian, along with all those occurring on the Adulitic monument, excepting Cyprus, and adds Pamphylia and Cilicia.

Egypt alone formed the Satrapy of Ptolemy Lagos, which he soon erected into a kingdom. Libya he wrested from Thibron, but lost it again through the treachery of Ophellas; of the sovereignty of Magas and the re-union of the country with the kingdom of Egypt I have already treated. Cœlesyria and Phenicia were early conquered from Antigonus the One-eyed, who frustrated the undertaking of his rival against Cyprus by the great naval victory of Demetrius over Menelaus. But, after the battle of Ipsus, this invaluable island was conquered by Ptolemy

Soter;[o] and there is not the slightest trace that he or his successors ever lost possession of it, until Clodius made it into a province; hence, it is very surprising that Theocritus should not have mentioned this jewel of the Alexandrian crown; indeed, we might almost conjecture that a verse has dropped out. To whom Lycia, which had been already, by the arrangement of Antipater, given to Antigonus the One-eyed, was assigned after the partition of his monarchy by the congress of the kings, we do not know. It may have fallen to the lot of Ptolemy so early as that date, but it may have been bestowed upon Cassander; and I am all the more inclined to believe the latter, as the Greek provinces of Antigonus were in no proportion to those which fell to the share of the three other allies; consequently Cassander must have received remote provinces, or have been indemnified by an exchange with Lysimachus. No such exchange took place, and it could not have been made without entirely transferring Lysimachus to Asia, for an Asiatic satrapy was a richer principality than the whole of Thrace. That, however, Cassander really received possessions in Anterior Asia, and on this very coast, is rendered probable by the circumstance that Cilicia, situated there, was given to his brother Plistarchus as a present by the kings at the partition of the empire of Antigonus.[p]

If it was not at this date that Lycia came into the possession of Ptolemy, it can only have done so either after Cassander's death and the annihilation of his family, which soon followed it, or—if at that time it was Lysimachus who seized on the vacant domain, or Seleucus who profited by circumstances—in the war waged by Philadelphus against Antiochus I. and II. In this war Caria was conquered; for at the partition, this country, with Lydia, Ionia, and the Hellespontic Phrygia, had fallen to Lysimachus; the whole monarchy of this king was won for Syria by the victory of Seleucus on the field of Corus; and a part of Thrace alone regained its independence, while the Syrians could not prevent an army of Gauls from occupying another part of the country and governing it. Antiochus I. built Stratonicea in Caria, and Antioch on the Meander. Nor can it be doubted that Pamphylia and Cilicia, which are named as Egyptian provinces in the poem of Theocritus, were conquered by Philadelphus in this war. It is probable that the former province shared the same fortunes as Lycia;

[o] Plutarch. *Demetrius*, p. 905, e. comp. p. 906, f. Strabo likewise says that it had come into the possession of Egypt since the Ptolemies had founded their empire there. xiv. p. 684, e.

[p] Plut. *Demetrius*, 903, e. I think it very possible that some passage overlooked by me may furnish something more definitive respecting Cassander's portion; all the notices of these times lie so scattered that one need not be ashamed to receive correction or confirmation.

of the latter, we know with certainty that Seleucus possessed himself of it, after Demetrius had driven Plistarchus from it. The Cyclades fell under the supreme sway of the Egyptian kings, when Ptolemy Philadelphus, by his general Patroclus, founded his naval dominion over those seas in the war against Antigonus Gonatas. The Greeks, for whose sake this war was apparently undertaken, were abandoned to their fate; their ally augmented his power and his realm.

The discrepancy between Theocritus and the Adulitic monument is the more striking, as the poet expressly calls all the Pamphylians and the Cilicians fit to bear arms, subjects of Philadelphus. The sovereignty of these countries must therefore have undergone a change between the date of the composition of that poem and the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus; and for this another and far more probable cause existed than the fortune which *may* have favoured the Syrian troops,—namely, the marriage of Berenice. The King of Egypt desired peace; and since, in order to attain this object, he gave his unhappy daughter, with a dowry of untold treasures, to the most worthless of men, he may also have resolved to accede to the restitution of those countries, without whose possession the Syrian satrapies[q] in Anterior Asia had no, or a very insecure, communication with the body of the monarchy.

Of the conquests of Euergetes enumerated in the Adulitic inscription, the peace left him in possession of Seleucia in Pieria, and possibly of some maritime cities on the coast of Cilicia; also of some on that of Pamphylia (for the inland cities of this people were entirely free and independent of both monarchies) and of the southern Ionian cities. The northern, like the Æolian, had been appropriated by Attalus, from whom they were reconquered by Achæus under Seleucus III. The capital of those Ionian cities which obeyed Egypt was Ephesus,[r] the depôt of the Egyptian force in those regions, where a numerous corps of troops lay constantly assembled, just as there was always a strong squadron of ships at Samos[s] (Polybius, v. 35). He also retained Lysimachia and the Thracian Chersonesus, one of the highest aims of the ambition of

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[q] In the kingdom of Macedonia satraps never occur, nor have I met with this title in that of Egypt. The Syrian empire was infinitely more Oriental than the latter monarchy, and seems to have retained the Persian institutions. It is to this, therefore, that reference is made in the Œconomics of the pseudo-Aristotle.

[r] That Ephesus was restored to Antiochus II., or was retaken by him after the revolt of Ptolemy the Bastard, is not open to a doubt, for that king died there.

[s] Samos, therefore, was a subject city, while Chios and Mitylene held a free and honourable rank (Polybius, xi. 5). Cos, which is celebrated by the court poets of Philadelphus as the Delos of the Alexandrian Apollo, is unquestionably to be reckoned among the tributary islands. When was this king born there? I feel no doubt that it was about the time of the battle of Ipsus. The pregnant queen might have followed her consort to the war in the fleet, and chosen her residence in a fortified city, near the neutral, but friendly Rhodes.

Athens in the times when her power was on its decline, and a possession almost overlooked by the kings; also the Thracian maritime cities of Aenus, Maronea, and others to the westward as far as the Macedonian frontier (Polybius, v. 34). Only the southern part, and not the whole of Phœnicia, was united to the Egyptian empire. Eleutherus seems to have formed the boundary, and Orthosia to have been the Syrian border fortress.

Of these conquests, Seleucia in Pieria, and Lysimachia (with which city the Chersonesus went), were lost as early as the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The Lysimachians, probably forsaken by this corrupt government,[t] made themselves independent, and sought to gain that protection from the Thracians which was indispensable to the maintenance of their existence, by entering into a joint citizenship with the Æolians. The other maritime cities of Thrace, especially Aenus and Maronea, the Egyptian Ionia, Caria, Lycia, the maritime cities of Pamphylia, and the Cyclades,[u] all the transmarine conquests therefore of Philadelphus as well as Euergetes, became a prey to the Kings Philip and Antiochus, who were leagued against the minor, Ptolemy Epiphanes. Both remained but a very short time in possession of their booty. Philip lost his share by the peace after the battle of Cynoscephalæ. Antiochus (who, when he crossed over to Europe, took possession of the unoccupied cities in Thrace and the Chersonesus which Philip had been forced to evacuate, and at the same time of the provinces in Anterior Asia, anciently belonging to his house) also lost them all by his peace with the Romans, who granted them as fiefs to their allies, Eumenes and the Rhodians. Egypt did not recover by the victories of the foreigners what she had lost through her own incapacity and baseness.

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[t] Ptolemy Philopator is the only king to whom the name of his mistress is attached as surname both by his contemporaries and posterity. He is called *ὁ τῆς Ἀγαθοκλείας*. He was an æsthetic gentleman, and even a poet. In the Scholia to the Thesmophoriazousai of Aristophanes, which Bekker has discovered at Ravenna and copied, a tragedy of his is quoted, in which Echo played a chief part.

[u] Philip sent against them, and they were no doubt taken by, Dicæarchus, the most abandoned man of a shameless age, who erected altars and offered sacrifices to impiety and vice as deities (Polybius, xviii. 37). A corrupt passage in Polybius (iii. 2) is to be referred, with emendations, to these and the neighbouring islands. It says with regard to the projects of partition formed by Philip and Antiochus: *ἤρξαντο . . . τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλειν, Φίλιππος μὲν τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον, καὶ Καρίαν, καὶ Σάμον*: that is, the best MSS. read thus; others leave out the words *καὶ Καρίαν*; the editors, even Casaubon, fall into various errors. The word *Αἴγυπτον* is wrong, and instead of it, *κατ' Αἰγαῖον* ought to be read, for so Polybius calls this sea, without the article, and in another place,—xvi. 34: *δι' Αἰγαίου ποιησάμενος τὸν πλοῦν*. The preceding elucidation of the possessions of the Egyptian kings renders everything intelligible. In another passage, too, xvi. 7, the name of the nation is to be obliterated by an emendation. There were no Egyptians at the naval battle of Chios, and it ought to be read *ἔαλωσαν—τῶν μὲν—Μακεδόνων εἰς δισχιλίους, τῶν δὲ ἐναντίων εἰς ἑπτακοσίους*: not *Αἰγυπτίων*.

The following remarks do not concern the history of the Seleucidæ, but still bear upon the political relations of the countries of Anterior Asia. The Prologue to the 28th book of Trogus says, in the printed editions, '*Antigonus, qui Thessaliam, Mœsiam, Cariam subjecit.*' The absence of connecting particles renders the words suspicious, and there was no 'Mœsia' in existence at that date: the name does not appear in the geographies till a much later time. Now it must be remarked that the MSS. either omit the word *Mœsiam* altogether, or read instead *in Asiam.* As to *Cariam*, all read alike; but if we hold *Cariam* also to be wrong, because a Macedonian naval expedition does not appear to be among the natural resources of that realm, we shall be tempted to read, instead of the two words, a name belonging to one of the districts bordering on the Macedonian state; and *et Atintaniam* occurred to myself, but it is inadmissible, because this country was already under Roman sway, and was not ceded until after the first war of Philip. Some familiarity with the various readings in MSS., particularly in those of very ancient date, and in copies made from ancient MSS. by persons unable to understand them, will show us that *in Asiam* is only the rustic form for [*et*] *in Asia.* Now I do not see any reason for doubting that Antigonus undertook a naval expedition against Asia, and, in passing, conquered a portion at least of Caria. A permanent feud existed between the Antigonidæ and Lagidæ, as is sufficiently shown by the story of Aratus and Cleomenes; and in an excerpt from Polybius (xx. 5, 7-12), a notice has been preserved of an expedition of Antigonus Doson to Asia with a fleet which stranded in the shallows at Larymna on the Bœotian coast, but got afloat again by lightening the ships at the flood-tide, and pursued its voyage. Of this I think a notice is preserved in the Prologue of the preceding book (xxvii.), which mentions a naval victory of Euergetes over Antigonus at Andrus; for if Antigonus only appeared there as the ally of the Syrian king, and no other supposition is admissible, this battle might be related in the history of the Syrian war.

Seleucus Callinicus died in Olymp. 138, 2 = 526. The epithet by which he is distinguished has been ridiculed by the moderns; with injustice I think; for to recover a monarchy, of which all but a few scattered portions had been lost, surely not less deserves to be called a victory than to conquer foreign provinces.

The earliest relations of the Roman republic to the states of the East are so interesting, as exhibiting the first link in the chain of connection which bound together the whole world round the Mediterranean in the course of the sixth century, A.U.C.; and at the same time have been so neglected, that I am unwilling to omit the remark that this king Seleucus (no other monarch of this

name, unless possibly his son, can be intended) sued for the friendship and alliance of the Roman nation, a step to which he was strongly urged by the emergencies of his government. The Senate replied by a Greek letter, in which they stipulated for the people of Ilium, seeing they were kindred by blood of the Romans, that they should be freed from tribute (Suetonius, *Claudius*, 25). This document, too, had been dug up out of the dust by Claudius.

I shall now quit the connected history of the Seleucidæ, and turn to my immediate object, the collection of the scattered notices afforded by Porphyry.

Among these I include the statement that Seleucus III. originally bore the name of Alexander, and changed it when he came to the throne; but it is erroneous, and no doubt another mistake of Eusebius, to call Nicanor, one of the murderers of this king, a Gaul, to which nation his accomplice Apaturius, or Epacorius, belonged.

I know of no other passage which states that Antiochus Eupator ascended the throne at the age of twelve years.

The Armenian Eusebius, according to the Milan edition, establishes the reading Siripides against all other variations in the surname given to Demetrius II. after his captivity among the Parthians; and that the Venetian translation has Sidirites is of no importance, for σιδηρίτης or σιδηρήτης cannot in any case pass for Greek. The explanation must be sought in the Syriac, a language with which I am entirely unacquainted; but I understand from those who are masters of the subject that שִׁיר in Chaldee signifies the same as the Hebrew שַׁרְשְׁרָה, that is, a chain; and that the Arabic ربط, *ligavit*, is also to be found in the cognate languages, as in the Hebrew the word רְבִיד, necklace, occurs. Σιριπίδης therefore, with its Greek termination, means, being interpreted, one bound with a chain.[x]

Porphyry says that Antiochus Sidetes pulled down the walls of Jerusalem, and caused the heads of the nation to be executed. This sounds much more credible of an Oriental victor than the story of Josephus, who is silent as to any personal chastisement of the vanquished, and limits the razing of the walls to the destruction of their towers. With regard to the walls, Diodorus (xxxiv. *Ecl.* 1) agrees with Porphyry; and the foolish vanity of Josephus, in endeavouring to hush up the humiliating part of the national misfortunes, is clearly betrayed in his whole narrative. The truth, however, gleams through, that Hyrcanus was forced to submit, to

[x] The name Zebinas, which is universally acknowledged to be Syriac, ought to have led scholars to seek in this instance, too, an explanation from the Aramaic language.

deliver up his arms, raze the walls, pay a contribution towards the war, and heavy taxes on the lands gained in the war which had been formerly tributary. None of the advantages won by that severe war were left to him, except the liberty of garrisoning the fortress, and the surplus of what might be extorted by the magistrates in the provinces, with the more important right of freedom of worship. But an unarmed nation, which had already lost so much of the enthusiasm through which it had shaken off its yoke, that the high priest thought it advisable to hire mercenaries, would not long have maintained what it still possessed, if Antiochus had been victorious over the Parthians. His defeat in this war, which broke for ever the power of the Seleucidean monarchy, enabled the Jews to effect their complete liberation,—an epoch which introduced a native tyranny worse than the foreign yoke, and the decline of all that was great and beautiful, however imperfect, which they had still retained from their ancient times.

Porphyry reckons the army with which Antiochus Sidetes set out to recover Upper Asia from the Parthians, at 120,000 men, a number not incredible, though it is nowhere else mentioned; but the effeminate infantry of Syria were powerless against warlike nations of horsemen, and at last everything was utterly ruined by the want of talent and discipline, which must necessarily prevail where the leader was sunk in drunkenness and gluttony.

We learn from Porphyry that five children were born to this Antiochus, three of whom died in childhood before their father—two daughters, both named Laodice, and a boy named Antiochus. Antiochus, who was distinguished from his brother by the surname Cyzicenus, was carried to a place of refuge by his preceptor after his father's death. Not he, but his elder brother Seleucus, would have been the successor to the throne, but that the latter, though still very young, had accompanied his father to the Parthian war, and been made prisoner. Arsaces treated him royally in his misfortunes; and here there is the explanation of the supposed captivity of Seleucus Callinicus among the Parthians, for it is no other Seleucus than this royal youth, of whom Posidonius speaks in his 16th book (Athenæus, iv. p. 153, a). Athenæus calls him king, and hence the blunder, for else it would have been remembered that the historian had treated, in the same 16th book, of the defeat and death of Sidetes (Athenæus, x. p. 439, e).

Many passages in this chapter, no less evidently erroneous, and no less easily to be corrected, ought not to have been left by the editors without emendation or remark.

In the conclusion of this chapter, the Armenian translation affords but a few unimportant readings, most of them wrong. I have therefore no occasion to linger over this revolting history of

the struggle between bloodthirsty and contemptible tyrants for the dominion of the miserable country whose dismemberment and bondage under a foreign yoke were at last looked for with desire, as putting an end to such sufferings. Only because every point in universal history which admits of more definite decision ought to receive it, I will here observe that the opinion is incorrect which supposes that the empire of the Seleucidæ closed about 669 A.U.C., and that Tigranes ruled over the whole of Syria until Lucullus overthrew him in the year 686, and restored Antiochus. Undoubtedly a large portion of Syria had submitted to the Armenian king. According to the impressions on coins, Antioch had certainly done so; and it is probable that Damascus had followed her example, though only for a short time. But during this period Antiochus was by no means hidden in a corner of Syria. He was acknowledged king of Syria at Rome, which he visited with his brother Seleucus about 676 A.U.C.; and some part of the sea-coast must have been under his rule, because Verres[y] could pretend, in 678, that pirates made sallies from the harbours of his subjects.

VIII. For the chronological history of the Lagidæ, the Armenian Eusebius also offers nothing beyond some new but unimportant readings, which at the most confirm emendations that every attentive reader will have thought of and marked for himself. The editors ask once more, on this occasion, which was the Egyptian king who bequeathed his empire to the Romans by will? It is bad indeed that such a question should still need a solution, for scarcely one of the many which have been put respecting this dynasty can be so safely and easily decided. That king can have been no other than Ptolemy Alexander I., who was expelled in Olymp. 173, 1 = 665, who then first turned his steps to Myra in Lycia, and thence attempted an expedition against Cyprus. Where he went afterwards, when he had been driven back by Charæas, is certainly nowhere to be read; but the independent city of Tyre stood open to him, where that king died, or perhaps only deposited his treasures, whose will, inspired by revenge, caused so many intrigues at Rome, and of which the republic, with an apparent generosity to be explained by the embarrassments of the time, availed themselves only so far as to fetch from that city the treasures consisting of specie. The fragments of Cicero's oration, 'De Rege Alexandrino,' which Mai has edited from the few extant leaves of the Ambrosian palimpsest, place it beyond a doubt that Alexander II. atoned with his life for the murder of his sister Berenice, in a popular insurrection at Alexandria.

[y] The impudent robbery which Verres practised on Antiochus was the first act of the kind which he perpetrated in Sicily (2 *in Verr.* iv. 27, 30); it must be placed therefore in the first year of his prefecture.

IX. The chapters 35, 36, and 47, give extracts from Diodorus about the Lacedæmonian kings,—the nations who ruled the seas, and the Albanian kings; and chapter 37,—on the Macedonian kings before Philip, is probably taken from the same source. Future editors of Diodorus will not neglect these extracts; to history they afford nothing new.

The annexed chronicle of Samuel of Ania is a foreign addition. For the canon of Eusebius, so far as it goes, we have other far better critical aids; the continuation, drawn from other well-known Byzantine works on chronography, is equally valueless, up to the last centuries before the lifetime of the author, where it certainly affords some information about the Armenian State in Armenia Major, which was formed after the decline of the Caliphate, and the wretchedness of the country after its annihilation. The Armenian history is one of those of which I am most ignorant, and so I do not know whether this information is new. If so, it should have been extracted; for care ought really to be taken to spare literature from a flood of insignificant works full of repetitions.

Ania, whence this Samuel writes, lay not far from Acalzice and Eriwan. Colonel Rottiers, who conducted the Persian war in those regions, told me that this city lay spread out in enormous ruins; the remains of magnificent churches and palaces were still standing in some parts, in sufficient preservation to be recognized. It is to be hoped that these ruins will be visited some day by an architect. As I happen to be speaking of Armenia, I will conclude with a notice which I have heard within the last few days (1819) from the lips of an Armenian priest, that the Christians in Pontus, and the great majority of those even in Trebizond, are Armenians, and speak Armenian. At Trebizond certainly there also exists a numerous native Greek community. In the interior of Asia Minor, even at Cesarea in Cappadocia, he says that the Christians speak Greek, but it is very corrupt and unintelligible, compared to the Greek of Constantinople. I should be inclined to suppose that its unintelligibleness arises chiefly from the intermixture of words belonging to the old barbarian tongues, and that the perfectly unintelligible language of the Christians at Zilla, near Conia, which my father heard mentioned by the Greeks in his caravan, might be a complete relic of such a language; and how many others of the same nature may exist! Would it not be an important object for a philologist to travel through Asia Minor as leisurely as might be necessary, in order to trace out the remnants of the former tongues in the dialects of the living vernacular languages? Inscriptions, both in Greek and in those unknown languages, he would be sure to find.

THE BIRTH AND INFANCY OF JESUS.

The birth and infancy of Jesus are related by two only of the four Evangelists; by Matthew, i. and ii., and by Luke, i. 26-56, and ii. 1-39. The genuineness of both these passages having been called in question,[a] a preliminary inquiry arises as to their canonical authority: the question, however, need not detain us long.

'In examining,' says Bishop Marsh,[b] 'the question, whether a passage of the Greek Testament be genuine or not, the first question to be asked is, What is the evidence of the Greek MSS., of the ancient versions, and of the ancient fathers?' The following is the Bishop's summary of the results of such inquiries in the case of the two first chapters of Matthew:—'Now there have been not less than *three hundred and fifty-five* Greek MSS. of the Gospels collated, every one of which contains the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, with the exception of the single Codex Ebnerianus; but even this MS. contains the second chapter, and the more ancient MS. contained probably the whole of the first.[c] The evidence of the Greek MSS., therefore, is decidedly in favour of the authenticity of the first two chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel. Equally decisive is the testimony of the ancient versions, for these chapters are contained in all of them. . . . . With respect to the quotations of ancient writers, which form the third kind of evidence, it is sufficient to observe that both Clement of Alexandria and Origen have quoted from the two chapters in question, without signifying any suspicion of their want of authenticity; and, what is still more, even Celsus, the great enemy of the Christian religion in the second century, has quoted from them (see Griesbach's *Symbolæ Criticæ*, Tom. ii. p. 241). We must set, therefore, all the laws of criticism at defiance if we assert that the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, to which alone the preceding arguments relate, began with chap. iii., ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις.'

[a] Bauer, 'Breviarium Theologiæ Biblicæ,' Lipsiæ, 1803; Jones, 'Sequel to Ecclesiastical Researches,' London, 1813; Williams, 'Free Enquiry into the Authenticity of the First and Second Chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel,' London, 1790; Ammon. 'Diss. de Lucâ emendatore Matthæi,' Erlang. 1793; Evanson, 'Dissonance of the Four generally received Evangelists,' Ipswich, 1792; also by 'Authors of the Improved Version,' London, 1813.

[b] Michälis's Introd. vol. iii. p. 2, 138.

[c] What the learned prelate conjectured as probable has since been ascertained as a fact. 'It is therefore decided . . . . that the Ebnerian MS. of the New Testament contains the first chapter of Matthew.' Dr. Gabler (by whom the collation was undertaken), 'Journal for Theol. Literat.' ii. 1, 1801; apud Hug. Introd. ii. 281; Wait's Translation, 1827.

Mutatis mutandis every one of these remarks will equally apply to the disputed passage in the Gospel of Luke. Irrefutable as the case appears on this statement of Dr. Marsh's, it is in fact much stronger; indeed the evidence as thus recited would now seem to be almost universally admitted. Mr. Norton[d] says of 'the account of the nativity given by Luke,' that 'there is no plausible reason for doubting' that it 'always made a part of his Gospel;' and of 'the first two chapters of Matthew's Gospel,' that 'there is no doubt that they have always made a part of our Greek translation.' The question, therefore, may now be considered as exclusively restricted to Matthew's Hebrew original.

As to this Hebrew original, 'we have,' to quote Mr. Norton once more, 'satisfactory evidence that, as an heretical sect, the Jewish Christians used it exclusively of the other three from the second century downwards.' It is evident, both from Origen and Eusebius, that these Jewish Christians, called, as it should seem, indiscriminately Ebionites and Nazarenes,[e] were distributed into two different classes, 'a class which denied the supernatural birth of Jesus, and another class which admitted it.'[f] A portion of these Jewish Christians, called by Jerome Nazarenes, we learn from that Father, used a copy of the Hebrew Gospel which *did* contain these two suspected chapters.[g] It is fair to presume that this was the case with the entire class that admitted the supernatural birth of Jesus, to which these chapters bear such unequivocal testimony. The other class, who denied it, of course did not receive these chapters, otherwise the only Gospel which they recognized would have condemned the very foundation upon which their entire system rested. And this indeed is in fact the only class which Mr. Norton alleges not to have received the disputed passage. These are his words:—'A *large portion* of the Jewish Christians *did not believe the miraculous conception of our Lord*, and had not the account of it, that is, the two chapters in question, in *their* copies of Matthew's Gospel.'[h] But surely this is a slender ground

[d] 'The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels,' vol. i.; Additional note A. § v. pp. 204-5.

[e] 'Dicet fortassis alius, *Nazaræos* sub *Ebionæorum* nomine a veteribus simul comprehendi: nec id specie caret. Certum enim est, sæculi secundi et tertii scriptores *Ebionæorum* vocabulo latiorem interdum potestatem subjecisse, quam recentiores, atque omnes *Ebionæos* vocasse, qui ex Judæis Christum ita receperant, ut Mosis simul legem servarent.' Mosheim, 'De Rebus Christ.' p. 329; see also Neander, 'Church History,' vol. ii. p. 19 et all. Clark's Ed.; also Norton, i. p. 198.

[f] Οἱ διττοὶ Ἐβιωναῖοι, ἤτοι ἐκ παρθένου ὁμολογοῦντες, ὁμοίως ἡμῖν, τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἢ οὐχ' οὕτω γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους. Orig. c. Cels. l. v. c. 61, ap. Neander, ii. 18. Euseb. l. iii. c. xxvii. vol. i. 253, ed. Heinichen Lipsiæ, 1827; see also the editor's note.

[g] In Matt. ii., ap. Neander, ii. p. 20; Catal. de Vir. Illustr., c. 3. Mihi quoque a Nazarenis, qui in Beroa, urbe Syriæ, hoc volumine utuntur, describendi facultas fuit. Ap. Kirchhofper, 'Quellensammlung zur Geshichte. d. N. T. Canons, p. 117. Zürich, 1844.'

[h] Vol. i. p. 205.

on which to assail a passage, in the face of the unanimous authority of all collated MSS., all the ancient versions, and the entire course of patristic testimony. Whatever inference the fact, such as it is, supplies against the two first chapters of Matthew, it equally supplies against all the other *Gospels*, since *these* Jewish Christians certainly used *their* copy of Matthew, 'exclusively of all the other three!' Indeed, if Mr. Norton's reasoning is valid against the authority of these two chapters, we are left without any confidence in the remainder of the Gospel as it has descended to us, seeing that on the same evidence on which we have the fact that in the copies used by a 'large portion' of the Jewish Christians these two chapters were not extant, we are also informed that *their* copies were defective in other respects, though precisely in what particulars, or precisely to what extent, we do not learn. The only copy of Matthew's Gospel of which we have any accurate and certain knowledge—the only copy, moreover, of which we have any record that it was ever universally received—is the Greek translation which we have now in our possession, and that, Mr. Norton himself being witness, 'always has contained these two disputed chapters.' We may therefore consider the preliminary inquiry as being now disposed of, and at once proceed with the immediate subject of this paper.

Each of the canonical accounts is complete in itself. Matthew, however, mentions several circumstances which Luke omits, and the narrative of Luke similarly supplements that of Matthew. In order, therefore, to obtain a full view of the facts as a whole, both accounts must be submitted to minute and careful investigation. Our object being partly apologetic, we will examine each of the narratives separately, observing the order of their canonical arrangement, in the hope that whatever may be lost by this method of procedure in other respects will be more than compensated in clearness and satisfaction.

I. To begin, then, with the narrative of Matthew. It thus commences:—'An account of the descent of Jesus Christ, son of David, son of Abraham.' The account then follows, and offers nothing particularly calling for remark until we arrive at the 10th verse, where the received text reads, in the authorised version, 'And Josias begat Jechonias and his brethren about the time they were carried away into Babylon.'[1] As the passage thus stands it

[1] The phrase finds its precise correspondent in the Alexandrine rendering of זֶה סֵפֶר תּוֹלְדוֹת, Gen. v. i. *αὕτη ἡ βίβλος γενέσεως*, vid. 'Trommii Concord.' s. v. *βίβλος*, 'Vox *βίβλος* in N. T. non tantum *librum*, ut vulgo, sed et *catalogum*, *recensionem*, significat. Exemplum est in principio Evangelii Matthæi *βίβλος γενέσεως*. Non potest ibi vox *βίβλος librum* significare. Non enim totus liber agit de prosapiâ Christi, sed parva modo libri portio.' Vorstius 'de Hebraismis,' ed. Fischer, p. 26.

is evidently corrupt. Both Josias and Joacim his son died before the exile. It was Jeconias that was carried away into Babylon. In 2 Kings xxiv. 6, 8, LXX., the only difference between the names of Joacim the father and Jechonias the son is, that whereas the name of the father is written with κ (Ἰωακὶμ), that of the son is written with χ (Ἰωαχὶμ), just as in the Hebrew text the only difference in the two letters is that whereas the name of the father terminates with ם, that of the son terminates with ן. In 2 Chron. xxvi. 9, the name of the son of Joacim is written as in Matthew, Ἰεχονίας, as also in the genealogy 1 Chron. iii. 6. How readily a transcriber, deceived by the similarity of the two names, may have omitted one of them may easily be conceived: both having been confounded, the not unnatural result was the 'extrusion of one.' The original records of the Jewish people having unquestionably contained both, since 'we may be sure that the Evangelist . . . . . wrote conformably to the public record of his nation,' we are fully justified, as the first step towards the restoration of the text, in inserting the name of Joacim. Nor is the restoration unsupported by authority; at least the following MSS. read Ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωακεὶμ, Ἰωακεὶμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰεχονίαν, *Cod. Vat.* 349; *Escurial* 9, 12; *Neapolit.* 1; *nunc Vindob.* 1. The Jerusalem Syriac (Birch), and also the Philoxenian version support the amended reading.[k] This, however, is not the only emendation which this portion of the received text requires. No brothers of Jeconiah are anywhere mentioned; but of Joacim's the genealogist (1 Chron. iii. 15) has named three, one elder and two younger. It is perhaps worthy of remark that in the only other instance in which Matthew adds 'and his brethren,' it follows after the name of one who, like Joacim, was not his father's *eldest* son, but his *fourth*, Judas. Matthew in every other instance being perfectly accordant with the Old Testament genealogies, and the received text in this passage being notoriously corrupt, it is only fair to the Evangelist to suppose that the original Gospel was here and in this respect also quite in agreement with the public records. A further emendation is therefore proposed, namely, to insert the phrase καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ after Ἰωακεὶμ, and not, as in the received text, after Ἰεχονίας.[m] We should therefore read, instead of 'And Josias begat Jechonias and his brethren,' 'and Josias begat Joacim and his brethren; and Joacim begat Jecho-

[k] See 'Penn's Annot. to the Book of the New Covenant,' p. 120. Fischeri Proluss. de Vitt. Lexicc. note 13, p. 422, Lipsiæ, 1791. Fischer adds, vid. Treschovius Tentamen descript. codd. vett. aliquot Græc. N. F. MSS. p. 24. Kuinoel in Matt. i. 11, 12, ed. 4ta. Lips. 1837. Muralto, N. T. ad fidem codicis principis Vaticani; varr. lectt. p. 488, ed. minor Hamburg, 1848.

[m] A similar emendation was proposed by Robert Stephens, and afterwards by Erasmus Schmid. Fischer, 'Prolusiones,' p. 423.

nias, about the time of the exile of Babylon.'[n] These restorations of the received text admitted, all discrepancies with the Old Testament genealogies are avoided, and the Evangelist's computation in the 17th verse is perfectly correct, which, as the text now stands, it notoriously is not.

It is to be observed that it is not said of Joseph that 'he begat' Jesus, in like manner as it is said of Jacob that 'he begat' Joseph; the phraseology which the Evangelist had employed throughout is singularly changed when he connects the two last links in his extended chain of descent. Jesus is said, indeed, to have been 'begotten' of Mary, and Joseph is also said to have been 'the husband' of Mary, but Jesus is not said to have been begotten by Joseph. This sudden and remarkable change in the Evangelist's phraseology is evidently designed to challenge marked attention to the fact that the generation of Jesus was altogether different from that of either of the persons previously mentioned, and is of itself sufficient proof that Matthew's object was only to establish for Jesus such a relationship to David, and, through David, to Abraham, as would arise from the fact that Mary, 'of whom he was begotten,' was the wife of a person whose descent in the direct

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[n] ἐπὶ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος. The existence of two methods of indicating time in such a language as the Greek especially, the one with the simple genitive (*genitivus absolutus*), and the other with the genitive following the preposition ἐπὶ is of itself sufficient proof that their meaning is not identical. The following passages may be adduced in proof that the genitive with ἐπὶ is to be understood in the wider latitude. . . . *temporis laxior designatio* (Grotius in loc.). I. In Marc. ii. 26, it is said of David that '*he went into the house of God*.' and '*eat of the shewbread*,' ἐπὶ Ἀβίαθαρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. On reference to 1 Sam. xxi. it will be seen that the circumstance took place during the high-priesthood not of Abiathar but of his father Abimelech, vid. Kuinoel in loc. Marc. ed. 3tia Lips. 1824. II. In Luke iii. 3, the commencement of John's ministry is thus chronologically described;—'in the fifteenth year of the government of Tiberius Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor (ηγεμονεύοντος Π) of Judæa and Herod being tetrarch (τετραρχοῦντος) of Galilæa . . . ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως (rec. ἀρχιερέων) Ἄννα καὶ Καϊαφα.' Both methods of indicating time are here employed. The question of the reading is not to our purpose: if ἀρχιερέων be retained, then the ἐπί must relate to both Annas and Caiaphas; if ἀρχιερέως, the former cannot be excluded: in any case therefore the high-priesthood of Annas will be embraced by the period to which the evangelist refers. Now, we know from Josephus (Antiq. l. xviii. 2, 2; see Lardner, vol. i. 143, ed. 1788) that Caiaphas was appointed to office by the predecessor of Pilate, Valerius Gratus, and consequently the high-priesthood of Annas must have been of still earlier date. What the evangelist evidently intends by the ἐπὶ therefore, is '*about the time of*:' when he meant his meaning to be construed with strictness he uses the genitive, and when with some latitude the preposition. See Selden de Succ. in Pontific. i. xii. p. 167, ed. Franc. 1673. Baronii Ann. Ecc. ad Ann. xxxi. On this use of ἐπὶ Kuinoel in loc. Matt. ed. 4ta., has the following note: 'Euthymius Zigabenus, ἐπὶ τ. μ. Β. ἀντὶ τοῦ, πλησίον τοῦ καιροῦ τῆς μετοικεσίας. Sermo familiaris.' Comp. *sub* ap. Facciolati. s. v. 'The beginning of the Babylonian bondage falls really in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (Ἰωακείμ), in which Jerusalem was taken, tribute levied on the king, and a number of captives carried into exile.' Hengstenberg on Daniel, p. 147, Clark's ed. The emendation proposed in the text is thus still further vindicated by the significance of the evangelist's indication of time.

line from 'David the king' was matter of indisputable evidence. The genealogy is in fact that of Joseph, 'the husband of Mary,' and only that of Jesus in so far as he was Mary's son.

On comparison of this 'account of the descent of Jesus Christ' with the concurrent genealogies, and especially with that given from David to Salathiel, in 1 Chron. iii., an omission will be observed of three names between those of Joram and Ozias—Ochozias, Joas, and Amazias. Further omissions, it is evident, have been made between Zorobabel and Joseph. Whatever the reason, the fact that such omissions are of very frequent occurrence in Scriptural genealogies is beyond dispute. A remarkable instance will be found on comparison of Ezra vii. 1-5, with 1 Chron. vi. 3-15. In Ezra, Azariah is called the 'son of Meraioth.' In the book of Chronicles it appears that Azariah was the son of Johanna, Meraioth being his ancestor, at the distance of six generations. This instance, to which, on further research, we cannot doubt but that many parallels would be discovered, is alone sufficient to prove that the omissions in Matthew are in perfect keeping with the structure of Jewish genealogies generally. We need not, therefore, be detained any longer with the 'descent,' but proceed at once with our investigation of the narrative, to which the genealogy is prefixed by way of general introduction.

These are the words of the Evangelist: 'His mother, Mary, having been betrothed[o] to Joseph, before that they came together, she was found with child of the Holy Ghost.' The marriage did not immediately follow the betrothment; indeed, from Deut. xxi. 11-13, it would almost seem that legally it could not;[p] at least, in the case of Joseph and Mary, it did not; and when this discovery was made they were still living separately, whether in the same neighbourhood or in different places, however, does not appear. Matthew proceeds—'Now Joseph, her husband,[q] being a just man, yet not willing to expose her, intended to have put her away privately.' The discovery having been made, there were at least two courses open for Joseph to pursue. Indeed, upon the supposition that Deut. xxi. 14 relates to 'betrothment' generally, as well as to that of a female captive, in particular, there were three. Waiving the third, however, Joseph might

[o] 'Betrothed' is indeed an inadequate rendering of *μνηστένεσθαι* in its scriptural usage; but it is preferable to 'espoused.' If the one means too little, it is evident that the other means too much. The fact is, that we, not having the *thing*, have not the *word* by which to name it. Deut. xx. 7; xxii. 23 et seq., especially the latter. On the distinction between betrothment and marriage, see Selden's 'Uxor Hebraica,' l. ii. c. 1; also Calmet's Dictionary, art. 'Nuptiæ,' ed. Mansi, 1759.

[p] This is evidently Mr. Greswell's opinion. 'On the Parables,' vol. v. pt. i. 446.

[q] *Αἱ γὰρ ὁμολογίαι γάμοις ἰσοδυναμοῦσιν αἷς ανδρός ὄνομα καὶ γυναικὸς, καὶ τἄλλα τὰ ἐπὶ συνόδοις ἐγγράφεται.* Philo, 'De Specialibus Legibus;' Oper. ii. 311, 42; ap. Greswell, ubi supra.

either have given Mary a 'writing of divorcement,' in which the reason of the 'putting away' was distinctly and prominently mentioned, or he might have given her a 'writing,' in which the reason was withheld.[r] The former course of procedure would have involved his betrothed in an exposure to which Joseph himself would have been an intentional party; the latter would have involved no such result. The Evangelist evidently means that Joseph intended to adopt the latter course, and not the former, since the usages of the Jews will not allow us to understand him to have meant anything less. It is added in continuation: 'Now, he having thought of this, behold! an angel of (the) Lord appeared to him in a dream, saying, "Joseph, son of David, be not afraid to take Mary thy wife, for that which is begotten in her, is of the Holy Ghost! Now, she shall bear a son, and thou shalt call his name JESUS, for he shall save his people from their sins." Now, all this happened that (that) might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, "Behold! the virgin shall be with child, and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel," which is, interpreted, God with us.' The prophet referred to is Isaiah: the passage will be found ch. vii. 14. The quotation perfectly corresponds with the LXX. (Alex. MS.), word for word. Matthew's interpretation of its reference will, upon reflection, commend itself as the only true one. The fact of the conception of a *virgin* is unique. As we are not now commenting upon Isaiah, but Matthew, it were a digression to make any remarks upon the connection in which the passage originally occurs, otherwise, we think it might be shown that this not only is the reference required by the fact, but also that it adds both strength and meaning to the whole address of which the prediction forms a part.[s] Ch. i. concludes with saying, 'Now, Joseph having arisen from sleep, did as the angel of (the) Lord had charged him, and he took his wife, and knew her not until she had borne her first-born son. And he called his name Jesus.' Does it not seem, at least, to be implied, that Mary afterwards bare other children, and, indeed, other *sons?*'[t] The question is of some importance in relation to inquiries, which the student of the Gospels

[r] 'Maimonides apud Buxtorfium de Divort.' p. 76:—'Femina ex quo desponsata est, licet nondum vel a viro cognita vel in domum mariti sui sit ingressa, est uxor viri . . . et si maritus seu sponsus ejus velit eam repudiare, oportet ut id faciat libello repudii.' Abarbanel, ib. p. 125:—'Si vir aliquis ducat uxorem, et accidat, ut non inveniat gratiam in oculis ipsius, eo quod sit contraria naturæ ipsius, aut quod inveniat in ea *turpitudinem* aliquam, quam tamen *revelare nolit*, seu quod nullos ejus rei testes habeat, seu quod *honori suo consultum* velit; atque hujus rei caussa scribat ei libellum repudii.' Ap. Kuinoel in loc. Matt.

[s] See Henderson on Isaiah, p. 61.

[t] The text of the Vatican MS., however, as given by Muralto omits the clause *αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον* entirely, and so do other MSS. of importance.

will find himself more than once compelled to entertain. As an interval was evidently supposed between Joseph's discovery that Mary was 'with child' and his 'taking her;' so, also, between that period and the birth of her 'first-born,' the structure of the narrative plainly indicates another; but what took place during either or both of these intervals, or how long they were, are questions for entertaining which Matthew supplies us with no materials whatever. We may now dismiss the first chapter, and proceed to an investigation of that portion of the narrative which is contained in the second.

The second chapter opens thus: 'Now, Jesus having been born in Bethlehem of Judæa, in the days of Herod the king, behold! Magi from the East came to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born King of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the East, and (we) have come to worship him.' Of course, then, a sufficient interval must have elapsed between the actual birth of Jesus, and the actual arrival of the Magi at Jerusalem, to cover the time which the Magi would have required in order to make the necessary preparations for their journey, and to complete the journey itself, which, in those days, must have been long and tedious.[u] These considerations would infer the interval, in every probability, to have extended over even several months. Who these Magi were, and even whence they came, are questions to which we can only offer approximate and hypothetical replies.[x] They are questions, indeed, rather for the curious than for the student. The part which Magianism played in the ancient world is too notorious to render such a visit as this in the least suspicious;[y] and the ap-

[u] On the length of time required for the journey Mr. Greswell has some very curious, and, so far as they go, very satisfactory calculations in his 'Dissertations upon a Harmony of the Gospels,' vol. ii. 138, ed. 2, 1837.

[x] 'The tradition of the Church, and the opinion of the learned, with nearly one voice, lead us to seek in Arabia the seat of these eastern sages. . . . This general consent is trebly justified: 1. By the authority of the prophetic Scriptures; . . . . 2. By the position of the Arabian peninsula; . . . . 3. By the joint testimony of Pliny and Ptolemy, who speak of Arabia as a seat or school of the *Magi*; the very title by which St. Matthew designates the wise men in the Gospel. . . . . I shall take the direction in which the index of Scripture points upon the map of Ptolemy; and seek, on the eastern coast of the peninsula, in his Magorum Sinus, the proper seat of the Magi of the New Testament . . . . (It) was situated in the territory of the Themi on the coast of the Persian Gulf. . . . In the book of Baruch this Hagarene race, "the merchants of Meran and Theman" . . . . are represented as "seekers after wisdom," and "searchers out of understanding;" in other words, as Magi, or wise men. What more just or natural inference can be drawn from these historical facts than that the Magi . . . who came to pay their homage . . . to the infant Messiah . . . were, in fact, Ishmaelites of the *Magian* tribe of Tema?' The Rev. C. Foster, B.D., 'Historical Geography of Arabia,' vol. i. 305-307. For the Romish legend, see 'Quarterly Review,' Oct. 1846. The whole article (Cologne) will amply repay perusal. See also Lord Lindsay's 'Sketches of the History of Christian Art,' vol. i. pp. xliv.-xlvi.

[y] See Kitto's Biblical Cyclopædia, article 'Magi.'

pearance of the star is obviously one of the many supernatural occurrences which at such a crisis as the birth of Jesus might have been expected. The Magi studied astrology, and in their study found a sign of Christ. If it offends us to find that God has used the errors of man to lead him to a knowledge of the great truths of salvation, as if thereby He had lent himself to sustain the False, then must we break in pieces the chain of human events, in which the True and the False, the Good and the Evil, are so inseparably linked, that the latter often serves for the point of transition to the former. Especially do we see this in the history of the spread of Christianity, where superstition often paves the way to faith. God condescends to the platforms of men in training them for belief in the Redeemer, and meets the aspirations of the truth-seeking soul even in its error! In the case of the wise men a real truth, perhaps, lay at the bottom of the error, the truth, namely, that the greatest of all events, which was to produce the greatest revolution in humanity, is actually connected with the epochs of the material universe, although the links of the chain may be hidden from view.[z]

The singular inquiry which the Magi proposed on their arrival at Jerusalem, reaching the ears of such a man as Herod, very naturally excited his alarm. Accordingly, the Evangelist proceeds to say: 'Now, having heard (of it), Herod the king was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him; and, assembling the chief priests and scribes of the people,[a] he inquired of them when the Christ should be born. Now, they said to him, In Bethlehem of Judæa, for thus has (it) been written by the prophet: And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art by no means the least among the governors of Juda, since from thee shall come out a governor, who shall feed my people Israel.' The passage thus adduced in confirmation of their reply is Mic. v. 1, LXX. It is evidently

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[z] Neander, 'Life of Christ,' Introd. c. iii. § 19, p. 26, ed. Lond. 1848. On the subject hinted at in the close of this passage, the reader so disposed will find some invaluable suggestions in Babbage's 'Ninth Bridgewater Treatise,' where it is very fully discussed, though from a very different point of view. Justin Martyr evidently traces some connection between this visit and Old Testament prophecy, which he supposes to have penetrated whence the Magi came. Καὶ ὅτι ὡς ἄστρον ἔμελλεν ἀνατέλλειν αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, Μωσῆς παρεδήλωσεν (Thirlby, προεδήλωσεν) οὕτως εἰπών· 'Ἀνατελεῖ ἄστρον ἐξ Ἰακὼβ καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐξ Ἰσραήλ . . . . . 'Ἀνατείλαντος οὖν καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ ἅμα τῷ γεννηθῆναι αὐτὸν ἀστέρος, ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασι τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ, οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀββαβίας μάγοι ἐκ τούτου ἐπιγνόντες παρεγένοντο καὶ προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ.—J. M., Dial. c. Tryph., § 106, Op. ed. Otto, Jenæ, 1843, ii. 356.

[a] That is, he assembled the sanhedrim . . . . . under the word *ἀρχιερεῖς* are comprehended . . . . . whosoever of the clergy were members of the sanhedrim; and under the *scribes of the people* are comprehended all those of the sanhedrim who were not of the clergy.—Lightfoot, in loc. Works, vol. i. 109. fol. 1684.

quoted from memory, incorrectly, indeed, as to words,[b] but with perfect accuracy as to sense. This reply seems to have satisfied the crafty tyrant. 'Then Herod, having privately called the Magi, minutely inquired of them the time of the appearing of the star, and, having sent them to Bethlehem, he said, Go, minutely search out concerning the child;[c] when, however, ye have found (it), bring tidings to me, that I also may come and worship him. Now, they, having heard the king, went, and behold! the star, which they had seen in the East, led them on, until it came and stood over (the place) where the child was.' This reappearance of 'the star' was clearly unexpected. Does not this circumstance throw some light upon the real character of the whole phenomenon? These Magi were surely not mere astrologers, who were in the habit of reading the stars in order to prognosticate futurity: and even if they were, this star was not an ordinary one, but, on the contrary, so distinguished that immediately upon its reappearance, it was distinctly recognized. It was evidently a miraculous occurrence,[d] which these Magi had it in their power satisfactorily to interpret. Whence they derived this power, it is difficult, if not, indeed, impossible to say, unless we attach at least some credit to the traditional explanation, an example of which is supplied by Justin Martyr in the passage already quoted[e] from his Dialogue with Trypho. The Magi, not expecting the reappearance, were naturally much excited at the recognition; hence the narrative proceeds: 'Now, seeing the star, they rejoiced (with) exceeding great joy. And coming to the house, they saw the child, with Mary his mother, and, falling down, they worshipped him. And, having opened their treasures, they offered him gifts, gold, and frankincense, and myrrh; and having been warned in a dream not to return to Herod, they went away by another road into their own country.'

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[b] Even as to the verbal inaccuracy, see L. Bos, Annot. Crit. in loc. L. N. On the whole subject of the prophecy consult Deylingius, 'Observationes Sacræ,' vol. v. 115, et seq. Lipsiæ, 1748.

[c] παιδίου. Ὁ δὲ ἰατρὸς Ἱπποκράτης ἡλικίας ἑπτὰ εἶναι φησί, παιδίου, παιδὸς, μειρακίου, νεανίσκου, ἀνδρὸς, πρεσβύτου, γέροντος . . . . . λέγει δὲ οὕτως . . . . . παιδίον μέν ἐστιν ἄχρις ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν ὀδόντων ἐκβολῆς.—Philo. de Mundi Opific. Op. p. 24, ed. Franc. 1691.

[d] Although we must confess to but little sympathy with the elaborate views of some distinguished astronomers on this subject, admirable extracts of whose opinions are furnished by Dr. Beard, in Kitto's Cyclopædia, art. 'Star in the East,' and referred to with much favour by Olshausen on Matt. ii. 2 (vol. i. p. 62, Clark's series), those views may after all turn out to be correct. The whole question loudly calls for careful re-investigation. There are so many points requiring further elucidation, not only in reference to the alleged planetary conjunction, but also and especially with reference to the doctrines of the old astrology, that, as the case at present stands, it is difficult indeed to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion.

[e] P. 359, note z.

It is not unworthy of remark that it is not said *where* the Magi found 'the child;' it is merely said that they found him in the place 'over which the star stood,' but *where* that place was cannot even be conjectured with any probability from anything related by the Evangelist. For aught that Matthew says, it may indeed have been at Bethlehem; at the same time, however, it may have been somewhere else. It is also true that it was to Bethlehem that the Magi intended to go when they left Herod, because it was thither that he had sent them; but after they had left him, 'the star' reappeared, and thenceforward they followed the guidance of 'the star,' and not the direction of Herod: but, whither 'the star' guided them, Matthew does not state. The Magi are now finally dismissed from the Evangelist's narrative; they were supernaturally led to the place where they found Jesus, and the purpose with a view to which they had left 'the East,' having thus been accomplished, they returned whence they came, and nothing more is said of them. The whole narrative has such an air of exquisite simplicity, such a tone of singular unisimilitude about it, as to constitute its own vindication. If to any of our readers it appears to be otherwise, we would recommend to them a comparison of Matthew's narrative with that of the Apocryphal Gospel of the Saviour's infancy,[f] recently published by Thilo, in his 'Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti,' i. Lipsiae, 1832. Such a comparison will serve to illustrate what the difference between legend and history really is.

To return to the Evangelist: 'Now, they having returned, behold, an angel of (the) Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph, saying, Arise, and take the child and its mother, and fly into Egypt, and remain there until I tell thee, for Herod is about to seek the child to destroy it.' How long the Magi had returned before this took place is not related; nor is the inquiry of any material moment. It is sufficient to observe that an interval is supposed. 'Now, he arose and took the child and its mother, by night, and went away into Egypt. And he was there until the death of Herod, that that might be fulfilled (which was) spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt have I called my son.' The quotation is from Hos. xi. 1. On comparison of the Hebrew of the original with the LXX version, a remarkable difference will be observed. Where the one has τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ, the other has לִבְנֵי. It is obvious that the Evangelist quotes

[f] The original is in Arabic. Hinckelman (Thilo. prolegg. p. xxvii.) identifies this apocryphal gospel with that which Eusebius (H. E. l. vi. 12) mentions as having been refuted by Serapion (ordained Bishop of Antioch, A.D. 191). It is certainly of very early date. It is otherwise known as the Gospel of Peter. See also Kitto, art. 'Gospels.'

not from the Greek, but from the Hebrew, and that his version literally corresponds to the original. The question which arises as to the principle upon which Matthew proceeds in his application of this passage to Jesus, and this particular fact in his early history, is of too large and too important a character for merely incidental discussion. The following observation of Olshausen is worthy of remark: 'It belongs to the peculiar arrangements and order of the Scriptures, that the life and being of the Old Testament should form a mirror reflecting the life of the New Testament, especially of the person of Christ, as the representative of the New Testament, and that the threads of all the ideas and institutions of the Old Testament should be concentrated there (in Christ) as in its (the Old Testament's) centre. . . . . The lot of terrestrial Israel is a type of the destiny of the Messiah, who represents the true nature of Israel. . . . . If we consider this idea . . . . as one with which the writers of the New Testament were well conversant, ... we then shall have the advantage of being able to deal in a plainer and more natural manner in our interpretations.'[g]

The Evangelist had left Herod waiting for the return of the Magi; he now resumes his narrative by saying: 'Then Herod, seeing that he had been trifled with by the Magi, became exceedingly wroth, and sent and slew all the children that were in Bethlehem, and in all its neighbourhood (πᾶσι τοῖς ὁρίοις) of two years old and under, according to the time which he had minutely inquired of the Magi.[h] Then was fulfilled that (which was) spoken of Jeremiah the prophet, saying, A voice was heard in Rama, lamentation, and wailing, and great mourning, Rachel wailing her children, and (she) would not be comforted, because they are not.'

[g] Gospels, i. 55.

[h] 'Cum audisset (Augustus) inter pueros, quos in Syria Herodes rex Judæorum intra bimatum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait: Melius est Herodis porcum esse quàm filium.'—Macrobii Saturnalia, ii. 4. . . . . 'We are entitled to conclude that he (Macrobius) lived about the beginning of the fifth century. . . . . It (the 'Saturnalia') is in fact a sort of commonplace book, in which information collected from a great variety of sources, many of which are now lost, is arranged with some attention to system. . . . . The assailants of Christianity, having asserted that no pagan writer had recorded the massacre of the Innocents by Herod, found it necessary to get rid of the direct testimony to the fact contained in the 'Saturnalia,' by endeavouring to prove that the author was a Christian. The position seems wholly untenable. Not only is an absolute silence preserved throughout the dialogues with regard to the new faith, but the persons present express their warm admiration of the sanctity and theological opinions of Prætextatus, who was a heathen priest; and terms of reverence towards various divinities are employed, with a degree of freedom and frankness which would not have been tolerated in that age by a believer, and would indeed have been looked upon as amounting to apostacy. On the other hand, the phrases which are supposed to wear a scriptural air . . . . involve no doctrine which was not fully recognised by the Neo Platonists.' —Professor Ramsay, Smith's 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography,' art. 'Macrobius.'

This quotation is from Jeremiah xxxi. 15, Heb. and Vul. xxxviii. 15, LXX. Rom. id. L. Bos. It would seem to have been made from memory, since, while disagreeing in some minor verbalisms with the version of the seventy, the difference does not appear to have been influenced by any desire of closer correspondence with the Hebrew. Olshausen here observes, 'The . . . . passage in its whole bearing, refers to the leading away captive of the people of Israel by Nebuzaradan, from Ramah to Babylon (Jer. xli. 1), which fatal event and accident to the Israelites is represented in the lamentations of Rachel, the beloved wife of Jacob, the ancestress of Israel. This . . . . the Evangelist considered . . . . as being thus renewed once more, originating, however, with a higher power (?) and for a higher purpose, because it was the Messiah in whose presence and on whose account this calamity occurred. . . . . Besides, Rachel was buried near this place (Gen. xxv. 19; xlviii. 7), and hence it appeared as though the ancestress of the people of Israel had been disturbed in her sepulchral repose by the horrors (?) of Herod.'[l]

It will be remembered that 'the time' which Herod had 'minutely inquired of the Magi' was 'the time of the appearing of the star,' and that it was from having seen 'his star in the East,' that the Magi had gathered the fact of Jesus having been born. The time, then, of the appearing of the star was the time of the birth of Jesus. Herod, therefore, wishing to 'destroy the child,' and not knowing who he was, but inferring from the reply of the Sanhedrim that he would certainly be found at Bethlehem, when he resolved on the massacre so set the limits of age, as to allow him no possibility of escape. In the determination of these limits he was evidently guided by the intelligence which he received from the Magi; 'from two years and under' must consequently denote the very utmost which that intelligence would allow. It is true, that the phrase 'from two years' is somewhat indeterminate: still the very least which it includes can readily be ascertained. It was a maxim among the Jews, that the son of a *day* was the son of a *year*: 'unus dies in anno habetur pro anno integro.' The age of puberty was reckoned in a male at thirteen years and a day; and, in a female, at twelve years and a day;[k] a ram or any animal was considered *bimus*, or two years' old, which was one year and thirty days old, or thirteen months old in all.[m] On this principle a child of thirteen months old would answer to the limit ἀπὸ διετοῦς.[n] Such, then, was the length of

[l] In loc., Clark's series.
[k] Maimonides, De Bestiarum Consecratt. Mutat. Annot. ad. i. 8.
[m] Ejusd. De Ratione Sacrificiorum, i. 14.
[n] Greswell, Diss. on a Harmony of the Gospels, ii. 135-6, ed. 2. The references to Maimonides are Mr. Greswell's.

time which had elapsed since the birth of Jesus, according to the report of the Magi, that when Herod resolved on the massacre, in order to accomplish its purpose, it must have included all children under, at the very least, thirteen months old.[o]

The fact that Herod, in order to effect his purpose, found it necessary to issue a decree that should thus include all infants under 'thirteen months' old, is sufficient proof that his inquiry of the Magi led him to believe that Jesus must have been by this time born, at the very least, some months. The fact may hereafter acquire significance. For the present let it be sufficient to have observed it.

The Evangelist had left Joseph with the child and his mother in Egypt; he now returns to them. 'Now (when) Herod (was) dead, behold, an angel of (the) Lord, in a dream, appeared to Joseph in Egypt, saying, Arise, and take the child and its mother, and go into the land (of) Israel, for they are dead who sought the child's life. Now, he arose, and took the child and its mother, and came into the land (of) Israel. Hearing, however, that Archelaus reigned[p] over Judæa, instead of Herod his father, he was afraid to go there. Now, being warned in a dream, he went away into the district of Galilea, and coming (there), he settled down in a city called Nazaret, so that what was said by the prophets might be fulfilled, That he shall be called a Nazoræan.' 'Diu et vehementer eruditos torsit difficilis et vexatus hic locus. . . . . expressa illius prædictionis vestigia nusquam appareant.'[q] Witsius speaks of his Dissertation upon the subject as 'Ænigmati isti explanando destinata.'[r] The following observations are valuable: 'the *plural* indicates that the Evangelist had no isolated quotation in view, but that he wished to adduce a collective quotation: yet the article compels us to suppose that St. Matthew had in view all the prophets, or at least a portion of them, whom he presupposed as being

[o] John Huss, Anton. (Summa Historialis, sive Chronicon . . . ab orbe condito ad Annum 1459?), part i., tit. 5, c. i., paragr. 3. Epiphan. (l. i., tom. i., l. ii., tom. i., hæres. 51) saith that it was the *second year* after Christ's birth when the wise men came. Meredith Hanmer, Chronographie, in his Ancient Ecclesiastical History, Lond. 1619.

[p] 'Recte observavit (Basnagius, Hist. Judaicæ, i. ii. p. m. 55) titulum βασιλεύς apud Græcos vagum fuisse, ac valde generalem, qui honoris caussa iis persæpe datus fuerit viris, qui nec regnum nec subditos haberent, quales Imperatorum generi, et principis Imperii administri fuerint.'—Deylingius, Obs. Sacc. ii. xxv. p. 336. 'That the word "reign" is not to be taken in its strict sense is evident from these facts: that another Herod, who is called by St. Matthew (xiv. 1) and by St. Luke (ix. 7) "the tetrarch," is called by St. Mark (vi. 14) "king," βασιλεύς; and that Josephus himself, upon whose authority it is stated that Archelaus was made ethnarch, calls his government a "reign" in the "Jewish War" (ii. 7), and elsewhere speaks of him as the "king who succeeded Herod."'—Rev. C. J. Scratchley, Biog. Dict. S. D. U. K., art. 'Archelaus.'

[q] Deylingii, Obs. Sacc. i. xl.; De Christo Nazareno, p. 196.

[r] Melett. Leidens., ed. 1717, p. 274.

known to the reader.'[s] Hengstenberg explains the matter thus: 'David de Poncis says (in L. De Dieu Crit. Sacr. on Matt. ii.), "A Nazarene is one who is born in the city Nezer in Galilee."[t] In the Talmud, in Breshith Rabbah, and in Jalkut Shimeoni on Daniel, Christ is called by the name of reproach the Nazarene (see the pass. in Buxtorf's 'Lex. Chald. Rab. Tal.' 1833; Lightfoot's 'Disquiss. Chorogr. Johanni præmissa Op.' ii. 578.[u]) The word נֵצֶר was applied as a proper name to the place in Galilee, on account of its smallness, a feeble twig, in contrast with a stately tree. In this sense the word is used in Isa. xi. 1, and in the Talmud, where it means 'peeled willow rods, twigs of which baskets are made.' This name, applied at first on account of its smallness, was an omen of its subsequent character. The 'feeble twig' never grew up into a tree. There rested on it a special contempt in addition to that in which the whole of Galilee was involved: Jno. i. 47. From the first the Jews thought they were heaping on Christ the foulest insult when they called him the Nazarene. It is everywhere the declaration of the prophets that the Messiah, springing from the decayed family of David, should at first appear without rank or dignity. The ground-type of all other passages is Isa. xi. 1 (Christol. ii. 137), Isa. liii. 2 (Christol. ii. 324), carried out in Ez. xvii. 22-24. By Jeremiah and Zechariah, in allusion to the figure of a trunk hewn down, used by Isaiah, Christ is called 'the Branch of David.' The Branch (Christol. on Zech. iii. 8; vi. 12, v. ii.), the name of the despised city, significant of its lowliness, was the same by which Isaiah had signified the lowliness of the Messiah himself.[x]

We learn from Josephus[y] that Herod, some three or four days before he died, executed a will, under which he appointed Antipas to be Tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and bestowed the kingdom upon Archelaus. Accordingly, as soon as Herod was dead, Archelaus caused himself to be proclaimed as his successor. It was, however, understood that Herod's will would only be of force, so far as it obtained the sanction of Augustus.[z] Circumstances rendered it necessary that in order to obtain this sanction Arche-

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[s] Olshausen, i. 75.

[t] The reader so disposed may verify this quotation on reference to Deyling., ut sup. 199.

[u] The reference is to the Latin edition of Lightfoot, ed. Rotterd. 1686. In the English fol. it is ii. 446. The only passage given, however, is Bresh. Rab.: 'I considered the horns, and behold there came up among them another little horn (Dan. vii. 8). This is Ben Nezer.'

[x] Christol. v. ii. The extract is taken from the 'American Bib. Repository,' iv. 182.

[y] Antiq. vii. 8, et seq.; ed. Genevæ, 1535, al. xvii. 8, et seq.

[z] *οὐκ ἄλλως ἔμελλον ἢ Καίσαρος ἐντυχόντος.*

laus should personally go to Rome. Now we know that he did not leave Jerusalem for this purpose until after the Passover of the year in which his father died. We also know that the decision of Augustus was not given at Rome until a sufficient time had elapsed after the Pentecost of that same year, for an insurrection to take place, the confusion incident to which was not only very great, but lasted also for some time—for Varrus to collect his forces and those of the allies, to hasten to the aid of Rufus, to put the insurrection down, and to return to Antioch—and for an embassy to be sent, by permission of Varrus, from Jerusalem to Augustus with the request that the Jews might enjoy the privilege of self-government (*αὐτονομίας*), for that embassy to obtain an audience and to return to Jerusalem—an interval which must have extended over several months. The decision ultimately given by Augustus was to the following effect: Archelaus was appointed ethnarch of half the territory over which his father had been king, with the promise of the entire kingdom should he prove himself worthy of it;[a] Peraea and Galilee being assigned to Antipas, and the remaining fourth of Herod's kingdom to Philip. Now, since from the Evangelist's narrative it is evident that while Joseph was afraid to trust himself with the 'child and its mother' in Judea, he had some degree of confidence in prospect of residing in Galilee, the inference is plain, that on his return from Egypt, Judaea and Galilee were under different governments, and consequently, that when he took up his abode in Nazareth, Herod had been dead for several months; in every likelihood, indeed, a year, or even more than that. It being so, and Jesus having been, as it should seem, about twelve months old at least, when Joseph went down into Egypt, the conclusion will occur with considerable evidence that at the period when Matthew's narrative of the infancy of Jesus concludes, he could not have been less than three years' old, if indeed he was not even older.

Reviewing the results thus far arrived at, it will be obvious that there are many intervals over which Matthew passes in entire silence. Mary is nowhere prominent. It is Joseph's genealogy, and Joseph is the leading actor in all that the Evangelist relates. The facts narrated are but few, but of great importance. We shall have occasion to refer to these facts and the inferences which they supply in order to determine questions of arrangement that will arrive when we enter upon the narrative of Luke. Here for the present we must pause; reserving Luke for the subject of a second paper.

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[a] *εἴπερ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρετὴν προσφέροιτο.*

ON THE SOURCES OF THE RECEIVED TEXT OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

Such of our readers as possess any acquaintance with modern biblical criticism, must be well aware that, ever since the days of Griesbach, it has become fashionable to speak in contemptuous terms of that text of the Greek Testament, which has been the venerated basis of English theology for the last three hundred years.

The latest, and perhaps the ablest writer on biblical criticism in this country, thus sums up a somewhat elaborate examination of the *Textus Receptus*:—

'Thus the more closely the original sources of the received text are examined, the less important do they appear. The materials in possession of the earliest editors were scanty. They were of inferior quality; and those who employed them did not even make the best use of them; they did not thoroughly collate them; they took no pains to ascertain their age and value; they did not give *all* their readings; they were very negligent in citing them—indeed, they had no critical rules by which they professed to be guided. They did not follow any definite plan in deciding between discrepant readings. All this is not to be wondered at in the infancy of criticism; it is very much what might have been expected. But it *is* matter of surprise that the same text should still be upheld as superior to all that have been more recently published, with the assistance of very superior and more numerous testimonies.'[a] 'Ex uno disce omnes.' Almost all the modern works on the criticism of the New Testament with which we have met, speak in similar terms respecting the vulgar text. The labours of the early editors of that inspired volume are undervalued, and their characters depreciated. British and Continental critics alike agree in condemning that text of which our English version is, in the main, a transcript, as indubitably and necessarily a corrupt one.

In order to ascertain the truth or injustice of these opinions, with which our treatises on biblical criticism, as well as the prolegomena of our critical editions of the New Testament are full, let us take a brief review of the rise and progress of the *Textus Receptus*, from the time of Erasmus of Rotterdam, its first author, to that of the Elzevirs, under whose hands it received its last touch.

[a] A Treatise on Biblical Criticism, by Sam. Davidson, LL.D., vol. ii. p. 118. Edin. 1852.

Although in common *parlance* it is customary to speak of the received text as *one*, yet in reality, as the reader knows, two somewhat diverse texts enjoy the distinguished honour of being styled the *Textus Receptus*—the one is the edition of Elzevir published in 1633, the other is the edition of Mill, which appeared in 1707. The former is that which, until lately, was followed on the Continent; the latter is that which has been most frequently printed in this country.

Both these editions of the Greek Testament are substantially the same. The Elzevirs' text was taken partly from the third edition of Stephens (1650), and partly from Beza's several editions; whilst Mill's text was simply a reprint of Stephens, without the errata which disfigure that edition. The sources from which both Beza's and Stephens' texts flowed were partly the MSS. which those editors possessed, and, partly, the previous editions of Erasmus and that of the Bible of Alcala. Hence it is evident that, if we would get at the true character of the *Textus Receptus* of the Greek Testament, it is essential that we should institute an inquiry into these five exemplars, from which its pedigree is readily traced.

To ascend to the first spring of this majestic stream, let us commence with the work of the illustrious Erasmus, to whom mankind are indebted for the *first published*, though not the *first printed* copy of the New Testament in Greek. Aware of the influence exerted upon the subsequent forms which the received text assumed by the editions of Erasmus, modern critics have exerted themselves most successfully in depreciating his merits as an editor of the original Scriptures. 'Erasmus,' says Griesbach, 'formed his text from very few and rather modern MSS., without any help whatever except the interpolated version of the Latin Vulgate, and the writings of some few of the Fathers, and these inaccurately edited.'[b] In a similar strain, Davidson informs us that Erasmus 'took his text from *modern manuscripts, and those very few, as well as of little value.* But the editor did not confine himself to them, nor to the writings of the fathers; for he made some use of the Vulgate, and even of critical conjecture.'[c] Dr. Tregelles reiterates the charge, too, in his introduction to the 'Book of Revelation,' in Greek. 'It is certain,' says he, 'that he did not make the best use of the MSS. to which he had access; in fact, it was impossible for him to do so in the hurried manner in which the work had to be executed; and in some places in which he supposed his Greek MS. of the Acts to be defective, it is almost certain that he translated words from the Latin Vulgate into Greek, and inserted them in his text. . . . . It must be obvious

[b] Prolegomena in Nov. Test., p. xxxvii.
[c] Biblical Criticism, ii. 109.

to the Christian reader that the word of God ought never to have been edited with such precipitancy, or with such liberties taken with the text.'[d] Let us now inquire how far the actual circumstances will justify the sweeping condemnation here passed upon the Greek Testament of the first editor of that precious volume.

The first edition of Erasmus was published in folio, in the year 1516. The materials which he possessed were as follow:—A MS., written in the tenth century, containing the whole New Testament, except the Apocalypse;[e] a MS. of the Gospels, written in the fifteenth century;[f] another containing the Acts and Epistles.[g] The *Codex Reuchlinii*, containing the Apocalypse, is no longer to be found. In addition to the above witnesses, he 'occasionally collated,' as Hug says,[h] two other MSS.,[i] as well as Latin MSS., and some of the fathers—including Origen, Chrysostom, Cyril, Jerome, Ambrose, Hilary, and Augustine, as he himself informs us.[k]

The first edition of Erasmus, as he confesses, was hurriedly prepared—'precipitum fuit, verius quam editum.' But in the several editions which followed at intervals during the next eighteen years, he had abundant opportunities of supplying its deficiencies. If, too, we are to credit his own assertions, he possessed additional MSS. for the revision of the text. In the preface to the last edition, published in 1535, he states that he had collated *not a few* most ancient and very correct MSS., both of the Greek and of the Latin.[m] Amongst these was probably the celebrated Vatican MS. (B), readings of which were furnished, as it would appear, by Paulus Bombasius.[n]

Besides these materials Erasmus used the *Aldine* edition in correcting the text. This Greek Testament was published at Venice, in the year 1518, from the press of Aldus Manutius. Some writers on biblical criticism have represented the text of the Aldine edition as a mere reprint of Erasmus' first impression. There is, however, undoubted evidence that it was an independent work. Davidson says, 'though it is very like' the edition of Erasmus, 'the Aldine has been amended in more than a hundred places.'[o] It can scarcely be questioned that the editor possessed MS. authority for these corrections, although we are altogether in the dark as to the character of his witnesses.

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[d] Book of Revelation in Greek, Introd., p. xiv. Lond. 1844.
[e] Basil, B. vi. 27. [f] Ibid., B. vi. 25. [g] Ibid., B. ix.
[h] Introduction to the New Test., translated by Wait, vol. i. p. 304.
[i] Codd. Basil, vi. 17, and Basil, B. x. 20. [k] Pref. to Notes, p. 225.
[m] 'Contulimus utriusque linguæ vetustissimos ac probatissimos codices; nec eos sane paucos' (Pref., p. viii.).
[n] Erasmi Apol. ad Jac. Stunic. Op. tom. ix. p. 353, ad ed. 1706.
[o] Biblical Criticism, ii. 112.

In addition to the above materials for editing the text of the Greek Testament, it must not be forgotten that the celebrated *Complutensian Polyglot* was published the same year as Erasmus' third edition, and was used by him in the preparation of the two which followed. It is necessary, therefore, just to glance at the character of the Greek text of this stupendous work before passing judgment upon that of Erasmus.

Similarly false and foolish statements have been made against the Bible of Alcala, as in the case of the Greek Testament of Erasmus. 'There cannot be a doubt,' says Bishop Marsh, 'that the Complutensian text was formed from modern MSS. alone.'[p] 'It is now the general opinion,' adds Davidson, 'that they were modern ones. The character of the readings found in the edition is sufficient to show this; and since almost all the readings are found in six or eight copies collated by Mill, Wetstein, and Birch, the MSS. must have been few in number.'[q]

In opposition to all this, it appears to us that some credit is certainly due to the statement of the editors themselves. In the preface they expressly say, that they used 'the oldest and most correct MSS.' (exemplaria vetustissima et emendatissima), sent by Leo X. from the Pontifical Library, amongst which one in particular was intended as the exemplar, on account of its supposed value (bonæ fidei exemplar). Besides these, they had other MSS. which they have not expressly mentioned,[r] of whose value we must be content to remain ignorant. What reason there exists for questioning the assertions of the Complutensian editors we are at a loss to imagine. The fact that it is impossible now to recognise the MSS. employed by them is, of course, no evidence at all. They may be lost, or, what is more probable, they may be still amongst the unknown treasures of the Vatican. Dr. Davidson's assertion that 'the character of the readings found in this edition is sufficient to show that the MSS. were modern,' seems deficient in proof. The same reasoning would prove the Alexandrine codex (A) modern, because its text so remarkably agrees, throughout the gospels, with the modern or Constantinopolitan text.

Every one has heard the idle tale of the Complutensian MSS. having been ignorantly sold to a rocket maker. When Moldenhauer and Tychsen were travelling, at the expense of the King of Denmark, towards the close of the last century, with the view of examining MSS. of the Bible, they inquired at the University of Alcala for the codices used by Cardinal Ximenes. They were informed that they had all been disposed of to a rocket-maker by

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[p] Lectures on the Criticism of the Bible, &c., p. 96. Cambridge.
[q] Biblical Criticism, ii. 107.
[r] Hug, Introduction, &c., vol. i. p. 304.

an illiterate librarian in 1749. Dr. Bowring subsequently made inquiries on the subject, and his letters led to the impression that the alleged sale never took place. To Dr. James Thompson the merit is due of having fully cleared up the matter. 'All the MSS. formerly known to belong to Cardinal Ximenes, and preserved in the library at Alcala, are now with the rest of that library at Madrid; and the catalogue made in 1745 correctly describes the MSS. which still exist. The librarian at Madrid communicated to Dr. Thompson a catalogue of the Complutensian MSS., whence it appears that the chief MSS. used in the Polyglot are still preserved in safety; but the Greek New Testament is not contained in any of them. All the MSS. used in the Greek Testament by the editors were furnished from the Vatican, to which they were probably returned. It would appear that none containing the Greek MSS. were ever in the library at Alcala, or in the possession of Ximenes, and, therefore, they are not now in the library of Madrid. A sale to a rocket-maker *did* take place about the time mentioned; but the librarian was a learned man, and could not have sold MSS. Probably he sold only waste and useless paper when he got all the books in the library rebound.'[s] The inference which some critics drew from this fabulous occurrence, that these MSS. must have been of paper, and therefore extremely modern, has, of course, vanished with the fable in which it originated.

We are now in a position fairly to weigh the merits of the text of Erasmus, from which the present *Textus Receptus* undoubtedly flowed. As regards the talents and acquirements of the editor, there can be, we suppose, but one opinion. He was probably the ablest man that ever engaged in the important work of editing the New Testament text. Then, as to the materials which he possessed; though of course far inferior in this respect to modern editors, still it can hardly be said that he was ill-provided. One of his MSS. was of the tenth century; another was of the twelfth. He possessed a collation of the Vatican MS. (B) itself. His MS. of the Apocalypse was so ancient, in his opinion, that it seemed to have been written in the apostolic age.[t] It has been objected that it was accompanied with the Commentary of Arethas, who lived in the tenth century, and, therefore could not be more ancient than that date. It is to us altogether incomprehensible how a man of such critical acumen as Erasmus could assign to the apostolic age a MS. written in the tenth. We would suggest, therefore, that the commentary of Arethas was added, at some subsequent period, to the Apocalyptic text.

[s] Davidson's Biblical Criticism, vol. ii. p. 108.

[t] 'Tantæ vetustatis,' says Erasmus to Stunica, 'ut Apostolorum ætate scriptum videri possit.'

Besides the MSS., Erasmus, in the Complutensian and Aldine texts, possessed the results of the collations of all the MSS. examined by the editors of those editions. In the case of the former we are disposed to attach great value to the MSS. employed. As we have seen, they were forwarded to Cardinal Ximenes from the Vatican Library; and no reason whatever exists for doubting the statement of the editors themselves, in which they designate them *most ancient and very correct.*

It thus appears that the text of Erasmus is by no means open to the charges urged against it by critics of great eminence. Griesbach, Davidson, and Tregelles, to mention no others, all assert that the MSS. which he employed were *very few*, and those *modern.* It may reasonably be asked, whether the Vatican codex (B), of which Erasmus obtained a collation, is included in the category of *modern* MSS.? or the 'bonæ fidei exemplar' which Cardinal Ximenes followed in his Complutensian Bible, and which Erasmus virtually possessed in having the Complutensian text before him? Or how does it appear that the MS. of the Apocalypse which Erasmus followed, and which he describes as being of such extreme antiquity that it might have been written in the age of the apostles themselves, was after all a *modern* MS.? As already observed, the fact of its containing a commentary of the tenth century proves nothing as to its age, unless it could be ascertained for certain whether this writing was originally inserted in the MS. or added afterwards.

Another objection of Davidson and others is, that Erasmus 'made use of the Vulgate, and even of critical conjecture.' We suppose the last six verses of the Apocalypse are what is chiefly referred to here, and it is true that in the *first* edition Erasmus did, from sheer necessity, resort to uncritical expedients. We question, however, whether any part of his translation of these verses from the Vulgate remained in his later editions. It is probable that he ultimately had MS. authority for those words. At any rate, it is scarcely fair to condemn any text of the Greek Testament because a few verses in which the editor's MSS. were deficient may not have been given with perfect accuracy. The other charge against the edition of Erasmus, that the work 'was executed in such a hurried manner that it was not possible for him to make the best use of his MSS.,' appears to us unsustained. It was only the *first* edition that was hurried through the press in the short space of a few months; while the fifth edition, from which the *Textus Receptus* was confessedly taken, appeared no less than eighteen years afterwards; and it is well known that the difference between this and the subsequent editions was considerable. Mill, in the Prolegomena to his New Testament, states

that the variations between the first and second editions are 400, those between the second and third 116, and those between the third and fourth 106.[u]

The next contribution towards the formation of the *Textus Receptus* was furnished by Robert Stephens, a learned bookseller and printer at Paris, and father of the still more learned Henry Stephens. The first edition of Stephens' Greek Testament appeared at Paris, 1546, 12mo. 'It was distinguished,' says Marsh, 'for its elegant neatness.' In the preface the editor says, 'Having obtained from the royal library several MSS. which, from their appearance of antiquity, are almost worthy of adoration, I have formed from them this edition, in such a manner as not to print even a single letter which is not confirmed by the greater and better part of them.' He then adds, that he had 'employed others also, as well as the Complutensian edition, which the Spanish Cardinal Ximenes published from the most ancient MSS. of Pope Leo X.'s library, with which and ours we have found very frequently, by actual collation, an extraordinary agreement subsisting.' The second edition, published in 1549, exhibits the same 'extraordinary agreement' with the Bible of Alcala.[x]

Stephens published his third edition, which is that from which the received text flowed, in 1550. It is called the Regia, or royal edition, and is distinguished by the splendour of its typographical execution. He is said to have followed, in this edition, the fifth of Erasmus and the Complutensian text, collating at the same time fifteen MSS.,[y] whose readings he placed in the margin. The amount of variation between this text and that of Erasmus has been certainly underrated. Wetstein, on the authority of Mill, states that throughout the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, Stephens hardly departs from the Erasmian text twenty times. But Mill does not say this. Well may Davidson add, 'the number is probably greater.'[z] In the Revelation, Stephens followed the Complutensian text. As this editor made little use of his MSS. in amending the text, simply placing their most important variations in the margin, we shall at present say nothing of their number or importance.

The next individual who demands our notice in the History of the received text is Theodore Beza, whose first edition of the Greek Testament appeared in 1565 at Geneva. Beza's text was partly founded upon Stephens' third edition, but he possessed far more

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[u] Prolegomena in Nov. Test., 1134, 1138.

[x] See Bengel, Introductio in Crit. Nov. Test., § 36, p. 435.

[y] Dr. Davidson gives the number as 65; but this is doubtless an error of the press (Biblical Criticism, vol. ii. 113).

[z] Vol. ii. p. 114.

valuable materials for the work than his predecessor; and, instead of placing the readings of his authorities in the margin, as his predecessor had done, he used them for the emendation of the text. It appears that a printed copy of the Greek Testament, containing the readings of fifteen MSS. collated by Henry Stephens for his father, had come into Beza's possession,[a] and afforded him the most valuable assistance in the formation of his text. Great efforts have been made by the learned to ascertain what these fifteen MSS. were; and though the results of their researches are to be received with caution, Davidson gives the following list of eleven out of the number:—

'1. A MS. of the twelfth century, containing the Gospels (No. 4, Griesb.).

'2. A MS. of the twelfth century, containing the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles (No. 5, Griesb.).

'3. A MS. of the eleventh century, containing the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles (No. 6, Griesb.).

'4. A MS. of the eleventh century, containing the Gospels (No. 7, Griesb.).

'5. A MS. of the eleventh century, containing the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles (No. 8, Griesb.).

'6. A MS. of the Gospels, written in the Uncial character, about the eighth or ninth century (L in Griesb.).

'7. A MS. of the twelfth century, containing the Gospels (9, Griesb.).

'8. A MS. of the eleventh century, containing the Acts and Epistles (9 in Acts, Griesb.).

'9. A MS. of the thirteenth century, containing the Gospels (120 Griesb.).

'10. A MS. of the tenth century, containing Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse (10 Acts, Griesb.).

'11. The celebrated Cambridge MS. (D.).'

The collation of these MSS., and that of the others which cannot now be traced, were doubtless of immense value in the formation of Beza's first edition. In 1582 a second appeared, in which he had the assistance of additional and yet more valuable materials. These were the ancient Syriac version of the New Testament, which had been lately published by Tremellius with a close Latin translation, and two MSS., the celebrated Codex Bezæ (D) of the fifth century, and the Codex Claromontanus, a MS. containing the Epistles of Paul, of the same date. A third edition appeared in 1589, and it was from this that our present English version was chiefly, but not invariably, taken.[b] The Greek Testaments

[a] See the extract from his dedication, quoted in Hug's Introduction, &c., vol. i. p. 315.

[b] Davidson, ii. 116.

usually published in this country, we have already stated, have generally followed the text of Mill.

The only remaining step in the progress of the *Textus Receptus* was made under the superintendence of the celebrated Elzevirs. It was in the year 1624 that the first Elzevir edition was published at Leyden: it was followed by the second in 1633. The individual who conducted these two editions is altogether unknown, and they were without either preface or postscript. 'The text was copied,' says Marsh, 'from Beza's text, except in about fifty places, and in these places the readings were borrowed, partly from other editions, but certainly not from Greek MSS.'[c] It appears, however, that this statement, in which Davidson and others unite, is not strictly correct. Tregelles states, from his own examination, that the text does not *always* follow Beza, where it differs from Stephens. The editor must therefore have had access to Greek MSS., although we have no means of discovering their number or character. The edition of Mill (Oxford, 1707) was merely a correct reprint of Stephens' third edition.

We are now, at length, in a position to form some judgment of the merits of that text which has for so long a period possessed a sort of prescriptive right, both here and on the continent.

It appears, then, that as to the materials employed, there were, in the first form which it took, the Complutensian text, several very ancient and very correct MSS., some furnished from the Vatican Library, including one of superior merit (*bonæ fidei*), intended by Leo X. to be the copy to be chiefly followed. To these we must add the MSS. employed in the formation of the Aldine text, whether few or many, and the authorities to which Erasmus had recourse. These certainly comprised five additional MSS., the collation of the Vatican MS. (B), the ancient copies of the Vulgate, and perhaps the Italic, and the quotations of several of the early fathers. Further, we have the known MSS. of Stephens, which include two Uncial codices of respectively the fifth and the eighth centuries, one cursive MS. of the tenth, four of the eleventh, and three of the twelfth centuries, some of which are specially commended by Scholz as codices of great beauty and correctness. Lastly, we come to Beza's witnesses, which comprised the Syriac *Peshito* in one of its very best editions, that of Tremellius—the celebrated Codex Bezæ, already collated by Stephens—and the very ancient Codex Claromontanus.

It is true that the number of these MSS. is very small in comparison with those at present known; but it should be remembered that all of those enumerated by modern editors have not

[c] Lectures on the Crit. and Interpret. of the Bible. Lect. iv.

been collated. Some have never been inspected at all, others have only been collated in a few important places, and it is a very small number indeed that have been examined throughout: 'nine-tenths of our present materials,' says Mr. Scrivener, 'are most imperfectly known.'[d]

It is of importance to remember, too, that if the number of witnesses possessed by the authors of the received text was comparatively small, yet these comprised every *class* of testimony of any value. The greater part of their MSS., so far as they are known, appear to have followed the Constantinopolitan readings. The Syriac Peshito, too, is usually placed in the same class. But, on the other hand, they possessed the Latin Vulgate and the readings of the Vatican MS. (B), besides the Uncial MSS. D and L in the Gospels, and we know not how many others of the same class in the lost MSS. of the Complutensian editors and of Stephens. It is also certain that those learned men to whom we are indebted for the Received Text were well acquainted with the two principal classes of witnesses into which Greek MSS. have since been divided. Even Erasmus speaks of the conformity of certain codices to the Latin Vulgate, and the manifest contrast afforded by others; and he wisely rejects the former and adopts the latter.[e]

It must then be allowed, we think, that the early editors of the Greek Testament possessed every really necessary or important witness to the text of that inspired volume. Of MSS. they possessed some of each class, ancient and modern, Eastern and Western. As to versions, if we except the Egyptian, they consulted almost all that have any right to be called independent witnesses of the early text, viz., the Italic, the Peshito Syriac, and the Vulgate. The only other early versions worth mentioning, in a critical point of view, are the Armenian and the Gothic. The Armenian lies open to the charge of being corrupted by the Roman Catholics. It is matter of history that the Romish missionaries, who exerted themselves very early to reduce the Armenian Church

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[d] A full and exact Collation of about Twenty Greek Manuscripts, by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener, M.A. Cambridge, 1853.

[e] 'Hic obiter illud incidit admonendum, esse Græcorum quosdam Novi Testamenti codices ad Latinorum exemplaria emendatos . . . . . Et nos olim in hujusmodi Codicem incidimus, *et talis adhuc adservari in Bibliotheca Pontificia* . . . . . Hoc eo visum est admonere, quod nunc jam quidam jactant *se trecenta loca notasse ex Codice Bibliothecæ Pontificiæ, in quibus ille consonat cum nostra Vulgata editione Latina cum mea dissonat.* Quod si nos urgent auctoritate Vaticanæ Bibliothecæ, *Codex quem secutus est* in N. T. Franciscus Cardinalis quondam Toletanus, non modo fuit ejusdem Bibliothecæ, verumetiam a Leone X. missus est, ut hoc veluti bonæ fidei exemplar imitarent. *Atque is per omnia consentit cum mea editione,* dissentiens ab eo quem nunc quidam nobis objiciunt majusculis descriptum literis' (*i. e.* probably the Vat. MS. (B)).—Erasm. N. T. Præf., p. xviii. 1546.

to a state of subjection to the Roman See, made considerable additions to this version in the year 1333;[f] whilst the whole had been revised and corrected by the Latin Vulgate during the previous century.[g] The Gothic version, which was executed by Ulphilas, ordained first bishop of the Visigoths (A.D. 348), exhibits a remarkable agreement with the Stephanic text, and would therefore only have confirmed it.[h] All the other versions which have been collated for critical purposes, we may, with Davidson, reject as worthless.[i]

The value of a text, however, depends not merely on the amount and character of the materials employed, but also on the qualifications of the editor. In this particular we need scarcely say that the Greek Vulgate will bear a comparison with any subsequent edition of the New Testament. Erasmus, the father of the *Textus Receptus*, has been justly styled the ablest man that ever engaged in this important work; and the endowments of Beza, both natural and acquired, it is well known were very considerable.

Then, as to the critical principles which influenced the editors of the Received Text, we have yet to learn that they were inferior to those professed by the modern authors of the so-called corrected texts of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and others. It is well known that the principle on which the leading critical editions of the present day are conducted is that of *reliance on ancient authority*. The very few *most* ancient MSS. of the New Testament, such we mean as were written before the seventh century, are regarded as of paramount authority, whilst the codices written since that period, especially if they have the misfortune to be written in the *cursive* character, are thrown aside as almost worthless. But grave objections exist against it. We think that the Uncial or ancient MSS., *as a whole*, are of less value than the great body of *cursive* or modern ones, and that the consent of the later Uncials and a majority of the cursive MSS. ought to decide a reading, in opposition to the more ancient Uncials and a small minority of modern MSS. These conclusions we have it in our power to confirm by the opinion of one who ranks as no mean authority—the author of a recently-published collation of Greek MSS. of the Gospels preserved in England.[k] Mr. Scrivener makes the following remarks in the introduction prefixed to his work:—

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[f] Galan. Hist. Armen., p. 483. Colon. 1686.
[g] See Marsh's Michaelis, chap. vii. p. 103.
[h] Hug's Introduction, i. 509.
[i] Bib. Critic., ii. 259.
[k] A full and exact Collation of about Twenty Greek MSS. of the Holy Gospels (hitherto unexamined), &c. By the Rev. F. H. Scrivener, M.A. of Trinity College, &c., Cambridge. 1853.

'There is a tone and manner often observable when MSS. of the Greek Testament are spoken of, as if it were taken for granted that their value is in direct proportion to their date; as though the testimony of a document of the twelfth or fourteenth century were, of necessity, and as a matter of course, far inferior in weight and probability to that of an uncial copy some five hundred years older. Now I wish not to deny the existence of a certain amount of *presumption* in favour of the more ancient authority; the nearer we approach the Apostolic times, the fewer stages that have intervened between the inspired autographs and the MSS. before us, the less chance is there of error or wilful alteration on the part of the copyists. But what I complain of is this; that, instead of looking upon the case as one of mere presumption, of *primâ facie* likelihood, such as other circumstances may limit or correct, or entirely remove, it is regarded from the first as a settled point, that unless a monument be upwards of a thousand years old, it is hardly worth the trouble of collating. "Ante omnia," says Lachmann, "antiquissimorum rationem habebimus; . . . . . fine certo constituto recentiores, item leves et corruptos, recusabimus" (*Praef.* p. vi.). And to what cause shall we attribute it that the oldest MSS. are necessarily the best, while the more recent ought to be despised as "corrupt and of little consequence?" Will Lachmann undertake to assert that our modern Byzantine documents are but bad copies of the Alexandrian, the Vatican, or Beza's MS.? Yet no supposition short of this will answer the purpose of his argument. The remark is so trite, one is tired of repeating it, that many codices of the tenth and following centuries were very probably transcribed from others of a more early date than any that now exist, the incessant wear of the older copies in the services of the Church rendering a fresh supply indispensable' (pp. xx., xxi.).

The advocates of ancient authority attach considerable importance to the citations from the New Testament in the writings of the early fathers, especially of Origen, whose works are said to contain about two-thirds of that inspired volume. We readily grant that if these fathers agreed in their quotations, or if their works had come down to us as they composed them, there would be considerable weight in the inference drawn from this source in favour of the most ancient MSS.; it is, however, perfectly notorious that in both respects the very reverse is true. Tertullian's MSS. are said to be extremely faulty.[m] The copies of Clement and Origen were corrupted even in their lifetime. The remarkable discrepancies between the different copies of Cyprian's works prove their corruption.[n] The fathers, too, it is well known, used to quote *memoriter*, and occasionally they quoted the corrupt readings of the heretics whom they were opposing. Griesbach, the great advocate of Patristic quotations as a source of emendation, has

[m] Rigalt. de Tert. Præf., p. 2.

[n] Rufin. de Adult. Libror. Orig., p. 50.

conceded quite enough as to the inaccuracy of Origen's MSS.[o] But, in truth, the supposed agreement of Origen with the text of the most ancient codices, A, B, C, and D, is altogether unfounded. Archbishop Lawrence, in his 'Remarks on Griesbach's Systematic Classification' (1814), has shown, in the clearest manner, that the very reverse of this is the fact. Taking codex A as a fair specimen of what are called the Alexandrine MSS., he (Archbishop Lawrence) shows that while it agrees with Origen against the received text in 154 passages, and disagrees with both in 140 other passages, it coincides with the latter, in opposition to Origen, in no less than 444 places.[p] The idea, then, of the agreement of that eminent father with what is termed the ancient or Alexandrine text must be abandoned as a mere chimera of the imagination. It has no foundation in truth.

If the principles of criticism adopted by some recent editors of the Greek Testament are bad, the manner in which they have executed their important and responsible work is, we think, still more reprehensible. In truth, in many parts of the text they appear to us to have been guided too much by their own subjective feelings. If we had time and space we could point to a vast number of instances in the celebrated edition of Tischendorf, in perusing which one can hardly resist the impression that his object had been to try how far reckless innovation and the defiance of all authority might be carried with impunity. A charge such as this ought not to be unaccompanied with proof. We will select a few instances of what we conceive to be arbitrary changes in the received text, taken from the second Leipzic edition (1849).

In Matt. xxiv. 38 the received reading is Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ κ. τ. λ., 'For as in the days that were before the flood,' &c. Here Tischendorf has, on the slight authority of the codex L, a lectionary, three Latin MSS., and Origen (twice), omitted the words ταῖς πρὸ, answering to the English 'that were before,' so that his text reads as follows—'For as in the days of the flood.' It must be patent to every reader that an apparently absurd reading such as this must have better authority than any that Tischendorf has adduced to lead one to receive it in opposition to all other MSS. and versions containing it. 'The days of the flood' mean, if they mean anything, those days during which the flood prevailed on the earth; and assuredly during this period men were *not* 'eating and drinking, marrying, and giving in marriage.' It is easy to conceive that Origen might slightly abridge the verse when quoting it, especially as nothing in his argument turns on the omitted words; and

[o] Symb. Crit., tom. i. p. cix.

[p] Appendix to Remarks, &c.

nothing can be more probable than that the transcriber of the MS. L, the only Greek codex cited by Tischendorf, should inadvertently pass by two short words, ταῖς πρὸ. We can only denominate this change in the text, then, a reckless innovation.

At Matt. xxv. 16 Tischendorf has added, after the word 'Barabbas,' the name 'Jesus,' thus—'Whom will ye that I should release unto you, Barabbas Jesus, or Jesus who is called Christ?' Here, it must be confessed, our critic has gone counter to his own principles. There is not a single MS. of the class termed Uncial that contains the reading, except one written in the tenth century (S); and we believe the only version in which it is found is the Armenian. That the received text should be altered on such trivial grounds as these appears to us altogether indefensible. In all probability the error originally sprung from some scribe accidentally omitting the Greek word for '*or*' (ἤ), and then, on discovering his mistake, forgetting to blot out the first Ἰησοῦν. The recently-published collation of Greek MSS. of the Gospels of Rev. F. H. Scrivener enables us to add that the testimony of all the codices examined by him, amounting to more than twenty, is in favour of the common reading in this passage.[q]

Another arbitrary reading of Tischendorf occurs Mark ii. 22, where the words ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς βλητέον, 'but new wine must be put into new bottles,' are omitted on the authority of one Greek MS. only (D), and four Latin codices. Now, to any one acquainted with the character of that extraordinary MS., the conduct of Tischendorf will appear altogether indefensible. It is well known that its text abounds throughout in grammatical and other blunders, glosses, interpolations, and alterations. Even Davidson, with all his great respect for ancient MSS., speaks of it as possessing '*a singularly corrupt text.*'[r] How Tischendorf, then, could presume to alter the received text on the mere authority of such a MS. as this, in opposition to the testimony of all the other Greek MSS. of the New Testament, we are at a loss to imagine. The notion that the clause has been introduced from the parallel passages in the other Gospels is pure conjecture. The collation of Mr. Scrivener enables us to state (*e silentio*) that the whole of his MSS. contain these words. There can be no question of their authenticity.

We could add indefinitely to the above list of arbitrary alterations of the received text by Dr. Tischendorf, but will only call the reader's attention to the 24th chapter of Luke, in which this celebrated critic has omitted *a whole verse and a clause in three other verses* on the

[q] A Collation of about Twenty Greek Manuscripts, &c., by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener. Cambridge, 1853.

[r] Biblical Criticism, vol. ii. p. 288.

authority of the same objectionable MS. already mentioned (D), one other codex (1), and some versions. The omissions we refer to are as follows:—τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ver. 3; καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, Εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, ver. 36; the whole of ver. 40; and προσκυνήσαντες αὐτὸν, ver. 52.—Tischendorf's edition, in our opinion, must be used with caution. It may be safely consulted for the various readings of the authorities quoted in the notes. We believe in this respect he is deserving of the highest praise; but as a copy of the New Testament Scriptures, the second Leipsic edition of Tischendorf's text must not, we think, be trusted by any who are desirous of perusing the *ipsissima verba* of the writers of that inspired volume.

In thus attempting to defend the received text of the Greek Testament, we trust it will not be inferred by any of our readers that we regard that text as in all particulars a correct one. Nothing can be farther from our intention. We have no doubt whatever that it contains very many errors—errors that a more full and exact collation of manuscripts would speedily remove. All that we mean to assert of the Stephanic and Elzevir text is simply this—that it is *substantially* a good text, being founded on right principles; and that it is *comparatively* a good text, since, as we think, it is far superior to the *soi-disant* corrected texts of the most recent critical editions. As additional witnesses are examined so does the substantial correctness of the received text derive confirmation. The result of the collation of Greek MSS. of the Gospels undertaken by Mr. Scrivener is decidedly in its favour. Still we admit the numerous errors of the *Textus Receptus*, and shall rejoice to see them corrected, but must protest against the one-sided system which would revise the books of the New Testament on the exclusive authority of the most ancient books. Nothing can be more sound or judicious than the plan recommended by Mr. Scrivener as to the formation of the text in the closing passage of his valuable Introduction.

'The only chance of escape, therefore, from our existing perplexity must rest in a thorough review, and (if needs be) a complete recollation of the whole mass of our critical authorities, a work doubtless of much toil and magnitude, but, under all the circumstances, absolutely indispensable, unless, indeed, the further prosecution of Biblical criticism is to be laid aside altogether. At present we are acquainted with but a few principal readings or notable peculiarities of our cursive copies; when all the minuter variations shall have been noted, the *lectiones singulares* (as they now seem) of each faithfully recorded, then, and not before, will the basis of the science be firmly laid, and the edifice no longer be liable to be overthrown from time to time by the accession of new facts, or the pressure of unlooked-for difficulties.

'It is hardly for us to conjecture what may be the final results of an examination which as yet is barely commenced. The theory of a two-

fold division into recensions, such as that advocated by Scholz, must at any rate be abandoned: as little consistent with ascertained phenomena is an exclusive devotion to any single class of records, however venerable or important. Nor can I refrain from expressing—I would rather call it my suspicion than a deliberate judgment—that all extant MSS., versions, and ecclesiastical writers, will eventually form themselves into FIVE or SIX principal classes, the origin of which may have been purely accidental, or beyond our ability to trace, though the diligent comparison of their agreeing and conflicting testimonies will serve to bring us nearer than modern students have yet approached to the *ipsissima verba* of the holy Evangelists and Apostles' (pp. lxxiii., lxxiv.).

THE ANTEDILUVIAN THEOCRACY.

'And to Seth, to him also there was born a son; and he called his name Enos: then began men to call on the name of the LORD' (Gen. iv. 26).

'And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose' (Gen. vi. 1, 2).

'And the LORD said unto Noah . . . Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and his female; and of beasts that are not clean by two, the male and his female' (Gen. vii. 1, 2).

'And Noah builded an altar unto the LORD; and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar' (Gen. viii. 20).

'And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them . . . Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things' (Gen. ix. 1-3).

NOT only is it recorded concerning the state of our race generally, in the period immediately preceding the flood, that 'all flesh had corrupted its way,' that 'the iniquity of man was great in the earth,' and that 'every thought of the counsels of his heart was only evil continually:' two facts in the antediluvian history are also singled out—the existence of the *nephilim*,[a] and the alliance of 'the sons of God' with 'the daughters of men'—and we may not unreasonably infer from this that they were the most prominent indications of that terrible depravity on account of which the Most High 'spared not the old world,' but 'brought a flood upon the world of the ungodly.' We assign the pre-eminence, however, to the last-mentioned—the union of 'the sons of God' with 'the daughters of men'—since the first intimation of the coming cata-

[a] The 'giants' of the Authorised Version.

strophe follows the record of it, and occurs before the *nephilim* are spoken of:—'And it came to pass, when men began to abound upon the face of the earth, that daughters were born unto them; and the sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took to themselves wives from all whom they chose. And Jehovah said, My Spirit shall not always dwell[b] in men; because of their erring:[c] [yet] he is flesh; therefore his days shall be a hundred and twenty years. The *nephilim* were in the earth in those days, and also after that the sons of God went in[d] unto the daughters of men, and they bare children unto them. They were the heroes who were of old, the men of renown' (Gen. vi. 1-5).

Regarding, then, the alliance of the sons of God with the daughters of men as the chief moral cause of the flood, the inquiry, Who were 'the sons of God' of the antediluvian history? becomes invested with peculiar interest and importance. To this question we propose to offer a reply in the sequel; and though we do not profess to place before the reader positions of absolute certainty, yet we hope to guide him to conclusions possessing at least a considerable measure of probability.

At the outset it is necessary that we should deal with the interpretation of Gen. vi. 1, 2, which regards the passage as teaching that angels, allured by the beauty of women, descended from heaven and cohabited with them, who consequently 'produce prodigious births of body or mind.' Such, it has been supposed, were the *nephilim*—the giants of the old world.

The fact that 'the sons of God' (בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים *bene ha Elohim*) are opposed to 'the daughters of men' (בְּנוֹת הָאָדָם *benoth haadam*) may seem at first sight to afford support to the opinion that angels are intended, a notion which is at any rate of great antiquity. But it must be recollected that when an individual or a particular class of men is spoken of, the word אָדָם *adam*, with and without the article, is used to denote men in general, the rest of mankind, as opposed to the individual or particular class under consideration. The following examples are perhaps sufficiently illustrative:—

The Danite expedition smote the inhabitants of Laish with the edge of the sword, and burnt the city with fire.

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[b] In accordance with the rendering of the Sept., Οὐ μὴ καταμείνῃ τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις. Compare, as regards the sense, Job xxvii. 3:—

'As long as ever my breath is in me,
And the Spirit of God in my nostrils.'

See also Job xxxiii. 4, and Ps. civ. 30.

[c] A preferable view to that which regards בשגם as equivalent to בַּ, אֲשֶׁר, and גַּם, and translates, 'for that he also is flesh,' or, 'for that he is also flesh.'

[d] The force of the future יָבֹאוּ, indicating the continuance of the intercourse, must not be overlooked.

'And there was no deliverer, because it was far from Zidon, and they had no transactions with [other] men (עִם־אָדָם).'—Judg. xviii. 28.

In Psalm lxxiii. 5, it is said of the prosperous wicked that

'They are not in the trouble of [other] men (אֱנוֹשׁ);
'They are not smitten with [other] men (אָדָם).'

'And Samson said unto her (Delilah), If they bind me with seven new ropes which have not been dried, then I shall become infirm, and I shall be like *another* man (כְּאַחַד הָאָדָם).'—Judg. xvi. 7.

In the two first-cited passages particular classes of men are obviously distinguished from men in general, although no word answering to 'other' is found in the original. In like manner, 'the sons of God' being opposed to the 'daughters of *men*,' offers no obstacle to our regarding the former as the designation of a particular class of men; and the latter as denoting the daughters of men in general—of *other* men.

The context agrees well with this view. The genealogical roll, chap. v. (סֵפֶר תּוֹלֶדֹת אָדָם), is probably a distinct document, and the 1st verse of chap. vi. seems to connect itself with the statement which concludes chap. iv., 'Then they began to call on the name of Jehovah,' where angels are certainly not intended. Again: the withdrawal of the Divine Spirit from *men*, 'because of *their* erring,' appears closely connected with what immediately precedes, and may be reasonably regarded as the punishment to be inflicted on the *bene Elohim* on account of the alliance which they had contracted. Further; the respite of a hundred and twenty years cannot so well be accounted for, if the passage is regarded as teaching the commerce of angels with women. Even if we could admit the possibility of such intercourse,[e] might we not rather suppose that the Holy One would have immediately interposed, than that the interposition should have been deferred for a hundred and twenty years? On the other hand, regarding the *bene Elohim* as erring men, we may recognise in this interval a period during which repentance was possible. 'The long-suffering of God,' says Peter (1 Ep. iii. 20), 'waited in the days of Noah, while an ark was being prepared.' How consonant with this statement are the words, 'He is flesh; therefore his days shall be a hundred and twenty years!' Lastly: it is not to be deduced from Gen. vi. 4, that the *nephilim* had their origin in the union of the sons of God with the daughters of men. Whoever they were, whether giants, robbers, or apostates from the true faith, the passage plainly represents them as existing at the time when the alliance took place:

[e] But see Matt. xxii. 30, 'For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven.' See also Luke xx. 36, and Mark xii. 25.

'The *nephilim* WERE in the earth *in those days*, and *also* after that the sons of God went in unto the daughters of men.' Still, however, though it is not expressly stated, yet it is possibly implied that those who sprang from the alliance in question were like the *nephilim* who were before them; and if this is the correct view, the passage certainly does not favour the supposition that the sons of God were angels; for their offspring are described, not as beings of a superior nature, but as 'heroes of antiquity,' '*men* of renown.'

Here the question presents itself, If 'the sons of God' were men, why did they receive that remarkable appellation by which they are distinguished? Was it on account of their exalted rank? Were they the great ones of the antediluvian period, elevated above common men, *haadam?* Or were they the true worshippers of God, the πνευματικοὶ, while men in general were ψυχικοὶ, πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες? Did the pious separate themselves from other men in the days of Enos, calling themselves by the name of the LORD? Or were the Sethites chosen by Jehovah himself, that they might be 'a peculiar treasure' to him 'above all people'? In short, if the *bene Elohim* were men, what was the position which they sustained with respect to the rest of the descendants of Adam? In attempting to answer this question, we shall follow, to a considerable extent, the course of the antediluvian history from the time when Jehovah God 'drove out the man' from the garden of delights, and 'caused to dwell eastward' of it 'the cherubim and the flaming sword that turned itself to keep the way to the tree of life.' By making this our starting-point we may be enabled to show the more clearly the relation of our subject to the prediction, 'I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed. He shall dash at thee on [thy] head, and thou shalt dash at[f] him on [his] heel.'

The announcement that the seed of the woman should attack the serpent's head—which we may reasonably regard as made before the expulsion—could hardly fail to produce a deep impression on the minds of our first parents. 'Adam and Eve,' says Dr. Pye Smith, 'could not but have often reflected and conversed on their former and their now altered condition, the cause and consequences of the change, the gracious conduct of their offended God, and the *probable meaning* of the mysterious promise. To say the least that a reasonable probability will allow, our first parents must have had their minds directed habitually and with strong feelings of interest towards the promised seed, which was

[f] The language is probably descriptive of a venomous serpent 'striking' at the heel of its assailant. Compare with שׁוּף, as here used, the cognate form שָׁאַף, bearing the signification 'to pant after,' 'to catch at.'

to triumph over the destroyer of their happiness.'[g] Now, if our first parents' most fondly cherished hopes thus centred in the promised seed, and if, in consequence, his advent was the theme on which they delighted to converse, it seems probable that they would endeavour to designate him by some appropriate appellation. This may be regarded as almost *certain* if they often spoke together respecting him. Supposing, then, that the subject of their conversation was, *He that shall be*, it is easy to see how יַהְוֶה *Yahve*,[h] *He who shall be*, might acquire the force of a proper name, designating the coming deliverer. This may enable us to understand the words ascribed to Eve in Gen. iv. 1, 'She bare Cain,[i] and said, I possess a man, even YAHVE!'[j] This we regard as the expression of Eve's belief that she had given birth to the conqueror of the great SERPENT.'[k]

Whether the expectation of Eve was frustrated by the development in Cain of the disposition which proved that he 'was of that wicked one,' or whether God himself revealed that Cain was not the chosen seed, the sacred narrative does not inform us. The second opinion seems, however, not improbable. As in the case of Jacob and Esau, respecting whom, before any manifestation of character had taken place, '[the children] being not yet born, neither having done any good or evil—it was said, The elder shall serve the younger,' so it is not impossible that it was intimated to our first parents, even during the infancy of Cain, that he was not destined to be the promised deliverer, but that a son younger than he would inherit the promise. The piety of Abel, whom even our Lord himself calls 'righteous,' possibly induced Adam and Eve to think that he was 'the heir of the promise;' and if, in consequence, they evinced any preference for him, the envy of Cain may have been excited, and the way prepared for that terrible crime which he afterwards committed.

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[g] 'Scripture Testimony to the Messiah,' third edition, vol. i. pp. 231, 232.

[h] Rejecting the Masoretic pointing, יְהוָֹה *Yehova*. In general, however, in accordance with established usage, we retain the form 'Jehovah.' The writer regards יהוה as indicating, not present, but future, existence; as equivalent, not to ὁ ὤν, but to ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

[i] It seems, at least, doubtful whether קַיִן is connected in signification with the קָנִיתִי almost immediately following; whether *Cain* was so called *because* Eve said, 'I possess,' etc. The cautious reader may observe that this passage differs from iv. 25, and v. 29: it is *not* said, Eve bare a son, and *called his name* Cain, and said, 'I possess,' etc.

[j] Luther: 'Und Adam erkannte sein Weib Heva, und sie ward schwanger, und gebar den Cain, und sprach: Ich habe den Mann, den HERRN.' The rendering, 'I have obtained a man *by the help of* Jehovah,' does not appear to the writer by any means natural.

[k] With respect to the primeval 'serpent,' see 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' New Series, vol. i. p. 351, and vol. ii. p. 217.

After recording the respective occupations of Cain and Abel, the inspired narrative mentions the circumstances which led to the murder of the latter,—'And it came to pass, after a time, that Cain brought from the fruit of the ground an offering to Jehovah: and Abel, he also brought from the firstlings of his flock and from their fat.' The offering of Abel was, perhaps, in itself,[1] of less value than that of Cain, which may have consisted of the choicest products of his husbandry, offered at the time and in the manner which God required. Yet 'Jehovah regarded Abel and his offering, but Cain and his offering he regarded not.' The disappointment of Cain, in consequence, appears to have been very great; and in the divine approval of his brother's offering, he perhaps fancied that he saw the confirmation of a suspicion which he might have previously entertained, that his brother was destined to have the ascendancy over him. This he could not endure, and he 'was very angry, and his countenance fell.' The cause of the non-acceptance of Cain's offering now appears: 'And Jehovah said unto Cain, Why art thou angry? and why is thy countenance fallen? Is not sin a lurker at the door, whether thou doest rightly as to bringing [thine offering][m] or whether thou doest not rightly? and shall his desire be to thee?[n] and shalt thou rule over him?' The address of Jehovah seems to have caused Cain's anger to burn with a still fiercer flame; and it may be supposed, with the design of frustrating the divine purpose, he 'rose against Abel his brother, and slew him,' while they were together in the field.[o]

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[1] Compare Heb. xi. 4, Πίστει πλείονα θυσίαν Ἄβελ παρὰ Κάϊν προσήνεγκε τῷ Θεῷ.

[m] Sept., Οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἥμαρτες; ἡσύχασον, κ.τ.λ. The translator seems to have read, הֲלוֹא אִם תֵּיטִיב שְׂאֵת (?) וְאִם לֹא תֵיטִיב לַפֶּתַח חַטָּאת רֹבֵץ וגו׳

[n] We can hardly regard these last clauses as affirmative, and translate, 'If thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door; and unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him;' for this would be to consider the Holy One as promising Cain a benefit irrespectively of his conduct, whether he did rightly or not. But, it may be asked, does not חַטָּאת *khattath*, denote rather a sin-offering than sin? and may we not render, 'a sin-offering coucheth at the door, and to thee is its desire, and thou rulest over it'? To this it may be replied, that although the word *khattath*, or SIN, is used in the law to designate an animal after it has been separated from the flock, after it has been accepted by the ministering priest (הַכֹּהֵן הַמְחַטֵּא אֹתָהּ), and after, by the imposition of the offerer's hands, his guilt has been symbolically transferred to it, yet it does not seem likely that it would be employed to denote a lamb still lying in the fold. To call such an animal a *khattath* would seem to imply, not that it *might be* offered as a sacrifice, but that it *had been* already consecrated. Without asserting that the view proposed above is in no respect open to objection, the writer may be permitted to say, that it appears to him to accord better with the context than that generally given. What motive can be assigned for the slaughter of Abel, if the LORD had promised Cain that he should have the ascendancy over his brother?

[o] Whither Abel had gone by the invitation of Cain, according to the Samaritan

That Cain endeavoured to conceal his crime by burying his brother's body in the earth appears not improbable. But the attempt, if made, was abortive: the LORD heard the voice of Abel's blood crying from the ground. Some time, however, may have elapsed before the sentence was pronounced. It was deferred, perhaps, till Cain, unaccompanied by his brother, again presented himself before the LORD. 'And Jehovah said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: am I my brother's keeper? And He said, What hast thou done? The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground. And now, cursed art thou above the ground,[p] which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand. When thou tillest the ground, she shall not again yield to thee her strength: a wanderer and a fugitive shalt thou be in the earth.' It would seem as if, before the LORD had finished speaking, Cain interposed exclaiming, my sin is too great to be forgiven![q] 'Lo! thou hast driven me now from the face of the ground,[r] and from thy face shall I be hid, and it will be, every one that finds me will slay me. And Jehovah said unto him, Therefore, whoever slays Cain shall endure sevenfold vengeance. And Jehovah appointed a sign to Cain; so that any one finding him should not slay him.'

The sentence thus pronounced may be viewed, not as directed solely against Cain, but as involving his posterity[s]—as prophetic of the destiny of the Cainites. In accordance with this, we may regard the fear of Cain lest any (or every) one finding him should slay him, as indicating, not so much any anxiety for his own safety, as an apprehension that his descendants[t] would, on account of his sin, be regarded as an accursed race, to be devoted to destruction. The sign given to Cain, and the prediction of the sevenfold vengeance, would thus be a pledge of

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copy, supported by the Septuagint, Vulgate, and other ancient versions. If the addition of the words גַּלְכָה הַשָּׂדֶה be allowed, the passage may be rendered, 'And Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go to the field: and it came to pass while they were in the field,' etc.

[p] The ground had, as it were, condemned the conduct of Cain, by giving his brother's blood a place, as if pitying his untimely end.

[q] Whether these words are read affirmatively, or interrogatively, 'Is my sin too great to be forgiven?' they may still be regarded as indicating that Cain began now to realize his terrible position.

[r] Agriculture was, probably, Cain's favourite employment. Now it must be abandoned or prosecuted with great difficulty, perhaps on account of the more sterile nature of the country which Cain and his descendants would inhabit.

[s] Like the prophecy of Noah respecting his sons; of Isaac, respecting Jacob and Esau; of Jacob, concerning the patriarchs: the fulfilment of which is sought in the history of their respective descendants.

[t] We are thus enabled to dispense with the supposition of the commentators, that Adam and Eve had already other sons than those mentioned, whose numerous posterity may have given Cain good grounds for alarm.

security to his remotest posterity. 'And Cain went out from the presence of Jehovah, and dwelt in the land of Nod, eastward of Eden.' Thus, as it would seem, was Cain barred for ever from inheriting the great promise. Our first parents could hardly now expect that the conqueror of the serpent would spring from him; and it is by no means certain that they had at this time any other son. But the Lord was not unmindful of His word: in due time He raised up 'another seed.'

It is recorded further concerning Cain, that he had a son named Enoch, and that 'he was building a city,' [u] which he called by his son's name. Irad, Mehujael, Methusael, and Lamech, were descended from Enoch. The family of the Cainite Lamech appears to have attained peculiar eminence in the antediluvian world. He had three sons, Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal Cain, as well as a daughter, Naamah. Of Jabal it is recorded that he was 'the father of dwellers in tents, and of possessions of cattle;' of Jubal, that 'he was the father of all that handle the *kinnor* and *ugab*;' [v] of Tubal Cain, that 'he was a hammerer (*or* a sharpener) of every cutting instrument in copper and iron.' [w]

The attention given by Jubal to pasturage, as well as Tubal Cain's skill as a worker in metals, may be ascribed to the Cainites being unable, from local causes, to prosecute agriculture with success. The flesh of animals might thus be required in greater abundance to supply the place of vegetable products, which very probably at first formed the sole nourishment of man; while it might be attempted to render the sterile soil more productive by the use of improved implements. The art of working in metals was, however, as we may well suppose, at an early period, rendered subservient to another purpose—to the fabrication of weapons which might be employed, not only in conflicts with wild animals, but even against man himself, who so lately reflected the divine image in unsullied brightness.

The account of the Cainites closes with the address of Lamech to his wives Adah and Zillah, which, even though it may not be very closely connected with our subject, must not be passed unnoticed. The following view is perhaps correct: Lamech had slain one of his brethren, *a Cainite*, and though this had been done in self-defence, yet his wives feared that the predicted vengeance (ver. 15) would, nevertheless, overtake him. To allay

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[u] This city was, perhaps, only an assemblage of rude huts, in which Cain and his family dwelt, not needing the co-operation of others in its erection.

[v] The 'harp and organ' of the Authorised Version. The lyre and pandæan pipe are not improbably intended.—See 'Cyclo. Bib. Lit.' art. 'Musical Instruments.'

[w] A preferable rendering to that of the Authorised Version, 'an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron.'

their apprehensions, Lamech urged that the homicide was, under the circumstances, justifiable, and that divine justice would not fail to inflict a most severe punishment on any who should avenge it on him or his:

> 'And Lamech said to his wives:
> Adah and Zillah, hear my voice,
> Ye wives of Lamech, hearken to my speech;
> I slew a man for my wound,
> Even a young man for my scar:
> When Cain shall be avenged seven times,
> Then Lamech, seventy and seven times.'

The sacred writer now brings before us 'another seed,' for which the way had been prepared by the death of Abel and the rejection of Cain. The main purpose of the narrative contained in the fourth chapter of Genesis appears to be, to show how the divine idea, contained in Gen. iii. 15, was developed. In the brothers Cain and Abel, the struggle between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent is seen; and verses 24-26 we regard as the record of the establishment of the kingdom of God in antagonism to the manifestation of evil.

Although the birth of Seth is recorded in Gen. iv. 25, after six generations of the Cainites have been mentioned, it appears not improbable that it occurred a comparatively short time after the death of Abel; for we find from v. 3 that Adam was, at the time, only a hundred and thirty (Sept., 230) years old. The sacred writer in giving the reason why Seth received the name by which he is known, seems to have introduced a saying of Eve, preserved by tradition, 'And she called his name Seth (*or* Sheth); for God hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel, whom Cain slew.' These words may be regarded as referring to a divine oracle which, intimating to our first parents that Seth should be the heir of the promise, revived their hopes, and removed that dejection which, it may be reasonably supposed, the death of pious Abel would produce.

At the age of one hundred and five (Sept., 205), Seth had a son named Enos, signalised by the invocation of Jehovah being commenced in his days. 'And to Seth, to him also, was a son born, and he called his name Enos: then they began to call on the name of Jehovah.' The reader may be aware that this last clause has been variously translated and expounded;[x] but we see no adequate reason for departing from the most natural and obvious rendering, and we regard the passage as teaching that *Jehovah* was not worshipped before the days of Enos. But, it is asked, is it not

[x] See the remarks of Dr. Pye Smith on this verse in the 'Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature,' art. 'Noah.'

probable that the Divine Being was adored and invoked long before this? We do not question it, but it would seem that, previously, the Deity was known only as *Elohim*. The transition from *Jehovah Elohim* to *Elohim*, in the narrative of the fall, affords, as we think, strong evidence of this. At the commencement of the third chapter (and in the portion ii. 4-25), the former designation is employed, but no sooner does the serpent address Eve than it is changed for the latter:—

'And the serpent was more crafty than any wild beast which JEHOVAH ELOHIM had made. And he said unto the woman, Has ELOHIM even said, ye shall not eat of any tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent, Of the fruit of the trees of the garden we may eat: but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden ELOHIM has said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not die indeed; for ELOHIM knows that when you eat of it, your eyes will be opened, and you will be like ELOHIM, knowing good and evil.' (iii. 1-5.) Passing over the sixth and seventh verses, in which the Deity is not named, we find the use of *Jehovah Elohim* resumed in verse 8. 'And they heard the voice of JEHOVAH ELOHIM walking in the garden in the cool of the day. And Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of JEHOVAH ELOHIM, in the midst of the trees of the garden.'

Now, if the view of Gen. iv. 26, which is given above, be correct, this remarkable variation is satisfactorily accounted for. The sacred writer generally employs *Jehovah Elohim*, it being probably the ordinary designation of the Deity[y] at the time when the narrative was composed, yet uses *Elohim* in the account of the temptation, since, to represent Eve as employing *Jehovah Elohim* might have been regarded as an anachronism, if the Divine Being was not called by the name *Jehovah* before the time of Enos. In the same way we may account for the occurrence of *Elohim* in Gen. iv. 25, without supposing that there has been any interpolation, even though the passage occurs in a portion characterised by the use of *Jehovah*.

We have supposed that Jehovah (Yahv) was not at first a designation of the Deity, but that it was the name which our first

[y] The use of the peculiar form 'Jehovah Elohim,' the transition to 'Elohim,' the apparent impossibility of finding any portion of the earth's surface answering to the description, Gen. ii. 10-14, and the employment of the article in iii. 25, where the writer refers, as it would seem, to well-known objects, '*the* cherubim and *the* flaming sword,' are indications which appear to harmonise with the belief that Gen. ii. 4, to iii. 25, is *substantially* an antediluvian document. This is consistent with the fact that Moses, acting under the influence of the Divine Spirit, *edited* this and other ancient memorials; that he arranged them in the order in which they now appear in Genesis; and that, by the removal, to some extent, of archaic forms, he adapted them in language to the use of the Israelites of his day.

parents gave to the anticipated deliverer—the promised seed of the woman. If this supposition be admitted, what reason can be assigned for the invocation of Jehovah being commenced in the days of Enos? The most probable cause appears to be, that God was then graciously pleased to appropriate to himself the name by which the coming deliverer had been previously known, revealing at the same time the fact that the conqueror of the serpent would be a Divine personage, and no ordinary descendant of Adam. God would then be known not only as Elohim, but as *Jehovah* Elohim, THE REDEEMER GOD: then would men 'begin to call on the name of Jehovah.'

But, as *Jehovah* again comes forward prominently in sacred history, as the name by which the Most High made Himself known to the Israelites, when He brought them forth from Egypt, and made a covenant with them in Horeb, we are led to inquire whether the first calling on the name of Jehovah, and the circumstances attending it, bore any analogy to the establishment of the Hebrew theocracy. With this view, we pass for a while from the antediluvian period, that we may listen to the words of 'Him that dwelt in the bush,' while He makes known His name EHYE, and commissions Moses to demand the dismissal of His people from Pharaoh's service, their release from the house of bondage.

In order to our rightly understanding the transaction recorded in the third chapter of Exodus, it is not unimportant that we should observe, that He who appeared in the flaming bush was 'the angel of the LORD'—which is, as we have reason to believe, a designation of the Second Person of the ever-blessed Trinity, THE DIVINE WORD, whose goings forth were of old.

Moses, while tending the flock of Jethro, came to Horeb; and perceiving a bush, or thicket, apparently burning, yet not consumed by the flame, he was about to approach nearer, in order to examine the phenomenon more closely, when a voice was heard from the midst of the bush, 'Moses, Moses. And he said, Here am I. And He said, Approach not hither: draw thy sandals off thy feet; for the place on which thou standest is holy ground.' The LORD then reveals Himself as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and discloses His gracious purpose concerning His people, saying that He had heard their cry, and had *come down* to bring them up out of Egypt 'into a good and spacious land, into a land flowing with milk and honey.' Moses was then intrusted with his commission: 'And now come, and I will send thee to Pharaoh, and bring forth my people, the children of Israel, from Egypt.' Moses timidly shrinks, but is met by the assurance of the Divine presence and support: 'I will be with thee.' In the difficulty which Moses next suggests we may perhaps see how deeply the

Israelites had defiled themselves with the idols of Egypt, though, as it would seem, they had not wholly forgotten the God of their fathers: 'And Moses said, Behold, when I go unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you, and they say unto me, What is his name? what shall I say unto them? And God said unto Moses, I WILL BE WHAT I SHALL BE. And He said, Thus shalt thou speak unto the children of Israel: EHYE[z] hath sent me unto you. And God said further unto Moses, Thus shalt thou speak unto the children of Israel: JEHOVAH, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you. This shall be my name continually, and this my memorial to generation after generation.'

The translation usually given of the words אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה *Ehye asher Ehye*,[a] differs widely from that offered above. These words are also very generally regarded as connected with the self-existence, the immutability, or the eternal being of God; as teaching that He exists now, and ever will exist—ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.[b] If, however, the appearance in the flaming bush is regarded as a manifestation of the LOGOS, the propriety of the rendering we have given may be, perhaps, rendered apparent, and the words *Ehye asher Ehye* invested with a significance altogether distinct from that usually attributed to them. The Israelites were about to be rescued from their oppressors; to be consecrated as the peculiar people of God; to be miraculously sustained and guided through the desert; and, at last, victorious over their enemies, to gain possession of the land promised to the fathers. Their leader, from the exodus to the conquest, 'the captain of Jehovah's army,' was 'the Angel of the LORD,' who appeared in the flaming bush. The relation which He bore to the Israelites, as their deliverer, their king, their guide and conductor, foreshadowed that relation which he was afterwards to sustain to His Church,[c] redeemed by His blood, governed by His laws, guided by His wisdom, and, at last, aided by his power, victorious over

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[z] That is, according to our view, '*I who shall be*,' even *Yahve*, the long-expected deliverer. Moses is at first directed to say that *Ehye* (I shall be) had sent him; and afterwards, as it would seem, lest this name should not be easily recognised, it is changed for *Jehovah*, or *Yahve*. This transition from the third person (He shall be) יהוה, to the first (I shall be) אהיה, is quite appropriate when He speaks to whom the name belongs, and furnishes no slight evidence that יְהֹוָה is not the correct pronunciation, but that יהוה is an ancient form equivalent to יִהְיֶה.

[a] The 'I AM THAT I AM' of the Authorised Version.

[b] It is certainly not asserted, either in Apoc. i. 4-8, iv. 8, or xi. 17, that this is the meaning of 'Jehovah.' These words may be employed as a customary designation of the Eternal, without in the least implying that they convey correctly the meaning of 'the incommunicable name.'

[c] Compare 1 Cor. x. 9, Μηδὲ ἐκπειράζωμεν τὸν Χριστὸν, καθὼς καί τινες αὐτῶν ἐπείρασαν, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄφεων ἀπώλοντο.

every foe, and possessed of that glorious inheritance which Canaan, the goodly land, the land flowing with milk and honey, only adumbrated. How appropriate then the words, 'I will be (to Israel *now*) what I shall be (hereafter)!'

We have regarded *Jehovah* as the name by which, during the earliest ages, the deliverer of man, and the conqueror of the serpent, was known; and now, when God again assumes this designation, He is about to rescue His people 'with outstretched arm,' while, with 'great judgments,' He crushes their oppressors. The connection of these two ideas[d]—deliverance for God's people, and victory over God's enemies—with the name JEHOVAH, comes out clearly in Exod. vi. 2-7:—'And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am JEHOVAH; and I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, as EL SHADDAI, but, with respect to my name JEHOVAH, I was not known unto them. And I also established my covenant with them, to give to them the land of Canaan, the land of their sojournings, wherein they sojourned. And I have also heard the groaning of the Israelites, whom the Egyptians cause to labour; and I have remembered my covenant. Therefore say to the Israelites, *I am* JEHOVAH, *and I will bring you forth from beneath the burdens of Egypt; and I will deliver you from their servitude; and I will redeem you with a stretched-out arm and with great judgments;* and I will take you for my people, and I will be your God; *and ye shall know that I am* JEHOVAH *your God, that bringeth you forth from beneath the burdens of Egypt.*'

In view of this important passage we may observe, that as, during the earliest antediluvian period, God was most probably known only as *Elohim*, so, in the times of the patriarchs, He appeared not as *Jehovah*, but as *El Shaddai*. This correspondence seems to afford no slight support to the opinion that an analogy exists between the invocation of Jehovah in the days of Enos, and the establishment of the theocracy. We must not, however, suppose that the mere name 'Jehovah' was not known[e]

[d] In accordance with this twofold aspect, while *Jehovah* appears to the enemies of the theocracy as 'a man of war,' and makes known his 'great and terrible name' by their destruction, to His people that He has redeemed He reveals himself as a merciful and gracious God, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin. He is accordingly implored to forgive transgression, and pardon sin, *for His name's sake* (Ps xxv. 11, etc.). The Lord's people sin against Him; but He forgets not that His name is *Jehovah*. He changes not; and they are not consumed (Mal. iii. 6). Still further, though Jehovah's people are scattered among the nations, *for His holy name's sake* He brings them again into their own land; He gives them a new heart and a new spirit; He causes them to walk in His statutes, and to keep His judgments (Ezek. xxxvi.). Israel's God is JEHOVAH, and His glory He gives not to another.

[e] Compare Ps. ix. 10:—

'And they that know thy name will confide in thee;
For thou, Jehovah, hast not forsaken those who seek thee.'

to the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: that the contrary is true is sufficiently clear from the book of Genesis. We would rather regard the passage as teaching that, during the patriarchal period, the name *Jehovah* was not suggestive of those associations which were, at an earlier period, connected with it, and that it had lost, in part, its precious significance. But now, by rescuing His people, JEHOVAH will make known the meaning of His great name; now will He show that He is 'the Mighty One of Jacob,' 'the Creator of Israel,' their 'Redeemer,' their 'Saviour,' their 'King.'

The separation of the Israelites from the rest of mankind, and their consecration as the peculiar people of God, appear closely connected with the revelation of Jehovah. 'I am Jehovah—and I will take you for my people, and I will be your God.' To effect this isolation was one of the leading objects of the Mosaic legislation. Intermarriage with the inhabitants of Palestine was forbidden; idolatrous usages must be abandoned; a distinction must be made between the clean and the unclean—between that which may be eaten, and that which may not be eaten. That the isolation of Israel should follow the manifestation of God as *The Redeemer*, and be closely connected with it, is accounted for by regarding the consecration of the chosen nation as symbolical—as prefiguring the sanctification of Christ's redeemed people, the true theocracy. Because Israel's God is *Jehovah*, because He rescues His people from Egypt, they are required to abstain from unclean food—to be holy as He is holy: 'Defile not yourselves with any creeping reptiles, and pollute not yourselves with them that ye should be polluted by them; *for I am Jehovah* your God; therefore ye shall sanctify yourselves, that ye may be holy; for I am holy: and ye shall not pullute yourselves with any reptiles that crawl on the earth; *for I am Jehovah, that bringeth you up from the land of Egypt*, to be your God: therefore ye shall be holy; for I am holy' (Lev. xi. 43-45).

To illustrate the closeness of the union which subsisted between Jehovah and the chosen people, the sacred writers make use of metaphors borrowed from the closest ties of human relationship and dependance. Israel was a newly-born child, upon which no care had been bestowed, but which, cast forth into the field, was left to perish. Jehovah passed by, and pitied: He took the child, and cherished her; and when she had become marriageable, He espoused her Himself: 'I sware unto thee, and entered into a covenant with thee, saith the Lord Jehovah, and thou becamest Mine' (Ezek. xvi. 8). Israel was Jehovah's bride, whom He took by the hand and led forth from Egypt, and whose unfaithfulness provoked him to jealousy: 'I took them by the hand to bring

them forth from the land of Egypt,' but 'they broke my covenant, and I acted to them as their Lord, saith Jehovah' (Jer. xxxi. 32). The LORD is also represented as sustaining the paternal relation to His people; and this is the more important as regards our present purpose, as the figure is found not in poetry only, but in prose; as in Deut. xiv. 1, 'Ye are the children of Jehovah your God.'

We have thus endeavoured to show that, as JEHOVAH was the name by which, probably, the Great Deliverer was known during the earliest ages, so, when this name reappeared, it was in connection with that great deliverance which God was then about to effect; that when God revealed Himself by this name, He severed the Israelites from the rest of mankind, that they might be His peculiar people, and that the union which existed between Jehovah and Israel is represented as of the closest kind, and is spoken of in language appropriate to human relations. We have also observed that, as during the times of the patriarchs, God revealed Himself as El Shaddai, so, as it would seem, in the earliest antediluvian period, He was known only as Elohim; and we have regarded this correspondence as suggesting that a still closer similarity may exist between the first calling on Jehovah and the consecration of Israel. We now proceed to show that the antediluvian records furnish us with good grounds for the belief that such an analogy does exist; that God did, even before the flood, choose out from the rest of mankind, a people as his peculiar possession.

First. The extreme displeasure which the Most High evinced at the union of the Sons of God with the daughters of men, appears to sanction the belief that this connection was a direct violation of a Divine command; that, as the Israelites were not permitted to form alliances with the people of Canaan, so the *bene Elohim* were strictly prohibited from intermarrying with the rest of mankind; and, if this was the case, we have in 'the Sons of God' a part of the human race, isolated by God Himself from the rest.

Then, again, we have reason to believe that the separation of animals into two classes existed before the flood, and we may, with probability, suppose that the original design of the distinction of the clean from the unclean was identical with that for which it was revived in the Levitical law; that the LORD's people might be severed from other people; that they might be His (Lev. xx. 26).

It has, indeed, been considered as deducible from Gen. ix. 3 that the flesh of animals was not permitted to be used as food by the antediluvians, and that the distinction in question had reference only to sacrifice. Reserving the consideration of this passage for the sequel, we would point to the fact that the Cainite Jabal is noted as a possessor of cattle; and it would seem that he was

not alone in this, but that others, imitating his example, gave especial attention to pasturage: 'He was the father of those that dwell in tents, and of possessions of cattle.' If, then, the Cainites possessed large herds of cattle or flocks of sheep, it seems, at least, very improbable that the flesh of these animals was never eaten. Besides, we can hardly suppose that the Cainites could obtain a subsistence by agriculture: Cain had been driven from the face of the ground; the earth would not yield to him her strength.

It must not be forgotten also that Abel's occupation was the care of the flock, and that the offering which he brought consisted of 'the firstlings of his flock and of their fat (ומחלבהן).' These words seem to point to the conclusion that, though the first-born of the flock were perhaps wholly devoted to the LORD, yet, in general, the presentation of the fat might suffice, the rest of the carcase being retained by the offerer; and, if this view is correct, the conclusion can hardly be avoided, that the permission to use the flesh of animals as food was given to our first parents. *Possibly* the grant was made when 'Jehovah God made coats of skins for the man and his wife, and clothed them.'

The observance of the seventh day, it may be supposed, was another characteristic of God's antediluvian people. The Sabbath was most probably with them, as with the Israelites, a sign between God and them, showing that it was He who consecrated them. The words of Gen. ii. 3 we regard as conclusive respecting the antediluvian existence of this institution: 'And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because He had rested in it from all His work which God creating had wrought.'

The course of thought we have pursued may have sufficiently prepared the reader for our maintaining the position that the consecration of the primeval people of God took place in the days of Enos, when, according to our view, God appropriated to Himself the name Jehovah. The establishment of the kingdom of God, in opposition to the development of evil, could not, obviously, take place at the beginning; the consecration of a portion of the human race was then impossible. Hence we may see the reason why the revelation of God as Jehovah was deferred till the time of Enos. The symbolical purity which was required in Jehovah's people—the distinction between the clean and the unclean—showed the enmity which the Conqueror of the Serpent bore to the manifestation of sin. By this separation of a portion of the human race from the rest, it might be designed that a clearer idea should be attained of the work which the Great Deliverer should accomplish, for there was, in the external sanctification of the sons of God, and in the privileges conferred on them, an anticipative manifestation of the results which should flow from the advent of the

Redeemer of the world. In the consecration of the antediluvian people of God we recognise the earliest embodiment of that sublime conception of the Eternal Mind, the fuller realisation of which shall be seen in the glories of Messiah's reign, when even upon 'the bells of the horses' shall be found the inscription, 'HOLINESS TO THE LORD.'

It may not, perhaps, be certainly determined whether the Sethites alone received the exalted privilege of being 'the sons of God,' or whether any members of other branches of Adam's family sustained, in common with them, this honour. In support of the last view, it might, perhaps, be urged that if any other descendants of Adam were associated with the Sethites, the use of the collective designation *bene ha Elohim* may be easily accounted for, while, if the posterity of Seth *only* had been intended, we might not unreasonably expect to find בְּנֵי שֵׁת *bene Sheth* (the Sethites) opposed to *benoth haadam* (the daughters of men) in Gen. vi. 1. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that it was from Seth that the conqueror of the serpent was destined to proceed; and, even though chap. v. may be a distinct document, the introduction of the list of Sethite patriarchs between the record of the invocation of Jehovah and of the apostasy of 'the sons of God,' may be regarded as designed to explain who were the *bene Elohim*.

We need not be surprised that Jehovah should have been regarded as sustaining the paternal relation to his antediluvian people, if we consider how close was the relationship which subsisted between Jehovah and Israel; how He is represented as bound to the chosen nation by the tenderest ties. His primeval people may have been called 'the Sons of God,' not only because they were chosen by the Lord as His peculiar possession, and separated from the rest of mankind, but also because of Jehovah's presence being visibly manifested among them; for it appears not improbable that 'the glory of the LORD' overshadowed the cherubim which 'Jehovah God caused to dwell eastward of the garden of Eden;' that 'the sons of God' dwelt in the vicinity, and that they were, of all the descendants of Adam, alone permitted to approach 'the presence of the LORD.'

The length of the period which intervened between the consecration of the sons of God and their apostasy cannot be determined; we do not know the exact time at which the invocation of Jehovah was commenced. If we reckon from the one hundredth year in the life of Enos to Noah's four hundred and eightieth year, we shall have a period, according to the present Hebrew text, of 1201 years, or, if the chronology of the Septuagint be received, of about 1600 years. Of the history of the Sethites during this interval we are almost wholly ignorant. The names of the patriarchs

Cainan. Mahalaleel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, and Lamed, may be significant; but an attempt to determine the circumstances which suggested them could hardly lead to any satisfactory results. The Sethite Enoch is rendered conspicuous by the record of his assumption, and by the highly honourable testimony that 'he walked with God.' By faith he realized the unseen; he lived in close and constant communion with the Father of spirits. 'He pleased God, and was beloved of Him: so that, living among sinners, he was translated.'

Enoch's exemption from death may have been designed as a practical refutation of the materialism of the age, which, perhaps, looked to the 'things seen and temporal,' rather than to the 'unseen and eternal.' The expectation may have been cherished, that the benefits to be anticipated from the Great Deliverer would be the reversal of the curse pronounced on the ground, and re-admission to the garden of delights. To direct the minds of men from earth to heaven; to strengthen their belief in the existence of the spiritual world, it may be supposed that the veil which conceals it was for a moment partially drawn aside, and that, with visible pomp, with angelic attendants, with 'horses of fire,' and 'chariot of fire,' Enoch ascended to heaven—

> 'To walk with God
> High in salvation and the climes of bliss,
> Exempt from death.'

The prophecy of the Sethite Lamech, respecting his son Noah, next requires notice. 'And Lamech lived one hundred and eighty-two years; and he begat a son, and he called his name Noah, saying—

> 'This shall comfort us[f]
> From our work,
> And from the toil of our hands;
> From the ground
> Which Jehovah cursed.'

These words are, we think, to be regarded not simply as an expression of hope, or even confidence, on the part of Lamech, respecting his son, but as an oracle uttered by Divine inspiration, of the full meaning of which the patriarch was probably ignorant. It appears by no means improbable that it might produce among the Sethites a persuasion that Noah was destined to be the long-expected deliverer, and such a belief may have been strengthened by Noah's eminent piety, and possibly also by his being in some other respects unlike the generality of men. And here it should be observed that Noah was, so far as we know, for about five hun-

[f] *Noah* must not be regarded as derived from *nahham*, notwithstanding the paronomasia. Compare Exod. ii. 10.

dred years without offspring, and that *about* the time that Shem, Ham, and Japheth were born the apostasy of the sons of God took place. Whether this defection was connected with the marriage of Noah, or with the birth of Japheth, who, it would seem, was Noah's eldest son, cannot of course be determined, but the coincidence is, at least, deserving of remark.

Men were now beginning to abound on the face of the earth; and as the sons of God saw that the daughters of other men were fair, without respect to the will of God, they took for their wives those women who pleased them. We have already hinted at what was probably one great cause of this apostasy—disappointment at the non-appearance of the Conqueror of the Serpent. There were, we may well suppose, scoffers in those days, who said, 'Where is the promise of his coming? All things remain as they were at the beginning.' Was it not likely that the anticipated deliverer would never appear? Why, then, should the sons of God retain their integrity? Why should they not cast off the yoke, and become like other men? 'How doth God know? and is there knowledge with the Most High?' The temptation was perhaps strengthened by the position which the Cainites had attained, by the wealth which they had acquired, and by the advance which they had made in the arts. Their lot may have been that of the ungodly who prosper in the world. Their flocks and herds multiply—

> 'They send forth their little ones like a flock,
> And their children playfully skip.
> They sing aloud, with timbrel and lyre,
> And make merry to the sound of the pipe.
> They spend their days in prosperity,
> And in a moment they go down to Sheol.
> And they say unto God, Depart from us!
> And we desire not to know thy ways.
> What is SHADDAI, that we should serve Him?
> And what shall we profit, if we entreat him?'

If, then, the Cainites and other men were more prosperous and wealthy than 'the sons of God,' this circumstance, conjoined, as it probably was, with disappointment at the advent of the Great Deliverer being deferred, would furnish the latter with a strong inducement to ally themselves with the former. And here, perhaps, was the cause of the displeasure which the Most High expressed at the union. It was not simply that the Sethites had married beautiful women of other families, nor even that the pious, who had secluded themselves from the rest of men, again mingled with them, but that those whom Jehovah had isolated and sealed as His chosen people preferred wealth and sensual gratification to

the exalted privilege which He had conferred, and especially that they denied the Lord that bought them, and showed their disbelief of the announcement that a deliverer would come, who would be victorious over the great serpent, the source of evil and of death. If this was what the apostasy of the sons of God involved, we need not wonder that the Holy One should be greatly incensed, or that He should utter the words, My spirit shall be withdrawn from these transgressors because of their sin.

The *nephilim* were also in the earth in those days. These were not improbably men endowed with great strength, and possibly also of high stature, who pursued no regular occupation, but who roved from place to place in quest of plunder. Surprising their unwary victims, it may be supposed, they rushed suddenly upon them,[g] and despoiled them of their property, or even deprived them of life. It appears not unlikely that they were principally of the Cainite race, and that in them, as well as in the nomadic habits of the followers of Jabal, was fulfilled the prediction, 'A wanderer and a fugitive shalt thou be in the earth.'

The marriage of the sons of God with the daughters of men seems soon to have worked out its appropriate effects in the increasing depravity which ensued. The offspring of this ill-assorted union probably imitated the earlier *nephilim*, and became men of violence, living by rapine and plunder. Thus the holy seed became corrupt, the salt of the earth lost its savour—good for nothing, it was cast forth, and trodden under foot by men. The kingdom of God no longer existed: it had become subject to the power of the serpent. In the highly anthropopathic style the Eternal is represented as if deeply grieving over the frustration of the plan He had in view in the creation of man: 'And Jehovah saw that the wickedness was great in the earth, and that every thought of the counsels of his heart was only evil continually. And Jehovah grieved that He had made man in the earth, and He was pained at His heart.' 'And the earth was corrupted before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God saw the earth, and, lo, it was corrupted, for all flesh[h] had corrupted its way on the earth.'

Amidst surrounding darkness Noah was a burning and a shining light. 'Noah was a righteous man; he was perfect in his generations: Noah walked with God.' Nay, more, Noah was an eminent type of Him 'that should come;' and we may well believe that, moved by the spirit of Christ, he warned 'the spirits in prison' of their approaching doom. But they heeded not. 'They

[g] Compare the use of נָפַל in Job i. 15, וַתִּפֹּל שְׁבָא וַתִּקָּחֵם.

[h] It is observable that no mention is here made of the sin of angels: God saw that *all flesh* had corrupted its way on the earth.

were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage.' Space had been given that they might repent of their fornication, and they repented not. And their judgment lingered not; their condemnation slumbered not.

'And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is full of violence from them; and behold, I am about to destroy them with the earth.' Noah was directed to prepare an ark, the size of which, its proportion, and its adaptedness to the purpose for which it was designed, we need not now discuss. It was destined to contain Noah, his wife, his sons, his sons' wives, and a pair 'of all living creatures of all flesh,' to preserve a seed upon the earth. In vii. 1-5, however, we find a distinction made between clean and unclean animals; and, while two only of each kind belonging to the latter class were to be taken, Noah was commanded to take the former by sevens[i] (שִׁבְעָה שִׁבְעָה). Now, if it be supposed that this larger number of clean animals was designed to furnish food for Noah and his family, a means of reconciling vi. 17-22 with vii. 1-5 is suggested; for though in the former passage two only of every kind of animals is mentioned, without distinguishing between the clean and unclean; yet in the command, 'And thou take to thee of all food which is (*or* may be) eaten,' the procuring of a larger number of clean animals may be implied; and it will be observed that, while this larger number is spoken of in vii. 1-5, the direction respecting food is omitted.

The ark, prepared in accordance with the Divine direction, in due time received its inmates, and then the threatened judgment overtook the guilty world. The sacred narrative ascribes the flood to two causes—the opening of 'the windows of heaven,' and the overflowing of 'the fountains of the great deep.' That the first of these causes was the copious and continued descent of rain is sufficiently clear; and the second very probably denotes such an eruption of the waters of the sea as might be caused by a partial elevation of its bed, or by a temporary subsidence of that portion of the earth's surface which was then inhabited. But whether purely natural causes may have sufficed to produce the Deluge, or whether the effusion of water, and its subsequent disappearance, should be regarded as a miracle, it is of no great importance, as regards our present purpose, to determine. The visitation swept the transgressors from the earth. 'All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died.' 'The voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride,' were silent in death.

[i] Seven may be here used as a round number.

While the earth was thus desolated, the ark and its contents were not forgotten by the LORD. When Noah entered into the ark, 'Jehovah shut him in;' and we may well believe that an unseen hand guided the vessel containing the seed of the world while it continued to float on the waters. The thought is expressed by the author of *Wisdom:* 'For in the old time also, when the proud giants perished, the hope of the world, governed by Thy hand, escaped in a weak vessel, and left to all ages a seed of generation' (xiv. 6). The inundation, having fulfilled its mission, at length subsided, and the ark rested on the mountains of Ararat. A considerable period, however, still elapsed before Noah was directed to leave the ark; and we cannot but observe that he did not presume to quit it even after, by removing its covering, he had seen that the earth was dried. He waited till he heard the command of God: 'Go forth from the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives, with thee. Bring forth with thee all the living creatures of all flesh, among birds, and cattle, and all the creeping things that creep on the earth, that they may swarm in the earth, and be fruitful, and abound upon the earth.'

Noah's first recorded act, after leaving the ark, was the presentation of an offering to that God by whom he had been so mercifully preserved: 'And Noah builded an altar to Jehovah, and took of all clean beasts and of all clean birds, and offered burnt offerings on the altar.' The fumes of the sacrifice ascended to heaven, 'And Jehovah smelled the sweet odour, and Jehovah said in his heart (*i. e.* determined), I will not curse the ground yet again on account of man, although the thought of man's heart is evil from his youth; and I will not smite every living thing yet again, as I have done. While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and autumn, and day and night, shall not cease.'

Considerations having an important bearing on our subject here present themselves. A new world had risen from the waters of the flood, and God was about to make a new covenant with man. The covenant which He had made with his antediluvian people, and which they had violated, had passed away. The Deity again sustained the same relation to man as in the period succeeding the fall. God was no longer, in a peculiar sense, the God of an elect and consecrated seed, to whom He revealed Himself as JEHOVAH. He now appeared as God Omnipotent, the Universal Lord, EL SHADDAI. Now, if the antediluvian distinction between the clean and unclean was designed to separate the sons of God from the rest of mankind, as all mankind after the flood were of the Sethite race, we not unreasonably expect that it would then be abolished. But, it may be asked, is there any evidence that this actually

occurred? Does the sacred narrative afford any indication confirmatory of such an opinion? The words of Gen. ix. 1-4 may be regarded as furnishing a reply. 'And God blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and fill the earth; and the fear of you, and the dread of you, shall be on all the beasts of the earth, and on all the birds of heaven: on all the creeping things with which the earth swarms,[j] and on all the fishes of the sea: into your hand are they given. *Every creeping thing* (כָּל־רֶמֶשׂ, *kol rames*) *that liveth*[k] *shall be yours as food, as the green herb do I give you all;* only flesh, with its life, its blood, ye shall not eat.'

We regard this passage as containing, not the first grant of animal food to man, but the removal of the restriction which God had imposed on His antediluvian people; as teaching that the distinction between clean and unclean animals was done away, with respect to their use as food;[l] and that the flesh of *all* living creatures might be as lawfully eaten 'as the green herb' itself.

The employment of the words *kol rames* in verse 3 agrees well with this view; for, even though the whole of the living creatures mentioned just before may be included in the designation *rames*,[m] yet it seems to give a prominence to the class which it usually denotes—to 'creeping things,' which the Levitical law regarded as unclean. The use of this word, conjoined with the emphasis laid on the universality of the grant, would seem well fitted to remove from the minds of Noah and his sons all scruples respecting the use of that which they had hitherto regarded as 'common or unclean.' Still, however, though all animals might now be lawfully eaten, the force of habit could not be at once entirely overcome; and hence we may see that there was good reason for the preservation of a larger number of clean than of unclean animals in the ark; that Noah and his family might thus have, on their exit from the ark, a sufficient supply of the food to which they had been accustomed, which could not have been the case if a single pair only of every kind of animals had been preserved.

In the words which follow there is probably an allusion to the blood-guiltiness of the antediluvians. God solemnly asserts that, though the waters of the flood would not again desolate the earth, murder would not remain unpunished: man's life-blood would cer-

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[j] Lit., 'on all which the earth creeps.'

[k] Sept., *πᾶν ἑρπετὸν ὃ ἐστι ζῶν.*

[l] Calvin observes: 'Quod autem Deus veterem populum ab immundis animalibus prohibuit, quia temporalis fuit illa exceptio, hic tacetur a Mose.'

[m] *Rames* does not, of course, designate any portion of the animal kingdom with scientific accuracy: it perhaps generally denotes the *Reptilia* and the smaller *Mammalia*.

tainly be required, whether shed by any of the inferior animals (כָּל חַיָּה)[n] or by his brother man.

We have thus endeavoured to show that the primeval history contains indications harmonising with the belief that the sons of God formed an antediluvian theocracy, and that their apostasy from Jehovah was the chief moral cause of the flood. In bringing our paper to a conclusion we may point to one or two questions which the view we have maintained may serve to elucidate.

First: Although God was, after the flood, the Universal Lord, El Shaddai; although he no longer sustained to any the relation which He bore to His primeval people; yet does it seem improbable that the use of the covenant-name would be discontinued. *Jehovah* might still be employed, in the times of the patriarchs, as a designation of the Deity, although the embodiment of its meaning, which had existed in the antediluvian period, had passed away; although God was no longer manifested as *The Redeemer*. Neither Abraham, 'the friend of God,' nor Isaac, nor Jacob was permitted to behold the rescue from Egypt and the establishment of the theocracy: God appeared not in their days as *Jehovah*. These considerations may illustrate that much-discussed passage Exod. vi. 3, which contains a statement made when God was about to separate *the second time* a chosen people from the rest of mankind; to reveal Himself as their Deliverer, and to become their King—to make known the meaning of His great and glorious name—to show that He alone was Jehovah, and that beside Himself there was no Saviour.

Again: though the primeval theocracy had ceased to exist, it may be reasonably supposed that a traditional remembrance of it would long continue; and it seems highly probable that one of the first indications of a departure from the simplicity of the earliest postdiluvian cultus would be an attempt to reproduce the ancient and divinely-appointed institution. This may enable us to account for the origin of caste, which would seem to have existed in the East from the earliest times. In ancient Egypt we may, perhaps, discern traces of resemblance to the antediluvian *bene Elohim*, in the abstinence of the people in general, on religious grounds, from certain kinds of food, and especially in the sacerdotal caste, distinguished by dietetic rules peculiar to itself, scrupulously careful with respect to external purity, possessing predominant influence, and presumed to be intrusted with knowledge loftier than that attained by others. The question may here be asked, May not circumcision have had an antediluvian origin? Is it not possible

[n] The words, 'At the hand of every wild beast will I require it,' may have been designed to sanction the extermination and destruction of noxious animals.

that this rite, in its original appointment, was designed to separate God's primeval people from the rest of men? If so, its being practised by the Egyptians and other nations of antiquity, and the existence elsewhere of analogous observances, may be accounted for without assuming a Hebrew origin, which seems, at least, very improbable.

In conclusion, we would observe that, if a primeval theocracy existed, the fact that the rites and ceremonies of the Hebrews resembled, to some extent, those of other nations, can hardly be considered as invalidating the claims of the Mosaic ritual to a divine origin, since we cannot tell to what extent that ritual may have been a reproduction of the antediluvian original which is seen elsewhere only in a distorted reflection. T. T.

BISHOP KAYE AND THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA.[a]

John Kaye, the late Bishop of Lincoln, was born, we believe, in the year 1783. About the commencement of the present century the young student matriculated at the university of Cambridge, and was entered as a pensioner upon the boards of that society, which, 'originally founded by King Henry VI., under the name of God's House,' now bears the title of Christ's College. Of this foundation the late Bishop of Lincoln afterwards proved himself to be one of the most eminent members. In 1804 Mr. Kaye took his bachelor's degree, and, in the annals of university distinction, he has been surpassed, in the strife for honour, by but a single academician, viz., by one of the present Barons of the Court of Exchequer, the learned Sir Edward Alderson. The classical attainments of the bishop were only equalled by his proficiency in mathematics; for, whilst Sir Edward secured the elevated position of the Senior Wrangler of his year, and was placed the second in the examination for Dr. Smith's mathematical prizes, Mr. Kaye was so fortunate as to become the Senior Chancellor's Medallist, an honour which is annually conferred upon that commencing Bachelor of Arts who evinces the most extensive acquaintance with classical erudition. The highest acknowledgment of merit in the gift of his college now awaited the youthful graduate, and he was forthwith elected a fellow of that society, to the mastership of which, in the short space of ten years, he afterwards attained.

[a] 'Some Account of the Council of Nicæa, in connexion with the Life of Athanasius,' by John Kaye, D.D., Lord Bishop of Lincoln. London, Rivingtons, 1853.

In the following year Mr. Kaye, the master of Christ's College, was created Doctor of Divinity by royal mandate; and many months did not elapse ere, in 1816, he succeeded Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, in the academical chair of Regius Professor of Divinity. This post Dr. Kaye occupied for the space of four years only; yet, in that short period, the professor delivered to attentive auditors, composed both of students and of graduates, those lectures upon the early ecclesiastical history of the Church, as illustrated in the works of the ancient fathers, which were subsequently published, and which at the present day form no unimportant portion of our scanty stock, by modern authors, of standard works upon theological science. The other duties of his arduous office he discharged, to use the words of a contemporary, with equal ability and success. His commencement speeches, at the creation of doctors of divinity, were always topics of great interest, and expressed in the purest taste and in the most elegant Latinity. One of them, which attracted some degree of attention at the time, and which shows that practical observation was not wanting to the theoretical professor, was on the subject now engaging public attention—the question of university reform.

The comparatively contracted sphere of usefulness in which Dr. Kaye, as the master of a college and as a divinity lecturer in a university, was now placed, was soon to be exchanged for one of extended duty, of increased authority, and of greater requirement. At the unusually early age of thirty-seven years, and in the year 1820, the then prime minister recommended to the Crown the Regius Professor as 'a godly and well-learned man to be ordained and consecrated bishop.' He consequently vacated the academic chair, and the see of Bristol being unoccupied by the decease of the master of Trinity, Lord Liverpool had the pleasure of notifying to the Doctor that he was selected to complete the number of the bench of bishops, and that he was to be elevated to the episcopacy under the style and title of the Bishop of Bristol. In the year 1823 Dr. Kaye was called upon to perform the most interesting, perhaps, of his public actions as an elder and as a pastor in the Church. He was chosen to deliver to one of the most pious, one of the most truly apostolic of our missionary bishops, a valedictory address from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. This salutation to his brother in Christ contained a 'hearty farewell' upon the occasion of the departure of the colonial primate for his diocese in the far East; upon his commencing his laborious and unceasing duties; upon his entering upon that career with all the earnestness, all the zeal, and all the fortitude of some ancient confessor, which terminated only with his life. The touching address of that venerable Society bade God speed

the work, upon which in all faithfulness he had entered, of the late excellent and admirable Bishop of Calcutta, Reginald Heber.

Four years later, in 1827, Dr. Kaye was translated to the more extensive, as well the more important, see of Lincoln. After his advancement, and towards the close of his lengthened life, a circumstance occurred which, proving as it did the well-nigh universal estimation in which the bishop was held, deserves to be placed upon record. It is, we believe, the peculiar privilege of the society of Balliol College, Oxford, upon the resignation or the death of their visitor, to proceed to the election of his successor. The late lamented Archbishop of Canterbury formerly held this distinguished office; and the master and fellows, upon looking around for one to fill the vacant post, could discover no person who in their opinion was able so competently to perform the duties of that position as the Bishop of Lincoln. Putting aside, then, all petty and unworthy jealousies, which sometimes are found to exist between the sister universities, Dr. Jenkins, the master, with the approval of the society of which he was the head, proposed for the office of visitor of his college Dr. John Kaye. He was elected; and we need scarcely add that the society of Balliol never repented its choice, or that the Bishop fulfilled his obligations with credit to himself and with satisfaction to those whom he overlooked.

During a period of six-and-twenty years the Bishop was permitted to perform the episcopal functions of his diocese. His end at length drew nigh; when, having secured the hearts of friends and having won the confidence of foes, being regretted by many and being respected by more, to the grief of his clergy and to the loss of the Church, upon the 19th of February, 1853, in the diligent discharge of his duty in that state of life in which it had pleased God to call him, the aged prelate was summoned hence, to render up his earthly account to the Great Bishop and Shepherd of our souls.

We cannot, it is thought, do better than give a short summary of the character of this good and great man in the words of one who possessed a greater acquaintance with the subject of his brief memoir than it was our lot or our happiness to have. 'The excellence,' he remarks, 'of Bishop Kaye must not be estimated by his intellectual attainments, however rare and remarkable in their character and combination. His friends dwelt on the higher worth of his moral qualities. They recal his piety, his mild virtues, his gentle manners, his meek and humble deportment, and that "pleasantness of disposition" which the pious Herbert so justly deemed a great means of doing good. These qualities were equally appreciated by the high and the low. While the most

polished found delight in the unaffected grace and charm of his conversation, the poorest and most obscure who applied to him for aid or advice, felt at once that they were in the presence of a truly good man, one no less prompt to relieve than patient to listen to their humble tale of trouble or distress. His contributions to various charities were always liberal, often munificent; but those which have met the public eye form but a very small portion of that unceasing stream of quiet benevolence which flowed on in silence, known to few or none but the receivers. One of his latest acts was to build, at his sole expense, the beautiful church of Riseholme. In the distribution of his patronage, if he had any fault, it is a fault which many in these days will be willing to forgive, but which, it is hoped, that the friends of the departed prelate will not willingly forget—that in his impartial and disinterested anxiety to reward what he believed to be the merits of others, he omitted the opportunity of rewarding an exemplary minister whom he most deeply loved, and to whose claims there was but one objection—that he was his son.'

It is not, we trust, a vain hope in which we indulge, when we express a wish that his literary executors may be induced to bequeath to the world a collected and a complete edition of the works of the late Bishop of Lincoln. So rich a repository of knowledge would be valuable to many classes upon many accounts. To the Churchman they would be serviceable, to the Romanist they would be suggestive, to the Dissenter they would be at least harmless; to the student of the present day they would be advantageous, whilst they would not prove unacceptable to those of future times; to the professor of each and of every creed they would present objects worthy of consideration, facts deserving of attention, conclusions not lightly to be set aside. To posterity an edition such as we propose would evince that the spirit of the Anglican fathers was not altogether dead amongst their successors in the nineteenth century; that the subtlety, the solidity, and the sagacity of their intellects have not been without a counterpart in the present age; and that some among the restorers of belief of to-day need be afraid of no comparison with the reformers of abuses of yesterday. Such would they appear to our descendants, whilst to those of our own time they would prove much more. From the perusal of the Bishop's works few could rise without admiration, none without improvement. The young would learn moderation and frankness, ingenuousness and candour; the aged would appreciate the ripe scholarship, the profound learning, the immense research, which although his writings make no attempt to display, they are equally powerless to conceal; whilst all would deplore the loss sustained by the withdrawal of such an author and such a man, by England and by Christendom.

Of the various and miscellaneous works published at intervals during a long career by the late Bishop, many have long been out of print, and many are now only to be obtained with difficulty. Hence it is impossible to present the reader with a list of his writings, to place them in chronological order, or indeed to mention them severally by their titles; neither would much benefit accrue from such a catalogue. We must content ourselves with stating generally that several excellent sermons of Dr. Kaye's, preached upon occasions of ordination or otherwise, several treatises upon topics which have often riveted public attention, and some of his more important visitation charges, were published. Many pamphlets, likewise, and many theological dissertations, which were sent from the press anonymously, are to be attributed to his pen. His reply to the 'Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion,' by the poet, politician, and polemical writer, Thomas Moore, and his 'Remarks on Dr. Wiseman's Lectures,' are perhaps the most remarkable of this portion of his writings. These smaller tracts, remarks the writer before quoted, 'are replete with learning, marked throughout with acute reasoning and sound interpretation, and enlivened by a vein of most delicate pleasantry, which exposes the errors and inconsistencies of his opponents, without ever deviating from the courtesy of true Christian controversy.' The works, however, upon which Bishop Kaye may well be content to rest his claim to be remembered as an author are the following:—

'The Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the writings of Tertullian.'

'Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr.'

'Some Account of the Writings of Clement of Alexandria.'

The work which stands at the head of our article, 'Some Account of the Council of Nicæa, in connection with the life of Athanasius.'

All these works, to quote for the last time from the former source, are valuable to the inquirer after truth, not only on account of their perfect fairness, but of the nice precision and accuracy with which all the questions at issue were touched. However intricate might be the subject, he seized at once, as with intuitive perception, the exact point on which the controversy turned. The result of his knowledge, the conclusions of his well-balanced mind, were always accessible. They were communicated, too, with the utmost simplicity. In public or in private alike, there was not the slightest tinge of exaggeration in his language—it was all natural and unassuming. He knew nothing of the declaimer's art, by which he overstates to others what he too frequently understates to himself.

It is not our intention to place before our readers an analysis of

the treatise which last engaged the attention of Bishop Kaye; nor do we propose to offer any remarks upon the manner in which the account of the Council of Nicæa has been treated. Such is not the scope of our labours. This brief notice was undertaken principally with a view to draw attention to the works of a great man; to add our humble tribute to his character; and to serve in some slight degree as a memorial of the excellencies of one who has so lately been taken from amongst us. It remains only that we make a few extracts, in illustration of some of the more striking points in the discussion between Athanasius and the Arians; noticing the line of argument adopted by the latter, and not failing to mark the skilful replies, and the shrewd rejoinders returned to their captious objections by the subtle acuteness of Athanasius.

'Athanasius,' remarks the bishop, 'in his confutation of the Arians, begins with the two propositions which are first anathematised: *that there was a time when the Son was not*;[a] and *that the Son was not before he was begotten.*[b] The Arians argued that the relation between God and the Word is represented in Scripture as that of Father and Son; that the relation implies a priority of existence in the Father, and consequently a time when the Son was not. They contended, also, that this relation is irreconcilable with the notion that the Son existed co-eternally with the Father. If they were co-eternal, the relation that would exist between them would be that of brothers, not of Father and Son. The Arians appear also to have endeavoured to cast ridicule upon the eternal generation of the Son, by illustrations drawn from the generation of human beings. They asked a woman, for instance, "Had you a Son before you bore him? you had not: in like manner the Son of God was not before He was begotten."'

'Athanasius answers generally, that the error of the Arians lay in reasoning from created things to that which is increate; and supposing that expressions applicable to the case of human, were applicable to that of Divine generation. He challenges them also to produce any passage from Scripture which countenances the statement, that there was a time when the Son was not. Scripture, on the contrary, speaks of the Son as always existing together with the Father; for instance, John i. 1; Apocal. i. 4; Rom. ix. 5, i. 20; Isaiah xl. 28; Heb. i. 3; Ps. xc. 17, xxxv. 9, cxlv. 13. Athanasius draws the same conclusions from the passages in which Christ, speaking of Himself, uses the expression, *I am*, not *I was made*, the Truth, the Light, the Lord, the Shepherd,—a mode of speaking which implies eternal existence. On the other hand, it is with reference to created things that Scripture speaks of a time

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[b] ὅτι ἦν πότε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ υἱὸς.

[c] οὐκ ἦν ὁ υἱὸς πρὶν γεννηθῇ.

prior to their existence, of a time when they were not: thus Gen. ii. 5; Deut. xxxii. 8; Prov. viii. 23; John viii. 58; Jerem. i. 5; Ps. xc. 1. The different language in which Scripture speaks of the Son and of created things, shows that He is not of the number of created things, but existed from eternity. How can there ever have been a time when He who made the ages, τοὺς αἰῶνας, did not exist?' (p. 155.)

Bishop Kaye proceeds to quote again from Athanasius, in order to point out the absurd consequences which flow from the Arian tenets. Athanasius says,

'If God is Maker and Creator, and creates by His Son, and nothing is made but that which is made by the Son; to say that there was a time when His creative Word and Wisdom were not, is equivalent to saying that God is not Maker and Creator. Again, if the Word was not with the Father from eternity, the Trinity is not eternal: there was first a Monad, which by addition became a Trinity; and this a Trinity composed of foreign and alien natures and essences. Since, if the Son is not the proper offspring of the Father's essence, but made from things that were not, that which is created is numbered with the Creator, and that which is not is deified and glorified with that which always existed; and the Trinity is dissimilar with itself.' (pp. 161, 162.)

The following argument is an admirable specimen of the manner in which the great champion of the Homoousian doctrine wrested the weapons of the flesh from those who first assumed them, to turn them against his adversaries. The Arians, Dr. Kaye remarks, appear to have made one very strange objection to the Nicene Creed. If, said they, 'the Son is the offspring and image of the Father, and in all respects like him, He ought to be like in respect of generation; and as He was Himself begotten, in turn to beget. This objection, Athanasius replies, is another instance of erroneous reasoning from the imperfection of human to the perfection of Divine nature. Succession implies imperfection. A human father begets a son, who in turn begets another, and thus becomes himself a father; so that the title of *father* is not peculiar to any one individual of a generation, but, passing from one to another, is in perpetual flux. But the Son is begotten of the Father, who is himself unbegotten; He, therefore, is not subject to the condition of human sons, that of begetting in turn, there being no succession in the God-head; the Father is always Father, the Son always Son. To ask why the Son did not beget a son, is as absurd as to ask why the Father had not a father.' (pp. 164, 165.)

We will take yet another example of the same kind of reasoning, equally cogent, but perhaps somewhat more open to objection

than the former; and we have thrown into a foot-note, to which we beg to draw the attention of the reader, the remarks of Dr. Newman upon this argument of Athanasius, with our learned author's reply. We have noticed the question put by the Arians, to women, in order to turn the doctrine of the co-eternity of the Son into ridicule, 'whether they had a son before they bare him?'

'This question Athanasius converts into an argument of the co-essentiality. Ask the mother whence is the child who is born to her? Did she obtain him from without like a house, or any other possession? She will reply,[d] No; he is from myself; proper to my own essence, born from myself; wherefore I am wholly in him, remaining myself what I am. So the Word is from the Father, and of the same essence. So far the reasoning from human to Divine generation holds good. But we must not infer that because human generation takes place in time, and by division, the case is the same with Divine generation. We observe in nature instances of things generated, which always exist in union with that which generates them, as the brightness or radiance with the sun, the stream with the fountain; why then may not the Word by whom the sun and the fountain were made, co-exist eternally with the Father, by whom he was begotten?' (pp. 168, 169.)

We regret that we are unable to find space for more than one other extract from the work before us. We conclude with the following illustration of the style of reasoning adopted by the Arians, as well as of the line of reply selected by their acute and subtle adversary Athanasius.

'If, as the Arians assert, the essence of the Word is created, Christ was not created for our sakes, nor have we been created in Him, nor have we Him within us, but He is external to us, and

[d] 'On this passage the Oxford annotator remarks: "It is from expressions such as this that the Greek Fathers have been accused of Tritheism. The truth is, every illustration, as being incomplete upon one or other side of it, taken by itself, tends to heresy. The title Son by itself suggests a second God; as the title Word, a mere attribute; and the title Instrument, a creature. All heresies are partial views of the truth, and are wrong, not so much in what they say, as in what they deny. The truth, on the other hand, is a positive and comprehensive doctrine, and, in consequence, necessarily mysterious, and open to misconception." These are reflections to which we would draw the consideration of all thoughtful men.' The object of these remarks was to defend from Tritheism Cyril and Gregory of Nyssa. The warning appended to Dr. Newman's observation is one amongst many instances which might be given, and to which we have before referred, of the perfect justice and fairness which characterises the Bishop's writings. 'I think, however,' Dr. Kaye continues, 'that we may draw two very useful practical inferences from the annotator's remark,—that we ought to be cautious in using illustrations on points connected with the relation of the three Persons in the Holy Trinity, lest we should unconsciously be betrayed into heresy; and that we should not, in theological controversy, ascribe to our adversaries conclusions which to us appear to flow logically from their statements, but which they themselves disavow.'

we receive instruction from Him as from a Master. Sin is not expelled from our flesh, but still reigns in it. All this is directly at variance with the teaching of St. Paul, who says that we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus. Christ "having been made man for our sakes," applies to himself expressions properly belonging to humanity, and says, "The Lord created me." He does not say, "in the beginning I was man."

'Moses, when speaking of created things, does not say that *they were* in the beginning, ἐν ἀρχῇ, but that God *made them* in the beginning; but of the Word it is said, that *He was*, not that *He was made* in the beginning. They have a beginning of existence, he has none; but exists eternally, having His existence in no other beginning than the Father, whom the Arians themselves admit to be unoriginate. The Word, therefore, exists unoriginately in the Father, being his offspring, not a creature.

'The Arians appear to have contended, that the sacred writers did not always observe this distinction between the words *begat* and *created*, ἐγέννησε and ἐποίησε, or ἔκτισε. Thus, in Deut. xxxii. 6, we find, "Hath He not made ἐποίησε, and established thee;" but in ver. 18, "Thou art unmindful of the Rock that begat thee,"—τὸν γεννήσαντά σε,—where the two words appear to be used indifferently. Athanasius observes, that the word *made* occurs in the former passage, which refers to the first creation of man; the word *begat* in the latter, which refers to the new creation of man under the gospel.[e] Such is the loving-kindness of God, that He becomes the Father of those of whom he is the Creator or Maker; and this takes place when men, being already created, receive into their hearts the Spirit of His Son, crying, Abba, Father. These are they, who having received the Word, receive power from Him to become the children of God; a power which, being by nature creatures, they cannot receive unless they receive the Spirit of Him, who is by nature the true Son. To this end He was made flesh, in order that He might make man capable of receiving Deity. *We* are not his sons by nature, but the *Son who is in us* is: nor is God *our* Father by nature, but of the Son in us, in whom, and through whom, we cry Abba, Father.

The conclusion at which Athanasius arrives is, that the expression τὸν γεννήσαντά σε in Deuteronomy, must be understood of the sons whom God begets through his Spirit under the gospel. Man is first made, then begotten; on the contrary, the Son was first begotten, then made or created when He assumed our human body. Hence He is called first-born, πρωτότοκος, among many

[e] This strange wresting of the language of the Old Testament to serve a purpose is not peculiar to the Arian controversy.—Ed. J. S. L.

brethren, because all men being lost through the transgression of Adam, His flesh was first saved and redeemed, inasmuch as it is the body of the very Word; and we afterwards, being of the body, are saved through it. He is the beginning of the Lord's ways *for His works*, for He is the Way and the Door through which we must all enter. He is the first-born from the dead, because He first rose, that we might in our order rise through and by Him.' (p. 202.)

O. S.

THE TEMPTATION OF OUR LORD.

In estimating the work which the Redeemer came to accomplish, it is manifest that the circumstances attending his temptation should be duly considered, for this forms the first scene of his ministry, as the atonement was the last; and, while Christians rightly make his death the chief subject of contemplation, yet they are sure to obtain one-sided views of redemption if they neglect so prominent a fact, as that revealed to us in the narrative, that our blessed Lord did not commence his public preaching and miracle working until he had met and vanquished the ruler of the powers of this world.

At the age of thirty years the body and mind usually attain their full growth, and convictions become firmly rooted. Since it was needful that Christ should be *perfect* man, it follows, as of course, that he would not openly assert his whole mission until his human wisdom, no less than his human stature, had reached its utmost limit (Luke ii. 52).

We would not venture, with irreverent curiosity, to scan the thoughts that were present to his mind, or the gradual consciousness of Divinity that must have deepened and widened in him, ere the perfected man Jesus would manifest forth the glory which resided within the covering of flesh. But of two things we ought to be persuaded, as testified, not more by the creed of the orthodox Church and the plain declarations of Scripture, than by the necessity of the case and our own intuitive perceptions of truth.

1st. In that body, born of the Virgin Mary, there tabernacled the Son of God—that person of the Godhead that manifests himself to the senses. He, in the phrase of Scripture, left the bosom of his Father, where he had existed in cloudless glory and unalloyed bliss, to connect himself with creatures of sin and misery, that, by his humiliation and sufferings, we might rise to a never-ending intercourse with him.

2ndly. His human nature was only human, differing from ours

in no essential respect but in the absence of sin. While his human will was distinct from the divine, and so of a kindred nature to ours, he was never alienated from God as we are. With him the ruling principle *ever* was, 'Not My will, but Thine be done.'

The knowledge of himself must have sprung and grown as a necessary process in the building up of his humanity. The information that he had been miraculously produced; the sight of the earthly sanctity of Jerusalem and the Temple; his own superiority in wisdom, while yet a child, to the hoary doctors in the capital; his certainty that his inclinations had never tended to wrong; the Scriptural prophecies fulfilled in himself; the promises made to his mother at his conception; his profound thoughts and ghostly communings with God; all concurred in establishing the consciousness of his union with the Second Person. When he was indicated by the forerunner as the Lamb of God, when he experienced the ability to change the laws of nature, then came he forth, divine on one side and human on the other, but one person, the Christ of God, to perform the work for which he had descended from heaven.

Yet here let us guard against the error which in ancient times rose in the minds of those who were striving to believe that the God of the Gospel was not the God of the visible world. Starting from the truth that before his inauguration Christ wrought no miracles, some of the Gnostic sects thought that the heavenly Christ had joined himself to the earthly for the first time at the baptism, and that Jesus of Nazareth was no veritable Theophany. It demands our earnest and prayerful attention, while we reverently gaze on that humanity which was not divine, to avoid, as subversive of the Gospel, those opinions which, by disjoining the divine from the human, would nullify the work of the Lord. In truth, at the baptism it was not the divine that then *joined* itself to the human, but the human beginning to *display* the divine. An assurance was given to those who, in the period of thirty years, had lost sight of, or only faintly recollected, the marvels and the promises accompanying the nativity.

The Nazarite John, the son of Zacharias, had been set apart as the indicator of Christ, in such a way that there would be a certainty of any one being Christ whom he should declare to the world. He had retired to the wilderness, a secluded and thinly-populated district, lying along the river Jordan, preaching *repentance* as the qualifying requisite for admission to the blessings which the Saviour was about to bring.

By this word *repentance* (which, in its general sense, means renewed submission of the inclinations to God) John implied to the Jews who heard him, that the Coming One would not benefit

them unless they abandoned the prevalent error that made righteousness to consist, not in union of the inner man with God's Spirit, but in outside actions. This error originated in the distorted view they had taken of the Mosaic law, which, addressed to the nation, spoke only of such a righteousness as a *nation* can evince—*virtuous conduct;* and it induced the Jews to believe that every man who rightly performed the service of that law, *i. e.*, every good Israelite, would inherit all God's blessings, even though he were still disjoined from God in inner motive and affection. John evidently referred to this mistaken notion of righteousness when he affirmed that their being Abraham's children was utterly valueless unless they *repented.* Their *national* privileges were an *arbitrary* gift of God, who could, if he pleased, raise up the stones before them to that dignity.

Those who acknowledged both a coming Messiah and the need of repentance, he received into a united brotherhood or discipleship, by the rite of washing or baptism, highly significant of the purer state in which these persons were, and derived from the custom of the Jewish religion, where every increase of holiness was symbolised by a baptism.

The majority of men at that time in Israel were expecting some kind of deliverer, and we are not therefore surprised that so many different characters went out to the Baptist, with the wish of enrolling themselves as expectants of Christ. But John's mission, as the Elias, or restorer of the true conception of Moses, would not allow of any one being baptised who looked to the Mosaic law for acceptance with God—who believed, in contradiction of Moses himself, that he who was circumcised and observed the Levitical law could *claim* God's favour. They who held these carnal notions the most obstinately, were found either among the haughty rich men, whose Sadducean principles utterly excluded evangelical righteousness; or among the priests, who could not understand that any religion existed apart from their Temple; or among the Pharisees, who had carried to an extravagant length the national mistake of placing virtue in external action.

When John began to preach he may not have known who would be indicated as Christ. His knowledge, probably, amounted to a recognition of his own office, and to an earnest belief that the Being whom he should be directed to announce was near at hand. Hence, when asked whether he were himself the Christ, he declared that the One who, coming after him, was preferred before him, was then standing in the midst of them, unknown by him, as well as by the crowd. The Baptist knew him not then, for he had not, perhaps, noticed his kinsman Jesus as one of the audience; or, on account of his own seclusion from social life, he may not have seen him for a long time.

When our Saviour drew near to be baptised, it needed a divine communication to John to assure him that Jesus was really the Christ. Had he then also, among the other relatives of Jesus, forgotten, or had he never heard, what his humble cousin was destined to be? Possibly his faith had dwindled into a mere suspicion, not strong enough to justify his pointing him out authoritatively as Christ till he should receive a revelation from heaven. But when a visible outpouring of a supernatural spirit upon Jesus attracted the Baptist's attention to him, he was moved by the same spirit to pronounce the Son of Mary to be the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.

John shrank from performing the rite of baptism on one whom he recognised as his superior. The Lord, however, while claiming this superiority, required the Baptist to admit him into the brotherhood, not only because he, the model man, must fulfil all the sinless conditions of humanity, but because he really belonged to those who sought not to buy God's favour by virtuous *actions*.

The voice from heaven, and the visible descent, were the objective means of preventing John's mistaking the divine *afflatus* for an opinion of his own mind. They were moreover proofs to the people around that Christ was truly sent from God; and we find him afterwards appealing to John's testimony as corroborative of his assertions of Divinity (John v. 32, 33, 36).

John now felt that he had performed the work for which he had been commissioned—to point out and inaugurate the Christ, and then retire from the scene, when a greater than himself had come. Yet he did not cease from preaching until Christ was ready to begin an *active* ministration; and the Saviour remained in comparative obscurity until the dispensation of Providence shut up John in prison, revealing that he was no longer needed.

The whole of John's disciples did not follow Jesus; some of them had either not heard their teacher's testimony to the Lamb of God, or were slow in receiving it. There is evidence, at more than one place, of their looking to their master as not subordinate to the Nazarene (John iii. 26; Matt. ix. 14; xi. 2). A portion of these, no doubt, were afterwards Christians, and were waiting, like Apollos (who was of this number), until they should be instructed in the way of God more perfectly (Acts xviii. 24-28).

There were, even from the beginning, some of them who continued to look upon John as the highest emanation from God, in spite of his own strenuous assertions to the contrary. They were his disciples without his authority, and grew into one of the many Gnostic sects still existing in the neighbourhood of Balsora, and preserving the very name of *Mendeans*, or *disciples*, under which John's followers seem to have been especially distinguished.

The baptism to which the Redeemer submitted was the *inaugu-*

ration to his work. By it he was marked out for the office, which he had not previously exercised. And now it appeared to be necessary, in the Divine scheme of salvation, that his human mind should select the plan of action he must adopt, and, at the same time, be exposed to those temptations which, assailing all men with various degrees of force, induce them to sin. It is only by combining these two views that we can form an adequate conception of the remarkable transaction contained in the 4th chapter of St. Matthew and the 4th of St. Luke.

Most readers of Christ's life do not fail to notice that the threefold *temptation* exactly corresponds with the usual division of human sins—the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, or sensuality, covetousness, and ambition. Over every kind of sin it was necessary that the God-man should gain a complete victory, by meeting and resisting the temptation to it. We must also look upon these temptations as applicable to *the particular case of Jesus*, such, that is, as another man in the same circumstances would have yielded to; otherwise we lose sight of the nature of a temptation, and of the merit in overcoming it.

To think that the trials to which he was exposed were merely exterior, that they appealed to no feeling within, is to destroy the whole purport of the event; while to imagine that Jesus, even for an instant, *inclined* to them, is to deny his sinlessness; for the maxims of his own preaching place sin, as well as virtue, in the inclination, so that he who inclines to sin is as he who commits it. Yet there must have passed in review before his human mind two systems of action, and his title to consummate humanity and meritorious virtue is grounded on his having, *without hesitation*, preferred the right to the wrong.

These two systems, apparently opposed, though hereafter to be reconciled, were—

1st. That Christ would introduce peace and blessing; that all men should be his friends and followers; and that his kingdom should be gloriously established. But, on the other hand, sin had hitherto prevented happiness in the world; and no bright scenes of the theocratic kingdom could be produced until sin should be abolished. Had Jesus, then, while evil was unvanquished, at once commenced the reign of peace—taken possession of the kingdoms of the world—and attempted to introduce happiness, the sin which had caused the misery would have been ignored, and the attempt, like that of other benefactors, been proved impossible.

And the second system was to decline the bliss until the sin should be destroyed.

If Jesus had not suffered—*i. e.* if sin had remained,—Satan, the prime seducer of men, would still have held unchecked dominion

over them. Hence, when our Lord chose the holy way, which, by the necessity of truth, involved his own afflictions with the quelling of wickedness, and which, in restoring man's will to God's, implied his own *voluntary* bowing to the decrees of justice, he refused, in very deed, to worship the evil one, and asserted his own superiority to him who had become the ruler of all men else. It is not to be doubted that here, as at the close of his life, he experienced a *fleshly* shrinking from the strait and toilsome course, and a wish that, if it were *possible*—if it could be made to accord with the divine requirements—he might be spared.

What a fearful aspect do our sins wear when contemplated as constraining Jesus to submit to a life of want and suffering, and a death of anguish, instead of reigning supreme and happy in the kingdom of which he was born the heir! How are our efforts to explain away the sinfulness of sin put to flight by the thought that God, with the universe in his hand, could devise no gentler process for making us holy!

Jesus had become conscious of an *inherent* ability to change nature, or to perform miracles—the sure proof that he was the incarnation of God.[a] He had the power of gratifying his bodily wants by those means which no one is permitted to use, except him who wants nothing. It was for the purpose of augmenting the force of the temptation that Jesus passed forty days in abstinence; and, therefore, when Satan urged him to turn the stones into bread, he was trying him most severely. A hasty reader would not perceive the peculiar sin of making bread for himself. But let us bear in mind that the man Jesus was a creature, and must not support himself by omnipotence; must not, that is, disobey the laws under which his existence was assured, and we then understand that the miraculous conversion of stones into bread would have been an interference with God's universal design, and, therefore, unquestionably a sin.

So peremptory, indeed, would seem to have been the duty of Jesus not to exert his miraculous powers for the saving of himself from privation, or danger, or suffering, that, when superhuman aid was required, both here and afterwards in the garden of Gethsemane, it came, not *immediately* from God, but through *created means*, for angels were sent to minister to him.

In a similar light we should regard the other temptation—the proposal to exercise his powers for the purpose of display; the appeal to that feeling within him, which becomes, in imperfect men, vanity, ostentation, and ambition. For the same reasons as

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[a] Jesus performed miracles by *his own* power: he invoked no higher name. Other prophets prayed that God would work the miracles *for them*.

before, the casting of himself down the precipice would have been a tempting of God.

This second temptation involved even a more trying difficulty than the pressure of hunger, to him who wielded the Creator's prowess. For the Scriptures had announced that Messiah's kingdom should be a triumphant one; and Jesus had listened to the teaching of the doctors, that there was no hindrance to the establishment of it. Satan pointed to one of these prophetic promises, that God should make Messiah a king, as excuse for his *displaying before men* the care of the Father for him. He here made the choice, and ever kept to it, of not showing forth much of his glory, unless men were *fitted* to see it. In his future course men were chiefly offended because he still refused to give them such a sign from heaven.

In the third temptation of worshipping Satan, for the bribe of governing the kingdoms of the world, the force of the others seems concentrated. He knew that if he seized on these kingdoms, albeit his own, ere sin was atoned for, he would, in reality, have yielded before Satan's supremacy. And so, while he was attracted to this course by the actual condition of the highly courageous and enthusiastic people, who, in such a cause, would have immolated themselves for his sake, he refused to reign until sin should be put under man's feet; he chose to serve God and suffer rather than be glorious and free, by any means, which would have been a submission of man to Satan, verily a worshipping of the adversary.

The narrative of the Temptation arrests our attention, as one of the especially significant acts of Christ's life. And this attention, when earnestly fixed upon the whole purport of the transaction, will prevent our turning into a mythic allegory (as careless and shallow men are wont to do) what the evangelists plainly mention as a true objective appearance, a real historical event. And, while we may understand how the antipathy to the idea of a *personal* Satan is only a strong reaction from the unscriptural and Manichean notions, which represent the evil one as all-powerful and all-present, let us not be carried by the recoil too far into the pantheistic tendency of modern philosophy, which, striving to escape from a personal God, cannot, of course, tolerate a personal devil.

Deep reflection will prevent either of these untrue conceptions, the Manichean or the pantheistic, from disturbing our belief in the work which Christ was beginning at the season of the Temptation. We must not forget that temptations to sin are of two kinds, one from within, the very suggestion of which is itself a sin, and one from without, which only becomes a sin when yielded to. Man's inner temptations come from himself, from his corrupted

affections. No created being can actuate him to sin against his will. Satan may, in like manner, as a wicked man (though with far greater powers of persuasion) *allure* us to our ruin; but he only succeeds *because we consent*. If our wills were holy, he could no more constrain us to obey him than he could constrain Jesus.

We all know that our external temptations, which are sometimes yielded to because of a sinful inner inclination, and sometimes, by the grace of God, resisted, appear to proceed from so complicated a variety of causes, not traceable to any one *human* will in particular, that we are forced to adopt one of two suppositions; either that *God* draws us into sin, or that *other wills* act upon us. We reject, with horror, every explanation that would make our heavenly Father the promoter of our sins; and we must therefore suppose that our evils, not coming from our brother men, come from more powerful, though created wills; and we speak *necessarily* of depraved beings, of whom Satan is the chief, taking the same kind of delight (though of greater intensity, as his sin is of older standing) in tempting other creatures, as one wicked man does in tempting his fellow.

As we cannot entertain the notion that the temptations of Jesus came from God, they must have proceeded from some evil will without him. For, if they had arisen from his own will, he would not have been sinless. He would, on this supposition, have originated evil. And if we adopt the only other alternative, that they came from some different will, we cannot avoid the conclusion that this was the will of a very powerful evil being such as Satan is represented to be.

By taking into account the strong *external* temptations of which we are the objects, the whole meaning of Christ's temptation dawns upon us. We do not doubt that men would oftentimes refrain from sin if these allurements were removed. As Christ's mission was to deliver from sin, and as we generally understand a Christian's especial privilege to be that he has far stronger inducements not to sin than other men have, it is a consistent (let us say an essential) scene in Christ's life, that he should meet and overthrow him who so often entices men to their destruction.

To this victory our Lord afterwards made allusion. He declared that he saw Satan, as lightning, fall from heaven, when his disciples had, with his authority, driven away demoniacal tempters (Luke x. 18). And, at the close of his ministry, he again encountered the prince of this world, who could find no point of attack in him (John xiv. 30).

Some readers of the Gospel allow themselves to wonder how Satan could ever have hoped to succeed in a contest with one who, he must have been certain, was God incarnate. But, in truth,

this surprise is grounded on those Manichean notions of the devil, that would make him almighty and omniscient. The Bible speaks of Satan as a *creature*—the greatest of all *sinful* creatures; the chief of those beings who have become alienated from God, but whose powers and knowledge differ from man's only in degree.

In looking up, or striving to look up, through the whole scale of intelligences reaching to Him who is above all, Satan should be conceived of as occupying but a few steps beyond us, in comparison with the length of the entire series. And there are good and holy creatures, of greater wisdom and strength than his, and yet of limited capacities. Far from having the attributes of God, he is not even represented as the highest of creatures; and, when we compare our own condition with his, we should remember that he must have a similar kind of difficulty in apprehending God, as we have. If his *intellectual* capacity for the task be so much larger than ours, his more degraded *spiritual* state renders him less capable. We see, indeed, that it was not the mentally-gifted scribes and rulers, who most easily perceived Christ's divinity, but the spiritually endowed fishermen and women.

Satan, while acknowledging this divinity, as clever wicked men would have done, yet on account of the total absence of God's love and grace, could not have had that perfect conviction which is revealed to no one but by God's Spirit (Matt. xvi. 17). His words, 'If thou be the Son of God,' imply a want of complete knowledge, and an inability to recognize the power of God, by any other mode than by beholding the actual Godhead, which no creature can behold.

The difficulty made, in the representation of Satan resisting God in Christ, is precisely similar to that made in his having first revolted from the Almighty. Indeed it is a much less embarrassing difficulty. If Satan, when a bright archangel, opposed God, there is little doubt of his opposition when a degraded fiend. Just as, though in a smaller degree, the deserted and lost human sinner can more easily offend than the pure and still spotless child. And we might ask, whether Satan's *original* offence was not like that in the Temptation, and due to his unwillingness to obey, or recognize God, in what he deemed an unlikely manifestation of the Divine essence.

W. H. I.

CRITICAL REMARKS ON THE PRAYER OF HEZEKIAH.

Isaiah, Chap. xxxviii. 9-22.

It is generally acknowledged that the prayer of Hezekiah contains some passages of considerable difficulty; and as it appears to us that these difficulties have not been removed by our translators, we propose to submit some critical remarks, and to lay before our readers, not a new version from the Hebrew, but corrections of such parts of the Authorised Version as may be improved without unnecessarily deviating from one so justly held in general esteem.

It is quite consistent with this design that whatever, on mature consideration, appears to be erroneous, should be corrected—whatever, when accurately translated from the Hebrew, gives a clearer sense, should be substituted for what is obscure or ambiguous.

We learn from the early part of the chapter, which is parallel to the 20th chapter of the 2nd book of Kings, that 'Hezekiah was sick unto death,' and that God sent the prophet Isaiah to say to him, 'Thus saith the Lord, Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die, and not live' (Isa. xxxviii. 1).

It appears, however, that God mercifully listened to his prayer, and the expression of his grief, and delayed his death for the space of fifteen years; and, to give to the King of Judah confidence in the certain fulfilment of His promise, God miraculously caused the shadow on the dial of Ahaz to go back 10 degrees (ver. 8).

It was out of gratitude to God for having, in great mercy, added fifteen years to his life, that Hezekiah composed this prayer.

We shall have occasion to refer to some of our best English translations of Isaiah, and to those foreign commentators who are considered as of the highest authority.

It may be remarked that the Hebrew text of Isaiah, like that of the Psalms, the Proverbs, and other poetical books of the Bible, naturally falls into couplets and triplets; and, in many cases, attention to the poetical construction throws a light on the sense of the passage.

In proceeding to make some critical remarks on those passages which seem to require correction, we shall first give the words of the Authorised Version, with the corresponding Hebrew, accompanied by some critical remarks; and shall conclude by laying before our readers the Authorised Version corrected from the

Hebrew, and arranged, as it appears to have been originally, in couplets and triplets.

Isaiah xxxviii. 10: 'In the cutting off of my days' (בִּדְמִי יָמַי). Dathe and Maurer give a better version of this passage: 'In meridie dierum meorum.' Rosenmüller, after quoting Scheidius in favour of this translation, adds, 'Eodem modo Hebræi דְמִי הַיּוֹם usurpasse videntur de meridie. Hinc בִּדְמִי יָמַי vertendum est *in medio dierum meorum;* quod plane respondet Græco: ἐν τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ βίου.' Henderson translates, 'in the meridian;' Gesenius, 'in the noon of my life.' As *noontide* is used by our translators in the same sense, Jer. xx. 16, we prefer translating, 'In the noontide of my days.'

Ver. 11: 'I said I shall not see the LORD, even the LORD in the land of the living' (אָמַרְתִּי לֹא־אֶרְאָה יָהּ יָהּ בְּאֶרֶץ הַחַיִּים). THE LORD (יָהּ) is one of the peculiar names of God. Ps. lxviii. 4: 'Extol him that rideth upon the heavens by his name JAH.' See also Exod. xv. 2. A few MSS. omit the second JAH. But Rosenmüller well observes, 'Repetitio hujus nominis depingit interiorem animi regis æstum et fervorem, ex humillimis precibus et acerbissimo luctu.' See also Ps. lxviii. 23, אָמַר אֲדֹנָי מִבָּשָׁן אָשִׁיב אָשִׁיב. The words may be translated:—

> 'I said, I shall no more see JAH:
> JAH in the land of the living.'

Ver. 12: 'Mine age is departed, and is removed from me' (דּוֹרִי נָסַע וְנֶגְלָה מִנִּי). Dathe, Maurer, 'tentorium meum;' Lowth, Jenour, Henderson, 'my habitation.' So Gesenius, who refers to Ps. xlix. 20. Rosenmüller observes, 'Vitam suam cum tentorio pastoris comparat, quod quando vel maximi firmum et solide stabilitum est, de improviso laxatis funibus et paxillis, revellitur, et funditus detergetur.' Translate, 'My habitation is departed, and is removed from me.' See also Dathe's note *in loc.*

Ibid.: 'He will cut me off with pining sickness' (מִדַּלָּה יְבַצְּעֵנִי). Dathe, 'A peniculamento me abscindet.' Lowth, 'He will sever me from the loom.' Henderson, 'From the thrum he cutteth me off.' So Gesenius.

Ver. 13: 'I reckoned till morning' (שִׁוִּיתִי עַד־בֹּקֶר). Lowth translates, 'I roared until the morning,' reading שָׁאַגְתִּי for שִׁוִּיתִי, without the authority of a single MS. He quotes the Chaldee as reading שאגתי; but this is at least doubtful. The Chaldee נהמת corresponds, not to שאגתי, but to the Hebrew נהמתי. (See Prov. xxviii. 15; Isa. v. 29.) But, at all events, the reading of the Chaldee alone, without any support either of MSS. or ancient versions, is very insufficient authority for altering the words of the text.

But the bold conjectural emendations of Bishop Lowth and his followers in Hebrew criticism have long been exploded. David Köcher, professor of Oriental languages at Berne, has confuted almost all his amended readings.[a] Yet his illustrative notes have much value; and the most elegant translations of the poetry of the Hebrew Bible are by his hand. But to proceed to other commentators on the passage. Maurer translates, 'Componebam (animum meum) usque ad mane.' Rosenmüller, 'Complanavi, *i. e.* sedavi, compescui, scil. animum meum usque ad mane.' (See Ps. cxxxi. 2.) Gesenius, 'I calmed my mind until the morning.' Henderson, 'I compose myself till the morning.' Rosenmüller gives the following comment on this difficult verse: 'Hoc igitur dicit rex, se animum suum patienter composuisse, dum noctu vehementissimo dolore ossa sua arderent: id enim volunt verba כְּאֲרִי בֵן יְשַׁבֵּר כָּל־עַצְמוֹתָי leonis instar confregit, scil. Deus s. impersonali loquendi modo, confringens, *i. e.* confringebantur omnia ossa mea.'

Ver. 15: 'I shall go softly all my years in the bitterness of my soul' (אֲהַלְּכָה כָל־שְׁנוֹתַי עַל־מַר נַפְשִׁי). Maurer gives a very good comment on this passage: 'Lente incedam omnes annos meos propter ægritudinem animæ meæ, *i. e.* submisse me geram per totam vitam, nusquam non memor maximorum, quibus cruciatus sum, dolorum.' Henderson concurs. Dathe, Rosenmüller, and Gesenius give a different interpretation to the words: 'Propterea ego per omnem vitam ad templum suum solemni pompâ incedam, post tantam afflictionem.'—Dathe. But, notwithstanding these high authorities, we doubt whether the single passage, Ps. xlii. 5, the only other one in which this verb is used, is sufficient authority for this interpretation. There is no corresponding word in Syriac, but in Chaldee, 'In pihel apud Rabbinos,' says Buxtorf, 'sensim ducere.'[b]

Ver. 16: 'By these things men live' (עֲלֵיהֶם יִחְיוּ). These words refer to the fulfilment of the prophecies in the preceding verse. Rosenmüller observes: 'Suffixa diversi generis הֵם et הֵן docent rei, quæ describitur, universitatem et magnitudinem, referendaque sunt ad verba אָמַר et עָשָׂה versu præcedente, ad *impletas promissiones divinas:* Neque obstat, nomina, ad quæ illa suffixa referantur, haud reperiri versu præcedente; nam poetis, impetu ingenii urgente, solenne est, atque elegans, prosaici sermonis jugum excutere, et disisse videri, quæ non disertis verbis expresserunt.' So Schrœder, to whom Rosenmüller refers: 'R. 39, pronomen

[a] Vindiciæ S. Textus Hebrææ Esaiæ Vatis, adversus D. Roberti Lowthi, Episc. Lond. criticam, a Dav. Köchero, V. T. et ling. orient. professore. Bernæ, 1786.
[b] Buxtorfii Lexicon Chaldaicum in verb. דדה.

adfixum interdum relationem habet minùs ordinariam; scilicet, quando pertinet ad nomen diserte non expressum, sed ex solo sermonis contextu cognoscendum.'[e]

Ver. 17: 'But thou hast, in love to my soul [delivered it]' (וְאַתָּה חָשַׁקְתָּ נַפְשִׁי מִשַּׁחַת בְּלִי). The verb חָשַׁק, by what is called the *constructio prægnans*, has the double sense of *loving* and *delivering*. See Ps. xxxviii. 1: אַל־תַּחֲרֹשׁ מִמֶּנִּי, where תַּחֲרֹשׁ is used in a double sense: *ne conticescens* [te subducas] *a me*.

Ver. 18: מָוֶת יְהַלֶּלֶךָּ. 'For the grave cannot praise thee: death can[not] celebrate thee. לֹא is not expressed in the Hebrew, but is properly supplied from the preceding member of the verse in the Authorised Version. See ch. xxiii. 4, xxviii. 27; Prov. xxv. 27; Job xxx. 20.

Ver. 21, 22. These two verses form a natural part of the narrative, 2 Kings xx. 7, 8, but appear out of their place here; and Capellus, Vogel, Lowth, and Rosenmüller consider them as interpolated from 2 Kings xx. Dathe thinks differently: 'Supplet propheta quædam quæ ad historiam ante narratam pertinent, pertinet hoc ad ὑστερολογίας exempla, quibus vide sis Glassii Phil. Sacr., p. 670.' It may be remarked that these verses are retained in all the versions of Walton's Polyglott, and in all the collated MSS.: therefore, however unsuitable they may appear in their present position, there is no sufficient authority for striking them out.

The modern English versions to which we have referred are Bishop Lowth's, Mr. Jenour's, and Dr. Henderson's. No Hebrew scholar would now venture to defend Bishop Lowth's *conjectural* emendations of the original text. On referring to Mr. Jenour's critical notes on this prayer, we do not find that he has thrown any light on the more difficult passages. Ver. 10 he translates בדמי, 'in the prime,' but gives no authority. Ver. 13, he adopts Bishop Lowth's conjectural reading of שָׁוִיתִי for שִׁוִּיתִי. Ver. 15, he gives to אֶדַּדֶּה the sense of 'to think,' 'to meditate,' which is also a mere conjecture. Ver. 16, he proposes to read יְחִי for יִחְיוּ, בָּהֶם for בָּהֵן, and תְּחַיֵּנִי for חַיֵּנִי. Of these conjectural emendations one only, בהם for בהן, is supported by a few of Kennicott's MSS.: the rest are mere conjectures, neither supported by authorities, nor required by the context.

To Dr. Henderson we are indebted for the best English version of Isaiah. Profoundly versed in Oriental literature, possessed of taste and judgment, he has collected the most valuable notes of the

[e] Schrœderi, Institutiones ad Fundamenta Linguæ Hebrææ, p. 228. See Schrœder de Syntaxi verborum, R. 82.

best critics. It would, however, have been more satisfactory to those who love the English Bible in its ancient, venerable language, if he had shown a greater reluctance to change the words of the Authorised Version, in those passages where no such change is necessary.

In translating passages of acknowledged difficulty, we cannot expect that our readers will always agree with us. The most eminent critics often differ in opinion: but we trust that no changes have been made in the Authorised Version but on mature consideration, and with the support of competent authorities.

THE PRAYER OF HEZEKIAH.

ISAIAH, CHAP. XXXVIII. 9-22.

The Authorised Version, corrected from the Hebrew, and restored to poetical arrangement.

9. The writing of Hezekiah, king of Judah, when he had been sick, and was recovered of his sickness.

10. I said in the noontide of my days,
I shall go to the gates of the grave:
I am deprived of the residue of my years.

11. I said, I shall not see JAH:
JAH in the land of the living.
I shall behold man no more with the inhabitants of the world.

12. My habitation is departed, and is removed from me, like a shepherd's tent:
I have cut off, like a weaver, my life:
He will sever me from the loom:
From day *even* to night wilt thou make an end of me.

13. I compose myself till the morning,
Then, like a lion, he breaketh all my bones:
From day even to night wilt thou make an end of me.

14. Like a crane *or* a swallow so did I chatter:
I did mourn as a dove.
Mine eyes fail with *looking* upwards;
I am oppressed—undertake for me.

15. What shall I say? He hath spoken of me, and himself hath done *it*.
I will walk humbly all my years because of the bitterness of my soul.

16. O Jehovah, by these ***things men*** live:
And in all these *things is* the life of my spirit:
So wilt thou recover me and make me to live.

17. Behold! for peace I had great bitterness,
But thou hast, in love to my soul, *delivered it* from the pit of corruption.
Thou hast cast all my sins behind thy back.

18. For the grave cannot praise thee:
Death can*not* celebrate thee:
They that go down to the pit cannot hope for thy truth.

19. The living—the living he shall praise thee, as I do this day:
The father to the children shall make known thy truth.

20. Jehovah ***was ready*** to save me:
Therefore will we sing my songs to the stringed instruments
All the days of our life in the house of Jehovah.

21. For Isaiah had said, Let them take a lump of figs, and lay *it* for a plaister upon the boil, and he shall recover?

22. Hezekiah also had said, which *is* the sign that I shall go up to the house of Jehovah?[d]

Helstone. J. R.

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[d] The 9th, 21st, and 22nd verses are prose.

WHAT IS THE TRUE MEANING OF THE WORD FAITH ?[a]

By M. GUIZOT.

One of the questions which theology has oftenest debated,—the foremost, perhaps, at least in this sense, that it serves for a prologue to all others,—is the eternal antithesis of reason and faith. From the powerlessness of reason and the necessity of faith, certain writers make the point of departure and the termination of their works. The same idea at this time inspires and fills almost entirely a multitude of religious writings, whose object is to invoke faith, not to regulate, but to oppress the reason. I shall not pretend to treat this question in all its extent, as it involves the entire problem of human nature and knowledge. I wish, in fact, rather to investigate the real and natural acceptation of the word *faith*, so powerful and so mysterious, and exercising such a different empire over the soul of man, sometimes illuminating, and sometimes misleading it;—here, the source of the most wonderful actions; there, the veil thrown over the basest designs. I wish to ascertain, if, according to plain language and the common thought of mankind, there is, in reality, that opposition and incompatibility which certain writers endeavour to institute between faith and reason, between science and faith. Such an examination is, perhaps, the best means of solving the question which lies concealed under these terms,—of obtaining from them, at least, glimpses of the solution.

No one can doubt that the word faith (foi)[b] has an especial meaning, which is not properly represented by *belief* (*croyance*), *conviction* (*conviction*), or *certitude* (*certitude*). Custom and universal opinion confirm this view. There are many simple and customary phrases in which the worth *faith* (*foi*) could not be replaced by any other. Almost all languages have a specially appropriated word[c] to express that which in French is expressed by *foi*, and which is essentially different from all analogous words.

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[a] Translated from 'Méditations et Études Morales, par M. Guizot. 2de édition. Paris'

[b] I hardly need say that I use the word faith (foi) here in the sense of belief (croyance), and not that of *faithfulness* (fidélité); that I speak of true *faith*—the *faith* which saves—and not of *good*, or *bad*, faith. Although these two acceptations have the same origin, and are related to each other, yet are they entirely distinct.

[c] In Greek νομίζειν, πιστεύειν; in Latin, *sententia*, *fides*; in Italian, *credenza*, *fede*; in English, *faith*, *belief*; in German (if I mistake not), *glauben*.

This word, then, corresponds to a certain state of the human soul;—it expresses a moral fact which has rendered such a word necessary.

We commonly understand by *faith* (foi) a certain belief of facts and dogmas—religious facts and dogmas. In fact, the word has no other sense when, employing it absolutely and by itself,—we speak of *the faith*.

That is not, however, its unique, nor even its fundamental sense; it has one more extensive, and from which the religious sense is derived. We say: 'I have full *faith* in your words; this man has *faith* in himself, in his power, &c.' This employment of the word in civil matters, so to speak, has become more frequent in our days: it is not, however, of modern invention; nor have religious ideas ever been an exclusive sphere, out of which the notion, and the word, *faith*, were without application.

It is, then, proved by the testimony of language and common opinion, First, that the word *faith* designates a certain interior state of him who believes, and not merely a certain kind of belief that it proceeds from the very nature of conviction, and not from its object. Secondly, that it is, however, to a certain species of belief—religious belief—that it has been at first, and most generally, applied.

Thus, the sense of the word has been special, in fact and in its origin, although it is not fundamentally so; or rather, the occasion of the employment of the word has been special, although its sense is not so.

It would but be a fact without importance, and sufficiently common in the history of the formation of languages and ideas, if the true and general sense of the word *faith* was reproduced entire in its special employment; but it has been otherwise. The speciality of the usual acceptation of the word has profoundly obscured the general sense; the true notion of *faith* has undergone an alteration under the notion of *religious faith*. And from this disagreement between the historical senses, so to speak, and the philosophical sense of the term, have resulted the obscurity of the moral fact which it expresses, and the greater part of the errors to which it has given place.

In truth, the words which express an interior disposition,—a certain state of the human soul,—have almost always a fixed and identical sense, which is independent of the interior object to which the disposition refers, and of the external cause which produced it. Thus, men *love* different objects;—they have contrary *certitudes*;—but the words *love*, *certitude*, in ordinary language and common life, do not less preserve, always and for all, the same sense; their general acceptation remains and prevails, whatever

be the speciality of their employment; and the passions, interests, and errors of those who make use of them, do not want, nor have they the power to alter it.

The destiny of the word *faith* has been different. Almost exclusively applied to religious subjects, what changes its sense has undergone, and still undergoes every day!

Men who teach and preach a religion, a doctrine, or a religious reformation, in making their appeal with all the energy of the freed human spirit, produce in their followers an entire, profound, and powerful conviction of the truth of their doctrine. This conviction is called *faith;* neither masters nor disciples, nor even enemies, refuse it this appellation.

Faith, then, is but a profound and imperious conviction of a religious dogma; it matters but little whether it has come in the way of reasoning, or controversy, or of free and liberal investigation: that which characterises it, and gives it a claim to be called *faith*, is its energy, and the dominion it exercises, by this title, over the entire man. Such has been at all times—in the sixteenth century for example—the faith of great reformers and their most illustrious disciples, Calvin after Luther, and Knox after Calvin, &c.

The same men have presented the same doctrine to persons whom they were not able to convince by methods of reasoning, examination, or science; to women and to multitudes incapable of long reflection: they have made their appeals to the imagination, to the moral affections, and to the susceptibility of being moved and of believing through emotion. And they have given the name of *faith* to the result of this work, as to that of a work essentially intellectual, of which I spake just now. Faith has become a religious conviction which was not acquired by reasoning, and which took its rise in the sensuous[d] faculties of man. This is the idea which mystic sects attach to faith.

The appeal to man's sensuous nature, and the resulting emotion, have not always sufficed to bring forth this faith. Other sources have then been appealed to. They have enjoined practices, and imposed habits. It is absolutely necessary that a man should, sooner or later, attach ideas to his actions, and that he should attribute a certain meaning to that which produces in him a certain effect. The practices and habits have conducted the mind to the beliefs from which they themselves were derived. A

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[d] [So I render *sensible*. The poverty of the English language is felt by all readers and translators of continental works on mental philosophy. Some of our best writers, for example, perpetually use the word *reason* to express both the *faculty* and its *results*. Archbishop Whateley remarks that Locke perpetually confounds reason with *reasoning*.—TRANSLATOR.]

new faith has appeared, which has had for its principal and dominant characteristic submission of the mind to an authority invested with a right to regulate the thoughts whilst governing the lips.

In short, neither the free exercise of the intelligence, nor the sentiment, nor practices, have elsewhere succeeded in producing faith. We have said that it is not communicated, and that it is not in the power of man to give it, nor to acquire it by his own peculiar endeavours; that it demands the interposition of God,—the action of grace;—grace has become the preliminary condition, and the definitive characteristic of faith.

Thus by turns the word faith expresses:—

1stly. A conviction acquired by the free labour of the human mind.

2ndly. A conviction obtained by means of the *sensitivity*[e] (sensibilité), and without the concurrence, often even against the authority, of the reason.

3rdly. A conviction acquired by the very submission of the man to a power which has received from on high the right to command.

4thly. A conviction wrought by superhuman means,—by divine grace.

And according as the one or the other of these different *faiths*, if we may speak so, has prevailed, religion, philosophy, government, and the whole of society, have been observed to vary, simultaneously and by a necessary correspondence.

How has the same word been able to subserve so many different, and even contradictory acceptations? What is that mysterious fact which presents itself to minds under such different aspects? Has the necessity of legitimating the fundamental principle, and the system of the government of different religious beliefs, alone caused the variation of the notion of *faith?* or rather, do all these definitions correspond, on some one side, with that state of the human soul; and have they no other irregularity than that of being partial and exclusive?

These are questions which cannot be solved, so long as men persist, as they have done to this day, in characterising faith by its causes, or its external effects. It is in itself that the fact must be considered; we must search out what is the state of mind where faith reigns, independently of its origin, and its object.

Two kinds of beliefs co-exist in man:—the one, which I will not call innate—an inexact and justly-debated expression—but

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[e] [Mr. Tappan, an able American writer on metaphysics, has introduced or imitated this word, and it appears sufficiently expressive.—Translator.]

natural and spontaneous, which germinate and establish themselves in his mind, if not without his knowledge, at least without the co-operation of his reflection and will, by the development solely of his nature, and the influence of that external world in the midst of which his life is spent. The others,—laborious and learned, the fruit of voluntary study, and of the power which a man has, whether to direct all his faculties towards an especial object with the design of knowing it, or of reflecting upon himself, and of perceiving that which passes within him—and of giving himself an account of it, and thus of acquiring, by an act of the will and reflection, a science which he possessed not before, although the facts which it has for its object subsist equally under his eyes, or within him.

That there is *moral good* and *evil*, and that man is bound to avoid the evil, and to fulfil the good—this is a natural, primitive, and universal belief. Man is so constituted that it develops itself in him spontaneously, by the course merely of his life, from the first appearance of the facts to which it must apply itself, very long before he could know himself, and could be able to *know* that he *believed*. Once originated, this belief acts on the soul of man almost as the blood circulates in his veins, without his willing it, and without his thinking of it. The greater part of mankind have never given it a name, nor formed for themselves a general and distinct idea of it: it does not however the less subsist in them, revealing itself every time that the occasion presents itself, by an action, a judgment, or a simple emotion. Human morality is a fact which does not stand in need of human science to throw light upon it.

Like every other fact, this also can become a matter of science. The moral being beholds itself, and studies itself: it renders account to itself of the principle of its actions, judgments, and moral sentiments: it assists at the spectacle of its own nature, and pretends not only to know, but to govern it, according to its acquired knowledge. Naturally and spontaneously, belief in the distinction of moral good and evil thus becomes reflective and scientific. Man remains the same: but he was self-ignorant, and acted simply according to his nature: nevertheless he knows himself, and his science presides over his action.

This is but an example; I could cite a thousand others of the same kind. Man carries within himself a multitude of beliefs of which he has the consciousness, but not the science: which external facts awaken in him, though they have never been the chosen objects, and the special aim of his thoughts. It is by beliefs of this kind that the human race is enlightened and guided; they abound in the spirit of the most meditative philosophy, and direct

it oftener than the reflective convictions to which it has arrived. Divine wisdom has not delivered over the soul and life of man to the hazards of human science; it has not condemned it to expect all its intellectual riches from its own proper work. It is—it lives; that is enough: by this sole title, and by the progressive development of this fact alone, it will possess lights indispensable for guiding its life, and for the accomplishment of its destiny. It can aspire higher; it can elevate itself to the science of the world, and of itself; and, by the aid of science, can exercise over the world and itself a power analogous to creative power. But then it will be required that it should only build on the primitive foundation which it has received from Providence; for just as all natural and spontaneous belief can become scientific, so all scientific conviction received its source and its point of support in natural belief.

Of these two kinds of belief, which merits the name of *faith?*

It appears, at first sight, that this name agrees perfectly with natural and spontaneous beliefs; they are exempt from doubts and disquietude; they direct man in his judgments and actions with an imperial authority which he does not dream of eluding or contesting; they are natural, sure, practical, and sovereign. Who does not recognize in all this the characteristics of *faith?*

Faith has in effect these characteristics; but it has also others which are wanting to natural beliefs. Almost unknown by the very man whom they direct, they are for him, in a certain way, as external laws, which he has received, but not appropriated, and which he obeys by instinct, but without having given to them an intimate and personal assent. They suffice for the wants of his life; they guide, warn, urge on, or restrain him, but without, so to speak, his own concurrence with them, and without awakening within him the sentiment of an interior, energetic, and powerful activity; and without procuring for him the profound joy of contemplating, loving, and adoring the truth which reigns over him. *Faith* has this power. It is not science, still less is it ignorance. The mind which is penetrated by it has never, perhaps, rendered, and perhaps never will render, an account of the idea which has obtained its faith; but it knows that it believes it; it is before it, present and living; it is no longer a general belief, a law of human nature, which governs the moral man, as the laws of gravity govern bodies; it is a personal conviction, a truth which the moral individual has appropriated to himself by contemplation, by free obedience and love. From that time this truth does much more than suffice for his life; it satisfies his soul; and still more than directing, it enlightens it. It is surprising how men live under the dominion of this natural belief,

that there is moral good or evil, without our being able to say that it has their faith! It is in them as a master to whom they belong and whom they obey, but without seeing him, and without loving or rendering him homage. That any cause whatever, revealing, so to speak, the consciousness to itself, should draw and fix their regards upon this law of their nature; that they acknowledge and accept it, as their legitimate sovereign; that their understanding should honour itself in contemplating it, and their liberty in obeying it; that they should conceive of their soul, if I may speak so, as a hearth where truth concentrates itself to spread from thence its light, or, as the sanctuary where God deigns to dwell; all this is more than simple and natural belief—it is *faith*.

The difference between these two states of the soul is so real and so profound, that it has been at all times, and still is, one of the principal sources of the diversity of religions and the division of churches. The one is principally applied to spread, or to maintain, general beliefs, fixed, and incorporated, in some way, in the habits and practices of life: in short analogous, by the mode of their influence, to those irreflective and almost instinctive beliefs whereof God has made the moral condition of the human race. The others have had, above all, to awaken for the heart and in the soul of each individual, a personal and intimate belief, which should give him a lively feeling of his own intellectual activity and liberty, and which he might consider as his own peculiar treasure. The former have marched, so to speak, torch in hand at the head of nations; the latter have sought to place within each man movement and light. Neither the one nor the other tendency ever could become exclusive; there have been facts—beliefs profoundly individual in religions, which least of all provoke their development; there are, also, men governed by general and legal beliefs, external, in some sense, to their soul, in religions the most favourable to the interior life of the individual. It is not the less true, that, at all times, one or the other of these tendencies has ruled in various religions; and not only in various religions, but, by turns, in the same religion at various epochs of its existence; so that the difference of the two corresponding states of the soul, and the character of that to which truly the name of *faith* belongs, are clearly imprinted in the history of humanity.

Reflective and scientific beliefs, on the contrary, have this in common with faith, that they are profoundly individual, and give a lively feeling of interior and voluntary activity. Nothing belongs more to the individual than his science; he knows where it commenced, and how it has become enlarged, and what means

and efforts have been used to acquire it; and what it has added, so to speak, to his intellectual worth, and to the extent of his existence. But if, by that means, scientific beliefs are nearer to faith than natural and irreflective beliefs, yet, on other sides, they remain much further removed from them, and from the first they are confined to doubt and uncertainty. They measure, and almost admit, various degrees of probability; and even when they are confident of their legitimacy, they do not deny that they can be modified and even overturned by a wider and more exact science,—whilst the most entire and immoveable certitude is the fundamental characteristic of faith. All science is felt to be bounded and incomplete; every man who studies, whatever be the object of his study, however advanced and assured he himself may be of his own knowledge, knows that he has not reached the boundary of his career, and that for him, as for every other, fresh efforts will lead to fresh progress. *Faith*, on the contrary, is in its own eyes a complete and finished belief; and if it should appear that something yet remains for it to acquire, it would not be faith. It has nothing progressive,—it excludes all idea that anything is wanting, and judges itself to be in full possession of the truth which is its object. From thence proceeds a vast inequality of power between the different kinds of conviction; faith, freed from all intellectual labour and from all study (since, so far as knowledge is concerned, it is complete), turns all the force of its possessor towards action. As soon as he becomes penetrated by it, only one task remains for his accomplishment—that of causing the idea which has taken possession of his faith to reign and to be realized without. The history of religions—of all religions—proves, at each step, this expansive and practical energy of belief, with which the characters of faith have been converted. It displays itself even on occasions when in no way it appears provoked or sustained by the moral importance or the visible grandeur of results.

I could cite a singular example of it. In the course of our Revolution, the theoretical and actual superiority of the new system of weights and measures quickly became for some men, who were the subordinate servants of an administration charged with establishing it, a complete and imperious truth to which nothing could be objected, added, or refused. They pursued from that time its triumphs with an ardour, an obstinacy, and sometimes a prodigious devotion. I have known a public officer, who, more than twenty years after the birth of the system, and when no one scarcely dreamed of disturbing himself any more about it, gave himself up, day and night, to extraordinary labours, letters, instructions, and verifications, which his superiors did not

demand, and which he had often great trouble in causing to be adopted, in order to accelerate its extension and strength. The new system of weights and measures was for this man the object of a true faith; he would reproach himself for his repose, whilst anything remained to be done for its success. Scientific beliefs, even when they would admit of immediate application, rarely carry a man so to struggle against the outer world as to reduce it under his dominion. When the human mind is, above all, pre-occupied with the design or the pleasure of knowledge, it there concentrates and, so to speak, exhausts itself; and there remains for it neither desires nor powers to be otherwise employed. Scientific beliefs, accustomed to doubts, to groping in darkness, and to contempts, hesitate to command: without efforts and without anger, they make their appeals to ignorance, uncertainty, and even error, and scarcely know how to propagate themselves, or to act, but by methods which conduct to science; that is to say, by inciting to meditation and study, they proceed too slowly to be able to exercise outwardly an extensive and actual power.

Perhaps, also, the very origin of scientific beliefs might be counted amongst the causes which deprive them of that empire, and that confidence in action and command, which is the general characteristic of faith. It is to himself that man owes his science; it is his own work, the fruit of his own labour, and the reward of his own merit. Perhaps, even in the midst of the pride which such a conquest often inspires, a secret warning feeling comes over him, that, in claiming and exercising authority in the name of his science, it is to the reason and the understanding of one man that he pretends to subjugate men,—a feeble and doubtful title to great power; and which, at the moment of action, can certainly, without their own consciousness, cast into the soul of the proudest some timidity. Nothing like this is met with in *faith*. However profoundly individual it is, from the time it has entered into the heart of man, it signifies not by what means, it banishes all idea of a conquest which can be his own, or of a discovery the glory of which he can attribute to himself. He is no longer occupied with himself; wholly absorbed by the truth which he believes, no personal sentiment any longer raises itself with his knowledge, excepting the sentiment of the happiness it procures for him, and of the mission it imposes upon him. The learned man is the conqueror and the inventor of his science; the *believer* is the agent and the servant of his faith. It is not in the name of his own superiority, but in the name of that truth to which he has yielded himself, that the believer claims obedience. Charged to procure for it sovereignty, he bears himself, in reference to it, with a passionate disinterested-

ness; and this persuasion impresses upon his language and upon his acts, a confidence and authority, with which the proudest science would in vain endeavour to invest itself. Let us consider how different is the pride which is produced by science, from that which accompanies faith: the one is scornful and full of personality: the other is imperious and full of blindness. The learned man isolates himself from those who do not comprehend what he knows; the believer pursues with his indignation or his pity those who do not yield themselves to what he believes. The first desires personal distinction; the other desires that all should unite themselves under the law of the master whom he serves. What can this variety of the same fault import, excepting that the learned man beholds himself and reckons himself, in his science; whilst the believing man forgets and abdicates himself in favour of his faith? It is further necessary to explain how the same idea, the same doctrine, can remain cold and inactive in the hands of the learned man, and without any practical use even in men whose understanding it has illuminated; whilst, in the hands of the believer, it can become communicative, expansive, and an energetic principle of action and power.

Faith does not, then, enter exclusively either into the one or the other of these two kinds of beliefs, which, at first sight, appear to share the soul of man. It partakes of, and at the same time differs from, natural and scientific beliefs. It is, like the latter, individual and particular: like the former, it is firm, complete, active, and sovereign. Considered in itself, and independent of all comparison with this or that analogous condition, faith is the full security of the man in the possession of his belief; a possession freed as much from labour as from doubt; in the midst of which every thought of the path by which it has been reached disappears, and leaves no other sentiment but that of the natural and pre-established harmony between the human mind and truth. As soon as faith exists, all search after truth ceases; man considers himself to have arrived at his object; his belief is no longer for him anything but a source of enjoyments and precepts; it satisfies his understanding and governs his life, bestows upon him repose, and regulates and absorbs, without extinguishing, his intellectual activity; and directs his liberty without destroying it. Is he disposed to contemplation? his faith opens an illimitable field for his thoughts; they can run over it in all directions, and without fatigue, for he is no longer vexed by the necessity of reaching the object, and discovering the path to it; he has touched the boundary, and has nothing more to do but to cultivate, at his leisure, a world which belongs to him. Is he called to action? He throws himself wholly into it, sure of never wanting impulse and

guidance, tranquil and animated, urged on and sustained by the double force of duty and passion. For the man, in short, being penetrated by faith, and within the sphere which is its object, the understanding and the will have no more problems to solve, and no more interior obstacles to surmount: he feels himself to be in the full possession of the truth for enlightening and guiding him, and of himself for acting according to the truth.

But if such is the state of the human soul, if *faith* differs essentially from other kinds of belief, it is evident at the same time that neither natural nor scientific beliefs have anything which excludes faith; that both one and the other can invest their characters with it; and, further still, that either one or the other is always the foundation on which faith supports itself, or the path which leads to it.

See a man in whom the idea of God has never been but a vague and spontaneous belief—the simple result of a course of life and of external circumstances—an idea which holds a place in his mind and conduct, but on which he has never fallen back and fixed his intellectual regards, and which he has never appropriated to himself by an act of voluntary and briefly-sustained reflection. Let any cause whatsoever—as a great danger or sorrow—strike him with a powerful emotion, and present to him the misery of his condition and the weakness of his nature, and awaken within him this need of superior succour—this instinct of prayer, often lulled to sleep, but never extinguished in the heart of man. All at once the idea of God, till then abstract, cold, and proud, will appear to this man, living, urgent, and particular;—it has attached itself to him with ardour—it will penetrate into all his thoughts—his belief will become faith; and Pascal will be borne out when he said, 'faith is God sensibly realised by the heart.'

Another has lived in submission to religious practices, without having associated with them any truly personal conviction; as an infant, others might make a law for him; as master of himself, he has retained the habit of obedience, docile to a fact rather than attached to a duty, and not dreaming of penetrating further into the sense of the rule than to verify its authority. A time has arrived when occasions and temptations to offend against this law have presented themselves; a contest has arisen between the habits and tastes, between the desires, and, perhaps, the passions. What this person could practise without thought has now become a subject of reflection, anxiety, and inward sorrow. To preserve its empire, it becomes necessary that the rule, until then mistress only of the exterior life of the man, should penetrate and establish itself within his soul. It has succeeded in that; and to remain true to his practices, he has been required to make sacrifices for

them ; and he has made them. The state of his soul is changed : habit is converted into conviction ; practice into duty ; and observance into moral want. In the day of trial, the long submission to a general rule, and to a power clothed with the right to prescribe, has brought forth a particular and individual adhesion of *thought* and *will*—that is to say, what was wanting to faith.

For scientific beliefs this transition to the state of faith is more difficult and more rare. Even when by meditation, reasoning, and study, any one has attained to conviction, he remains nearly always occupied with the labour which has conducted to it, his long uncertainties, the deviations by which he has been misled, and the false steps he has made. He has arrived at his object, but the remembrance of the route is present to him, with all its embarrassments, accidents, and chances. He has come into the presence of light, but the impression of the darkness, and the dubious lights he has crossed, are yet present to his thoughts. In vain his conviction is entire ; there are yet to be discovered traces of the labour which has presided over its formation. It wants simplicity and confidence. There is a certain fatigue connected with it, which enervates its practical virtue and fruitfulness. He finds trouble in forgetting and overthrowing the scaffolding of the science, in order that the truth, of which it is the object, may wholly belong to his nature. We might say, the butterfly is restrained by the shell in which it was born, and from which it is not fully disengaged.

Nevertheless, although the difficulty is great, it is not insurmountable. More than once, for the glory of humanity, man, by the force of his intelligence and scientific meditations, has reached to beliefs, to which there has been wanting none of the characteristics of faith—neither fullness nor certainty of conviction, nor the forgetfulness of personality, nor expansive and practical power, nor the pure and profound enjoyments of contemplation. Who would refuse to recognise in the belief of the most illustrious stoics in the sovereignty of moral good—in Cleanthes, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius—a true faith? And was not the religious faith of the principal reformers, or reformed, of the sixteenth century—Zwingle, Melancthon, Duplessis Mornay—the fruit of study and science, as well as the philosophical doctrines of Descartes and Leibnitz? And lately, under the idea that falsehood is the source of all the vices of man, and that, at no price, in no moment, and for no cause, can it be necessary to swerve from the truth, did not Kant arrive, by a long series of meditations, to a conviction perfectly analogous to faith? The analogy was such, that the day when his certainty of the principle became complete and definite constituted an epoch in his memory and life, as others call to mind

the event or the emotion which has changed the condition of the soul; so that, dating from that day, according to his own testimony, he lived constantly in the presence and under the empire of this idea; just as a Christian lives in the presence, and under the empire, of the faith from which he expects salvation.

Reflective and scientific beliefs can be converted into faith: the difficulties of the transformation are much greater, and the success much more rare, than when natural and spontaneous beliefs are concerned. Nevertheless, the transformation of science into faith can be, and sometimes is, accomplished; and if more frequently science stops far short of faith, it is not because there exists something opposed and irreconcileable in their nature, but because faith is placed at the boundary of that course, which science is not in a condition wholly, and of itself, to accomplish.

Nevertheless, it is easy, if I mistake not, to observe the fault of these theories which I enumerated at the commencement, and which men and the world so ardently dispute. It is their fundamental error that they have not regarded *faith* in itself, and as a special state of the human mind, but in the mode of its formation. They have been thus induced to assign for its essential and exclusive characteristic such and such origins, from which it is possible that faith may be derived, not admitting it as legitimate however, or even real, but when it had a certain especial power; and rejecting and denying all faith when derived from a different source, although it should place the soul of man in the same disposition, and produce the same effects. It is true that faith often receives its origin from an emotion, as the mystics contend; but it is also produced by submission to authority, as the Roman Catholic doctors with reason say; and also from reflection, science, and a full and free exercise of the human understanding, although both the one and the other refuse their assent to this. In his liberal wisdom God has offered more than one way for arriving at that happy state when, tranquil at length in the possession of his belief, man dreams of nothing but of enjoying and obeying what he regards as the truth. There is faith in knowledge, since it has truth for its object; and man can reach it by the faculties which he has received for *knowing*. There is also love in faith; for man cannot see the fulness of truth without loving it. The sensuous faculties and the emotions of the soul are sufficient to engender faith. In short, in faith there are respect and submission; for truth commands, at the same time as it charms and enlightens. Faith can be the sincere and pure submission to a power which is regarded as the depository of truth. Thus the variety of the origins of faith, of which human pride would make a principle of exclusion and privilege, is a benefit bestowed by the

divine will, which, so to speak, had placed faith within reach of all, in permitting it to take its origin from each of the moral elements which constitute faith—namely, *knowledge*, *submission*, and *love*.

As for those who, rejecting every kind of explanation and origin of faith merely human, will see nothing in it but the direct and actual interposition of God and especial grace, their notion, if apparently more strange, is at bottom more natural; for it touches the problems which do not belong to man to solve. In the external and material world, when a powerful, sudden, and unexpected phenomenon appears, which, at a stroke, changes the face of things, and seems not to attach itself to their ordinary course, nor to explain itself by their anterior state, man instantly refers it to a real and particular act of the will of the Master of the World. The presence of God can alone explain for man that which strikes his imagination and escapes his reason; and he there assigns an especial and immediate act of God, where science and experience cannot reach. Thus the thunderbolt, the tempest, earthquakes, vast floods, concussions, and extraordinary revolutions of the globe, have been taken for signs and effects of the direct action of God, up to the time when man has discovered for them a place and an explanation in the general course of facts and their laws. The same want and the same inclination rule man in the ideas he has formed about the interior world, and the phenomena of which he himself is the theatre and the witness. When a great change and moral revolution have been accomplished in his soul; when he perceives himself to be illuminated by a light, and warmed by a fire, hitherto unknown: he has taken no notice of the mysterious progress, the slow and concealed action of ideas, sentiments, and influences, which were probably for a long time preparing him for this state. He cannot attribute it to an act of his own will; and he knows not how, so to speak, to trace back the course of his interior life for the purpose of discovering its origin. He refers it, therefore, to a divine will, special and actual; grace alone could have produced this revolution in his soul, for he himself did not make it, nor does he know how it was produced. The birth of faith, above all when it proceeds from natural and irreflective beliefs which pass, without the intervention of science, to this new state, often bears this character of a sudden revolution, unforeseen and obscure for him who undergoes it. It is, then, very plain that the idea of the direct interposition of God has been invoked on this occasion. In the sense which people have commonly attributed to this idea, it withdraws itself and retires, here as elsewhere, before a more attentive study, and a more complete knowledge of facts, their connection, and their laws. We are led

to acknowledge that this state of the soul, which is called *faith*, is the development—differently conducted, sometimes sudden and sometimes progressive, but always natural—of certain anterior facts, with which, although essentially distinct, it is attached by an intimate and necessary tie. But supposing this recognised, and faith thus conducted to the place which belongs to it in the general and regular course of moral phenomena, a grand question always remains, the question lying hid at the bottom of grace, and which indirectly this doctrine attempts to solve. In ceasing to see God in the tempest and thunder, narrow and weak minds figure to themselves that they shall no more meet with Him, and that they shall nowhere any more have need of Him. But the First Cause hovers over all second causes, and over all facts and their laws. When all the secrets of the universe shall have unveiled themselves to human science, the universe will yet be a secret to it; and God appears to withdraw Himself from before it but to invite and constrain it to elevate itself more and more towards Himself. In the science of the moral world the same thing happens: when people shall have ceased every moment to invoke grace and grace alone, to explain faith, it will always remain to be learnt what power presides over the life of the soul; how truth reveals itself to man, who is unable either to seize or reject it, according to his own will; from whence comes that fire whose hearth is evidently external to himself; what relations and communications exist between God and man; what, in short, in the interior life of the human soul, is the share of its own activity and freedom, and what it must attribute to that action which proceeds from without, and to that influence from on high which the pride or the levity of the human mind endeavours not to know. This is the grand problem, the problem that presents itself the moment we touch that point where the things of earth and man are joined to that higher order on which man and the earth so clearly depend. The doctrine of grace is one of the attempts of the human mind to solve it. The solution, at least in my opinion, is beyond the limits assigned to human knowledge.

I have endeavoured to determine with precision what faith is in itself, independently of its object; I have laid down the characteristics of this state of the soul, and the different paths by which man can be conducted to it, whatever may be, so to speak, its *materials*. By this means we may be able to succeed in ascertaining the true nature of faith, and in bringing it into clearer light, disengaging from every foreign element the moral fact concealed under this name. I hasten to add, nevertheless, that this moral fact is not produced indifferently in all cases; that all human beliefs, whether natural or scientific, are not equally sus-

ceptible of passing from the condition of faith; and that, in the vast field where human thought is exercised, there are objects especially calculated to awaken a conviction of this kind, to become materials for faith.

This is a fact which is attested even by the history of the word, and which I noticed at the beginning; its common acceptation is also special. At first sight it seems to be exclusively consecrated to religious belief; and, although it lends itself to other uses, and, although, even in our own days, its sphere seems to be enlarged, it is evident that, in a multitude of cases where it is concerned (for example, with geography, botany, technology, &c.), the word *faith* is out of place; that is to say, the moral state to which this word corresponds is not produced by such subjects.

As faith has its peculiar interior characteristics, so it has also its exterior necessary conditions; and it is distinguished from other modes of belief of man, not only by its nature, but by its object.

But what are the conditions, and what is the external sphere of faith?

Up to a certain point we can determine, and catch glimpses of them, from the very nature of this state of the soul, and its effects. A belief so complete, so accomplished, that all intellectual labour seems to have reached its termination, and that man, wholly united with the truth of which he thinks himself to be in possession, loses all thought of the path which has conducted him to it: so powerful, that it takes possession of the exterior activity, as well as of the human mind, and makes submission in all things to its empire a passionate necessity, as well as a duty; an intellectual state, which can be the fruit, not only of the exercise of the reason, but also of a powerful emotion, and of a long submission to certain practices, and in the midst of which, when it has been once developed, the three grand human faculties are actively employed, and at the same time satisfied—the *sensibility*, the *intelligence*, and the *will*:—Such a condition of soul, and such a belief, demand in some sort occasions worthy of it, and must be produced by subjects which embrace the entire man, and put into play all his faculties, and answer to all the demands of his moral nature, and have a right, in turn, to his devotedness.

Intellectual beauty, and practical importance, appear then, *à priori*, to be the characteristics of the ideas proper for becoming the materials of faith. An idea which should present itself as true, but at the same time without arresting by the extent and the gravity of its consequences, would produce certitude; but *faith* would not spring from it. And so practical merit,—the usefulness of an idea,—would not suffice for begetting faith; it must also draw attention by the pure beauty of truth. In other

words, in order that a simple belief, natural or scientific, should become *faith*, it is necessary that its object should be able to procure the pleasures of activity, as well as of contemplation, that it may awaken within, the double sentiment of its high origin and power; in short, that it should present itself before man's eyes as the mediator between the moral and the ideal world—as the missionary charged with modelling the one on the other, and of uniting them.

Facts fully confirm these inductions drawn from the mere nature of the moral phenomenon I am studying. Whether we regard the history of the human race, or whether we penetrate into the soul of the individual, we see faith throughout applying itself to objects in which the two aforesaid conditions are united. And if sometimes the one or the other of these conditions is wanting; if, on some occasions, the object of faith should appear in itself denuded of ideal beauty or practical importance, we may hold it for certain, that it is not so in the thought of the believer. He will have soon discovered from the truth which is the object of his faith, consequences and applications which for others are obscure and distant, but for him clear and infallible: by-and-bye, his ideas, which appear to have but one aim and one useful merit, will be elevated in his mind to the rank of a disinterested theory, and will possess in his eyes all the dignity and all the charm of truth. It is possible that the believer is deceived, and that he exaggerates the practical worth or intellectual beauty of his idea; but even his error, agreeing in this with the reason and experience of the whole human race, is but a new proof of the necessity of these two conditions for the production of faith.

We can understand, however, why the name of *faith* is almost the exclusive privilege of religious beliefs: they are, in fact, those whose object possesses in the highest degree the two characters which excite the development of faith. Many scientific notions are beautiful and fruitful in their application; political theories may forcibly strike the mind by the purity of their principles and the grandeur of their results; moral doctrines are yet more surely and generally invested with this twofold power; and either has often awoke faith in the soul of man. Nevertheless, in order to receive a clear and lively impression, sometimes of their intellectual beauty, and sometimes of their practical importance, there is almost always required a certain amount of science, or sagacity, or, at all events, a certain turn of public manners and the social state, which are not the portion of all men, nor of all times. Religious beliefs have no need of any such aids; they carry with themselves, and in their simple nature, their infallible means for effect. As soon as they penetrate into the heart of man, however

bounded in other respects may be the development of his intelligence, however rude and inferior may be his condition, they will appear to him as truths at once sublime and common, which are applicable to all the details of his earthly existence, and open for him those high regions, and those treasures of intellectual life, which, without their light, he would never have known: they exercise over him the charm of truth the most pure, and the empire of interest the most powerful. Can we be astonished that, as soon as they exist, their passage to the state of faith should be so rapid, and so general?

There is yet another reason more hidden, but not less decisive, and which I regret I can only refer to;—the object of religious beliefs is, in a certain and large measure, inaccessible to human science. It can verify their reality; it can reach even to the limits of this mysterious world, and assure itself that there are facts to which the destiny of man infallibly attaches itself; but it is not permitted to reach these facts themselves, so as to submit them to its examination. Struck by this impossibility, more than one philosopher has concluded that there was nothing in them, since reason could perceive nothing, and that religious beliefs address themselves but to the fancy. Others, blinded by their impotence, have tardily sprung forward towards the sphere of superhuman things, and, as though they had succeeded in penetrating into it, have described facts, solved problems, and assigned laws. It is difficult to say which mind is the most foolishly proud, that which maintains that what it cannot know, *is not*, or that which pretends to be capable of knowing all that *is*. Whatever may be the case, neither the one nor the other assertion has ever obtained for a single day the avowal of the human race; its instinct and practices have constantly disavowed the *nothing* of the incredulous, and the *confidence* of theologians. In spite of the first, it has persisted in believing in the existence of an unknown world, and in the reality of those relations which hold mankind united to it; and notwithstanding the power of the second, it has refused to admit that they have attained the object, and lifted the veil; and it has continued to agitate the same problems, and to pursue the same truths, as ardently and laboriously as at the first day, and as if nothing had yet been done.

See, then, what, in this respect, is the situation of man. Natural and spontaneous religious beliefs are produced in him, which, by reason of their object, tend at once towards the state of faith. They can arrive at it by means foreign to reasoning and science—by the emotions and by practices; and the transition is often thus actually brought about. One other way appears open

before man; religious beliefs naturally awaken within him the want of science, which not only desires to render an account of them, but aspires to go much further than they can conduct it, to know truly this world of mysteries, of which they afford it glimpses. Oftentimes, though, if I mistake not, wrongly, it flatters itself it has succeeded; and thus theology, or the science of divine things, is formed, which is the origin of that rational and learned faith, of which so many illustrious examples do not permit us to contest the reality. Often, also, man, by his own confession, fails in his enterprise; the science which he has pursued after resists his most skilful endeavours, and then he falls into doubt and confusion—he sees those natural and irreflective beliefs darkened, which served him for his starting-point; or, in fact, despairing of the variety of his attempts, and always tormented by the want of that faith which he has promised himself to establish by science, he returns to his early beliefs, and requires of them to conduct him to faith, without the help of science; that is to say, by the exaltation of his sensuous faculties, or by submission to a legal power, the depository of the truth, which his reason cannot seize.

Theology itself, from the moment when it announces itself as a science of the relations of God with man and the world, and presents to the human mind its solutions of the religious problems which besiege it, proclaims nothing less than that these problems are impenetrable mysteries, and that this science is interdicted to human reason; and that faith, born of love, submission, or grace, is alone able to open the understanding to truths, which, however, theologians undertake to reduce to systematic doctrine, in order to be able to teach, or demonstrate them to the reason. To such an extent does a feeling of the powerlessness of human science, in this matter, remain imprinted upon him in fact; although every where man appears to boast himself of having escaped it.

Thus, also, is explained that obscure physiognomy, if I may so express myself, which appears to be inherent in the word *faith*, and which has so often made it an object of a kind of distrust and dislike to strict and free minds. Frequent above all within the religious domain, and there oftentimes invoked by the powerful and learned, sometimes for the purpose of making up for the silence of the reason, and sometimes for the purpose of constraining the reason to be silent, faith has not been considered but under this point of view, nor judged but for the employment to which it lends itself on this occasion. People have concluded that this belief was essentially irrational, blind, and the fruit of ungoverned imaginations; or else imposed by force, or fraud, on the weakness or servility of the mind. If I have truly observed and described

the nature of that, which bears the name of *faith*, the error is evident. On the contrary, *faith* is the aim and boundary of human knowledge, the definite state to which man aspires in his progress towards truth. He begins his intellectual career with spontaneous and irreflective beliefs; at its termination is *faith*. There is more than one way—but none certain—for leaping over this interval; but it is only when it has been leaped over, and when belief has become *faith*, that man feels his nature to be fully satisfied, and gives himself up wholly to his mission. Legitimate faith, that is to say, that which is not mistaken in its object, and addresses itself really to the truth, is then the most elevated and most perfect state to which, in its actual condition, the human mind can arrive. But faith may be illegitimate; it may be the state of mind which error has produced. The chance of error (experience at every step proves it) is here even much greater, as the paths which lead to it are more multiplied, and its effects more powerful. Man may be misled in his faith by feelings, habits, and the empire of the moral affections, or external circumstances, as well as by the insufficiency or the bad employment of his intellectual faculties; for faith can take its origin from these different sources. And, nevertheless, from the time of its existence, faith is hardy and ambitious; it aspires passionately to expand itself, to invade, to rule, and to become the law both of minds and facts. And not only is it ambitious, but bold; it possesses and displays, for the support of its pretensions and designs, an energy, address, and perseverance, which are wanting to almost all scientific opinions. So that there is in this mode of belief, far more than in any other, chance of error for the individual, and chance of oppression for society. For these perils there is but one remedy—liberty. Whether man believes, or acts, his nature is the same; and to avoid becoming absurd or guilty, his thoughts stand in need of constant opposition and constraint, as well as his will. Where faith is wanting, there power and moral dignity are equally wanting; where liberty is wanting, faith usurps, then misleads, and at length is lost. Let human beliefs pass into the state of faith; it is their natural state and their glory; and in their effort towards this object, and when they have reached it, let them constantly continue under the control of the free intelligences; it is the guarantee of society against tyranny, and the condition of their own legitimacy. In the coexistence and mutual respect of these two forces reside the beauty and the security of social order.

Hinderclay. — J. E. G.

THE FALL: WHO WAS THE TEMPTER?

If we except the death of the Son of God, for man's redemption, the world has never been the scene of an event fraught with consequences so momentous as the fall of man. It is therefore matter for real regret, that the portion of Holy Writ which contains the narrative of this important transaction, has gathered around it so many difficulties, real or imaginary, that it is now no easy task to ascertain its real import.

It is not our intention, at present, to enter upon a discussion of the general subject of The Fall itself. This would open up too many points of inquiry. All we propose doing is simply to inquire, Who was the tempter? Were there more beings than one concerned in that fearful event which

— 'brought death into the world and all our woe'?

In order to facilitate a reference to the language of the inspired history, we shall quote the whole narrative, so far as regards the serpent.

'Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden: but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.'—Gen. iii. 1–5.

'And the Lord God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat. And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life: and I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.'—Gen. iii. 13–15.

With regard to the subject of our present inquiry, there are but three opinions which can with the slightest appearance of probability be maintained. The *first* is, that which attributes the fall to the agency of the serpent alone. The *second* is, that which considers the serpent to be only a name for the evil one. The last, which is the opinion commonly received, considers the serpent to have been merely the tool or instrument of a higher power, the Devil himself being the real author of the temptation which led to the fall.

Now it must be confessed, that the first view, which makes the serpent the *only* agent in the transaction, is that which the literal sense of the narrative obviously teaches. Throughout the whole history, we read of no other agent in the temptation but the serpent. The sacred writer simply says, 'The *serpent* said to the woman,' 'The woman said unto the *serpent*,' 'God said to the *serpent*,' etc. So far as the narrative itself is concerned, there is certainly no indication of any other being than the serpent being engaged in the temptation.

But, independently of the extreme improbability, or impossibility, that a mere brute creature should enter upon the work of tempting an intelligent being to the commission of sin, there are certain passages of Scripture which seem plainly to intimate, that the Devil was the real agent in this transaction. It can only be in reference to the temptation, we suppose, that he is called 'The tempter,'—'a liar and the father of it,'—'a murderer from the beginning.' And the connection of the evil one with the event appears still clearer from other passages, in which he is termed, in allusion to it, '*That old serpent, called the Devil and Satan*' (Rev. xii. 9); '*the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan.*' (Rev. xx. 1.) These passages evidently imply that the apostate angel, who throughout the Scriptures is represented as the great tempter of fallen humanity, was the real author of the temptation of Eve.

It is probably this conviction, that the Devil must have been the tempter of our first parents, which has originated the *second* opinion, viz., that the arch-destroyer himself was the *only* being concerned in this transaction; and that the *serpent* is merely the name by which he is designated.

This theory, which has been advocated with considerable ability in a recent number of this Journal (No. 2, New Series), removes some of the principal objections which have been brought against the history of the Fall. A careful examination of the subject, however, has ended in the conviction, that the opinion so ably advocated, is quite untenable, and beset with difficulties which are altogether insuperable.

First. In the narrative of the Fall, the serpent is classed amongst the *beasts*, as one of the same species. At the very commencement of the history, we are told 'the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made' (Gen. iii. 1). Language which clearly implies that he was *one* of 'the beasts[a] of the field.'

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[a] The word חיה *chayah*, simply means *animal*, or *creature*, and is therefore improperly rendered *beast*, a word applicable rather to large quadrupeds.

The author of the article on 'THE SERPENT,' says, 'the comparison of two objects does not always imply that they are both of the same class;' but surely where one of these objects is a 'serpent,' and the other 'beasts of the field,' the statement is calculated to mislead and deceive, if both objects are not of the same class. No impartial person could read the first verse of the narrative, without coming to the full conclusion that the serpent was spoken of as one of the animals or 'beasts of the field,' with which he is compared.

The language of the *curse* pronounced upon the serpent confirms our argument: since here again he is associated with the brute creation, as though belonging to them: 'Because thou hast done this, *thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field*, upon thy belly thou shalt go,' &c. The phraseology of this passage bears a striking similarity to that in which the serpent's subtilty was described. There he was said to be 'more subtil than any beast of the field;' here he is pronounced 'cursed' more than, or 'above all cattle and beasts of the field.' It is surely passing strange, if the serpent be no animal creature, that he should be thus constantly associated with them throughout the narrative.

Besides, that the inspired writer would compare a being of high intellectual powers, with the brute creation, and (still more strange) that the Almighty would represent his punishment as greater than that of the unoffending beasts of the earth, are suppositions which carry with them their own refutation. Even a child would ridicule such an idea, as altogether unworthy of the great Author of Inspiration.

Second. It is impossible to explain the fact of the Devil obtaining the name of the serpent, on the supposition that he was the only agent in the temptation of Eve. According to the popular opinion, that the serpent was the instrument of the tempter, the origin of the name is evident enough. It stamps the evil one with eternal infamy, as the cause of all the sin and misery which the fall has occasioned. But if no serpent was employed by Satan —if he appeared to our first parents in his own form—whence the derivation of this term? The able author of the above-named article attempts to meet this objection, by the following ingenious supposition. He imagines that the language of the curse, '*On thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat*,' &c., being handed down by tradition, suggested to the ancient world the idea of a serpent; 'and thus,' to use his own language, 'the serpent became, during the earliest ages, the name of the evil one.' This however is pure conjecture; nor are the terms of the curse sufficiently definite to originate the appellation of 'the serpent.' It should be

remembered, that serpents are not the only creatures that crawl upon their bellies. Though justly entitled, therefore, to the praise of ingenuity, we cannot consider this explanation of the origin of the serpent-name of the Devil as at all satisfactory.

Third. The nature of the curse pronounced upon the tempter is obviously altogether inapplicable to a rational or spiritual being. We read, that 'the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; *upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat*, all the days of thy life.' (ver. 14.) Here all is *material, purely material.* As referred to a reptile—an actual serpent—every word of the curse is appropriate, and intelligible. But, how the Almighty could address a spiritual and intellectual being, in such terms as these, 'upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust *shalt thou eat*,' altogether surpasses our comprehension.

Besides, if we mistake not, the curse pronounced upon the serpent evidently implies that he was *mortal*, subject, like the other animals of the field, to death. The Almighty, in pronouncing his doom, declares that his punishment shall last '*all the days of his life*' (כָּל־יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ). The necessary inference from this is, that the being addressed was mortal. The expression—'all the days of thy life'—is never used but in reference to persons or creatures subject to death. The serpent therefore that tempted Eve, possessed merely a mortal existence, and could not have been one of those apostate angels, of whom it is expressly said, 'the smoke of their torment ascendeth up *for ever and ever*.' (Rev. xiv. 11.)

Fourth. The enmity which God declared he would put between the serpent and the woman, and between his seed and her seed, is altogether inexplicable upon the supposition that no literal serpent was concerned in the temptation. According to the prevalent opinion, there is an admirable propriety in this prediction. From the very earliest ages, the deadly antipathy of our race to the whole serpent tribe is well known. Men loathe them more than they do any other known creature. Nor is the instinctive hatred of serpents in general to man much less, as is proved from the deadly wounds which we receive from them. And as the 'heel' is commonly the part usually attacked in men, so is the head of the serpent that which we usually bruise.

But where is the import of the language according to the other interpretation? If the serpent be merely a name of the wicked one, who are his seed? It cannot, surely, be said, that wicked men are here signified, for how can they be contrasted with the seed of the woman? Are they not themselves her seed? What then can be the meaning of *putting enmity between the seed of the*

serpent and that of the woman? and where is the fulfilment of this important prediction?

We have thus, briefly, stated the grounds on which we have been compelled to reject the theory that the serpent is only a name for the arch-destroyer, Satan. If our arguments are at all valid, we are necessarily led to embrace the only remaining opinion:—namely, that the Devil was the actual tempter of our first parents, and that the serpent was the mere instrument which he employed for his infernal purpose. It is our full belief that the devil was the real tempter, and that he selected that remarkable animal—which, according to naturalists, has been, 'from all antiquity, and in most countries, celebrated for its *great cunning or sagacity*'—as the very fittest instrument which he could employ in the existing state of things. We believe, too, that the same Satanic agency [b] which enabled the magicians of Egypt to change their rods into serpents (Exod. vii. 12); and to turn water into blood (vii. 22); and even to bring up frogs upon the land of Egypt (viii. 7); was sufficient to enable a serpent to utter words—the miracle of Balaam's ass affording an unequivocal proof that the notion implies nothing that is impracticable or absurd. Nor can we think it at all incredible, that the same Divine Being, who then 'cursed the ground,' and in that act caused such a change in the very nature of the globe which we inhabit to take place, that '*henceforth it brought forth to man* thorns and thistles,' should also so change the serpent, that in future, instead of flying or walking on the earth, it should '*creep upon its belly and eat dust all the days of its life.*' (Gen. iii. 14.)

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[b] It must be remembered that the sacred text of the narrative referred to by no means *necessarily* implies anything supernatural.—Ed. J. S. L.

ON THE SYRIAC LANGUAGE AND THE PESHITO VERSION.

It is a remarkable fact, that while the importance of Syriac studies has been acknowledged from the time of Widmanstadt to our own, they have never been extensively made an essential part of a preparatory course of training for the sacred office. To this day we are without a critical edition of the Scriptures in Syriac. All the materials which have been collected—and they are considerable—remain an *indigesta moles*, and wait to be distilled in the alembic of a pure and sanctified criticism, in order to the emendation of the present text. Yet various editions of parts, or the whole of the Syriac Peshito (or *simple* version) have been published; MSS. have been collated, readings collected, and grammars and lexicons issued. The accessions which have been made to our MSS. have already excited attention, and the use which has been made of them has served to increase our knowledge of Syriac literature, more especially with reference to the works of Ignatius, Ephraim Syrus, and Athanasius. The interest which has been awakened is experienced by the readers of this Journal, and we hope that what has been one of the byeways of Biblical Literature, will ere long be as much trodden as some others, which are certainly more difficult, but not more profitable. It were well if a professorship of Syriac were established in connection with every sacred seminary, and so important a study not left to wayward fancy or adventitious circumstances.

While we thus speak we neither ignore nor undervalue what has been effected. The claims of these studies are not merely admitted, but partly met in a number of our public institutions, and the rudiments at least of the Syriac tongue are taught. This is well as a beginning, but more is required. The ministers of the Gospel, as a body, are next to ignorant of the language. They learned too little at college to understand its actual value; and were not led along until able of themselves, with ordinary leisure and diligence, to accomplish what remained. Then they have experienced, and still experience considerable difficulty in obtaining suitable helps. It will scarcely be incorrect to say that few have had, in our own country, at any one time, more than a superficial acquaintance with these branches of study, and that those few have, for the most part, taken them up *con amore*, and with no definite purpose.

Reference has been made to *helps*, meaning thereby, of course, grammars, lexicons, and reading-books. It is scarcely necessary now to say, that in order to be such, to a young student especially, they must speak his own language: to learn one foreign tongue through the medium of another, is in ordinary cases extremely undesirable, and in all cases tedious. It would be well nigh as difficult to say how many Hebrew grammars we have in English, as to say how many Latin ones we possess. Yet we have in English but three, or at most four, grammars to the Syriac, and the best of these is capable of improvement.

The best of all Syriac grammars is that of Hoffmann;[a] but this is too copious for a first book, and speaks Latin instead of English.

What is a grammar without a lexicon? Of these we have in English, *not one!* It would be difficult to say how many Hebrew-English lexicons we have. The lexicon by Gutbier, whether his own edition (*Hamburg*, 1667), or that of Dr. Henderson (*Bagsters, London*, 1836), can be commended for little besides its portability. The next most accessible, viz. Michaelis's edition of Castell, extracted from the Heptaglott, abounds in typographical errors, is on execrable paper, and so arranged as to present considerable difficulties to beginners. Not much need be said of the others. The older ones do not contain all the words, and that of Schaaf ('*Lexicon Syriacum Concordantiale*,' *Lugduni*, 1709), is both high-priced and scarce. In due time, no doubt difficulties will be removed out of the student's way, and what he wants supplied. Not that Dr. Bernstein's long-promised lexicon is likely to be available for all, should it ever appear, or that facilities for this study equal to those for Hebrew will at once be afforded. A beginning is something. There are Syriac Chrestomathies in the field, to name only the excellent one published by Dr. Bernstein, with a copious vocabulary, and founded on that of G. W. Kirsch; and the latest and simpler reading lessons and rudiments of grammar published by the Messrs. Bagster. For grammars we could wait awhile; and at page 260 of this Journal, for April, 1852, we see announced 'An Alphabetical Syriac English Lexicon to the New Testament' (and Psalms), but not yet put to press.[b]

Slow indeed have been the steps by which our present position has been reached. From the publication of Widmanstadt's edition of the New Testament, in 1555 (Schaaf says 1562: perhaps the book was not at hand to refer to), to that by Leusden and Schaaf, in 1709, inclusive, there were but thirteen or fourteen editions published altogether. Of these the first eight were without 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude, and the Apocalypse. The Apocalypse was first published by De Dieu, at Leyden (4to. 1627), and the others by Pococke, also at Leyden, in 1630. The first edition in which all the books of the New Testament appeared, was the Heptaglott of Michael de Jay, Paris, 1645. The passage, John vii. 53 to viii. 11, was first inserted in the London Polyglott in 1653. Gutbier details, in his preface to the reader, the doleful story of his difficulties in the publication of his edition of the New Testament. He states that when he had prepared his MS. he could not find a printer, whereupon, 'at my own expense I caused these Syriac types in a sufficient number, and of a suitable character, to be cut in brass, and cast. At first I committed them to a printer at a distance, but I found that the very difficult task of correcting required my presence. When I was away nothing went on well. I was therefore compelled to have presses and printers in my own house, in order to secure accuracy and expedition by my presence.' Such are the 'cala-

[a] In 4to., Halæ, 1827.

[b] We may mention that the writer of this article is the author of the Lexicon he so modestly alludes to. We have seen it in MS., and, besides its correctness, it is a beautiful specimen of calligraphy. We hope it will be soon printed.—Ed. J. S. L.

mities of authors;' but by such perseverance every great and glorious result has been attained. The edition published by Schaaf was commenced by Leusden, who did not live to witness its completion. This is one of the best editions of the New Testament in Syriac, containing a Latin version opposite the text, and a copious collection of various readings at the end, obtained chiefly by collation of editions; but there are numerous typographical errors. Of the editions in the Polyglotts and others, it will be needless to say anything, except of those edited by Greenfield and the late Professor Lee. The former of these, after the Viennese (Widmanstadt's) edition, is very beautiful, readable, and portable, with a collation of its readings with those of Dr. Lee's, which was edited by him for the Bible Society. In this work Dr. Lee availed himself of some MSS., and the edition deviates, in some places, from previously published texts. It includes the Old Testament as well as the New, but omits the Apocryphal books, and the punctuation of the Old Testament. An edition of the Psalms, the same text, was issued by the same society, and includes the vowel points; a very neat and readable book, suitable for beginners, but having a few typographical errors. There is no edition of the Old Testament with points, that is generally accessible in this country.

When we open the Syriac Bible, we observe at once the resemblance of the language and its forms to the Hebrew, and its still closer affinity to the Chaldee. And while the characters are different, we perceive that Syriac and Chaldee are essentially one. Hence in 2 Kings xviii. 26, Ezra iv. 7, and Dan. ii. 4, the word אֲרָמִית (Aramaicè, Chaldaicè) is translated Syriac and Syrian. We cannot now enter upon this subject, but observe, that much information respecting it may be derived from the dissertations prefixed to 'Hoffmann's Syriac Grammar,' and the authorities there quoted; as well as from various Introductions to the Scriptures.

Another fact observed is, that certain expressions which meet us in the New Testament in Greek or in English, as requiring interpretations, are here without any such notice; and hence a class of peculiar differences from the Greek text is at once met with. To give a few instances in which the interpretative clause is omitted:—

Matt. xxvii. 46, 'Jesus cried with a loud voice and said, God, God, why hast thou forsaken me?'

Mark vii. 11, 'If a man shall say to his father or his mother, my gift, something whereby thou mayest be profited through me.'

Ver. 34, 'And he looked up to heaven and sighed, and said to him, Be thou opened!'

John i. 38, 'They say unto him, (our) Master, where dwellest thou?'

Ver. 41, 'And said unto him, We have found the Messiah.'

Ver. 42, 'Thou shalt be called Cephas.'

Ch. ix. 7, 'Go, wash in the pool of Siloah. And he went,' &c.

Acts ix. 36, 'Now there was a certain disciple in the city of Joppa, whose name was Tabitha; she was rich in good works,' &c.

Rom. viii. 15 'Whereby we cry, Father, our Father.'

1 Cor. xvi. 21, 'He that loveth not our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed: our Lord cometh.'

Such passages reveal the further fact, that those for whom this version was made needed no explanation of the foreign terms met with in the Greek text, and generally translated into Greek as well.

The evidence of this translation, in regard to some of the most important various readings in the Greek, is interesting and valuable. But frequently we find here the same differences as occur in the Greek itself. Take the following examples:—

Matt. xxvii. 9, 'Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet.' Here the name of Jeremiah is properly wanting, unless he is the author of the closing chapters of Zechariah, in which book (ch. ii. 12) we find this quotation.

Ver. 41, Syr. 'Scribes, elders, and Pharisees.' The common text omits 'elders.'

Ch. xxviii. 9, Syr. 'And behold Jesus met them.' Omitting the words, 'as they went to tell his disciples.'

Ch. xxvii. 35, the words, 'That it might,' &c., to the end of the verse are omitted by several editors, but not by all.

Mark ii. 17, Syr. 'I came not to call the righteous, but sinners.' Omitting the words 'to repentance.'

Luke i. 75, Syr. 'All our days in righteousness and holiness.'

Ch. ii. 14, Syr. 'Good news to men.'

Ch. iv. 8, Syr. 'Jesus answered and said unto him, It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God,' &c.

Ch. x. 1, for 'seventy,' some editions have 'seventy-two.'

Ch. xiv. 5, for 'an ass or an ox,' two editions read 'a son or an ox.'

John vii. 53 to viii. 11. These verses were derived by the London Polyglott, from a copy in the possession of Archbishop Usher. The version given by Hutter (1599-1600), who first printed it, deviates considerably from the Archbishop's. Perhaps Hutter translated it for himself. De Dieu, who prints the passage in his 'Animadversions,' says he received it from Archbishop Usher. It is headed by a statement of the subject, 'the sinful woman,' and that it is 'not in the Peshito.' Lee inserts both the passage and its heading, distinguishing it from the genuine text.

Acts i. 14. 'These all continued unanimously in prayer; with the women,' &c.

Ver. 15. 'Now there was there a company of men, about 120.'

Ch. ii. 43. 'By the Apostles in Jerusalem.'

Ch. iv. 25. 'And thou art he that spakest by the Holy Spirit, by the mouth of David thy servant,' &c.

Ver. 27. 'For of a truth were gathered together in this city against,' &c.

Ch. vi. 8. 'Stephen was full of grace and power.'

Ch. viii. 37. This verse is omitted in most editions.

Ch. x. 6. The words, 'he shall tell thee what thou oughtest to do,' are omitted in nearly all editions.

Ver 21. 'Simon went down to the men and said to them.'

Ch. xix. 35. The word 'goddess' is omitted.

Ch. xx. 7. 'And on the first day of the week, when we were met to break the Eucharist.'

Ver. 28. 'The church of Christ.' Lee reads, 'church of God,' but places the other in the margin.

Ch. xxv. 6. 'And when he had been there eight or ten days.'

Passing over many, we only add the following, on four or five important texts.

John i. 1. 'And God was that Word.'

Rom. ix. 5. 'Of whom appeared Christ in the flesh, who is God that is over all; to whom be praises and blessings for ever and ever, Amen.'

1 Tim. iii. 16. 'And truly, great is this mystery of righteousness, which was manifested in the flesh, and was justified in the Spirit, and appeared unto angels, and was preached among the Gentiles, and was believed on in the world and was carried up into glory.'

Heb. vi. 4-6. 'But they, who have once gone down to baptism, and tasted the gift that is from heaven, and received the Holy Spirit, and tasted the good word of God, and the power of the world to come, cannot sin again, that they should be renewed over again to conversion, and crucify afresh the Son of God and bring ignominy (upon him).'

1 John v. 7. Is left out of most editions.

Rev. v. 10. 'And hast made them unto our God, kings and priests, and they reign on the earth.'

In the preceding examples we have some of the most important deviations from the *textus receptus* of the New Testament supported.

Proper names present another class of variations. For instance, in John i. 28, we have Bethany for Bethabara: in Acts vii. 43, Raphon and Malcum, for Remphan and Moloch: in 2 Tim. iv. 10, we have Crispus for Crescens: in Rev. ii. 13, for the proper name Antipas we have a verb ,and read 'those days in which my faithful Martyr was made a spectacle of, who was slain among you where Satan dwelleth:' and in the 14th verse of the same chapter we have Kenac for Balac.

In the Old Testament we find similar variations from the received text, but a very few examples must suffice.

Gen. xlix. 10. 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a magistrate from between his feet, until He shall come whose it is, and Him shall the nations expect,' or 'for him shall the nations wait.'

Ps. vii. 11. 'God is a Judge of truth, he is not angry every day, but turneth.'

— xii. 8. 'The wicked go about and walk like the proud elevation of the sons of Edom.'

— xxii. 16. 'They wounded my hands and my feet,' which accords with our received translation.

— xxxiv. 10. 'The rich are impoverished and come to want.'

— xl. 6. 'Mine ears hast thou opened,' as in our present Hebrew text.

— xlix. 11-14. 'Their graves are their houses for ever, their dwelling place to all generations; and they give names to earth. Man in his honour, understandeth not, but resembles a brute, and is like to it. This is their way, a stumbling-block to their souls: and afterward they shall feed with their mouth like sheep.'

We refrain from giving more examples, but suggest, in all cases in which the Old Testament is concerned, the comparison of the LXX.

with the Syriac. From the Psalms these verses are absent, Ps. xxxiv. 9; lx. 12; lxxii. 20; cix. 10; and cxviii. (cxix.) 91. The cxiv. cxv. are printed as one, and cxlvii. as two Psalms. Reference may be made to the titles of the Psalms: let a specimen or two suffice. Ps. xxxviii., 'To David. When the Philistines said to Achish the King (1 Sam. ch. xxix.) "this is David that slew Goliath, we do not wish that he should go with us against Saul." And again, to us now a psalm of confession.' The title of Ps. lxxiv. is peculiar, 'To Asaph. When David saw the angel that destroyed among the people, and he wept and said, "On me and on my seed, and not on these innocent sheep:" And again, a prediction of the siege of the city of the Jews, forty years after the ascension, by the elder Vespasian and Titus his son, and they slew myriads of the Jews, and destroyed Jerusalem, and the Jews were cast out even to this day.'

It is hoped that the English translation of the Syriac New Testament by Dr. Murdoch, and the new work of the Rev. F. H. Scrivener (a supplement to the authorised English version), and perhaps more than all, the edition of the authorised version now issuing from the office of this Journal,[c] will considerably increase acquaintance with the Syriac translation, but such works must not be considered adequate where a personal acquaintance with the language itself can be obtained.

A comparison of the Syriac Old Testament with the LXX. suggests: 1. That the Peshito was not translated from it, but from a Hebrew original of an older recension than the present text.[d] 2. That probably (as for instance where the Septuagint, Syriac, and Latin Vulgate coincide) it sometimes gives us a more exact representation of the original Hebrew reading than any existing MSS. 3. The great value of this translation in critical studies of the word of God.

It is known that the present text of the Peshito itself is corrupt, and it has often been said that it has been altered to adapt or assimilate it to other versions.[e] How far this is correct we do not undertake here to decide; but we think not to the extent supposed by some. Perhaps changes have been made rather to make it accord with later recensions of the original text; *e.g.* John vii. 53 to viii. 11, and 1 John v. 7. This is another evidence of its antiquity; a subject on which various opinions have been held; but for the discussion of which we refer to the works of Jahn, Hug, Horne, and Davidson, in their Introductions; and to others, such as the *Horæ Syriacæ* of Dr. Wiseman. The conclusion to which many have arrived, and from which we see no good reason to dissent is, that the Peshito belongs to the second century after Christ. Thus White, in the preface to the Philoxenian (another Syriac) version, says, 'Nothing prevents us from referring to the second century, the simple version of the Syrians.' But where, by whom, and precisely when, is unknown; as also whether the work of one or more translators.

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[c] See this work described in the 'Journal of Sacred Literature' for April, 1853, p. 217.

[d] Still the Syrian translators evidently knew, and made use of the LXX. on various occasions.

[e] See 'Disquisitiones Criticæ,' by Father Simon, 4to., London, 1684, cap. xxi., and most authors who have written of versions.

The manner in which it is referred to by Ephraim Syrus (cir. 379) proves that then it was widely circulated and well known.

Whatever difference of opinion there may be in other respects, probably few would hesitate to admit that the Peshito is the most ancient Christian translation of the scriptures in existence. Thus we have a version in all human probability made by men who lived near the time, the native country, and the earliest sphere of labour of the Apostles, in a language moreover with which they were conversant, and which sometimes at least was employed by the Redeemer himself. Such facts should lead us to view this venerable monument of sanctified intelligence and zeal with anything but indifference and unconcern. The moss of ages has gathered around this apostolic well of salvation, and it were easy to imagine, as we stoop to drink therefrom the waters of life, that they are literally the same as those with which the Saviour refreshed the woman of Samaria, and comforted the soul of the ruler of the synagogue when he raised his daughter from the dead.[f]

Another point of interest is the arrangement of the books of the Old Testament, which has been adopted by Syrian Christians, as represented in the edition of Professor Lee. In the following table a comparison is instituted between the order of these books in the English, Syriac, LXX, and Hebrew.

ENGLISH.	SYRIAC.	LXX.	HEB.
1 to 5.	The same.	The same.	The same.
18.	6.	21.	29.
6, 7.	7, 8.	6, 7.	6, 7.
9 to 14.	9 to 14.	9 to 14.	8, 9, 10, 11, 38, 39.
19 to 21.	15 to 17.	22 to 24.	27, 28, 33.
8.	18.	8.	31.
22.	19.	25.	30.
17, 15, 16.	20, 21, 22.	20, 15, 17.	34, 36, 37.
23.	23.	40.	12.
28 to 39.	24 to 35.	28, 31, 29, 32, 33, 30, 34 to 39.	15 to 26.
24 to 26.	36 to 38.	41, 43, 45.	13, 32, 14.
27.	39.	46.	35.

In this table the numbers belong to the English version, and describe the order of books in it. Thus Daniel is 27th in our version, 39th in the Syriac, 46th in the LXX, and 35th in the Hebrew. The arrangement of the Vatican MS. followed by Van Ess,[g] is given for the LXX, but the Apocryphal books have been left out, which accounts for the higher numbers here given.

There is something in this order which we like, except in reference to the book of Ruth (18) and the last four books. The place assigned to Job, next after the Pentateuch (6), is what we believe belongs to him in a chronological point of view.

[f] See Mark v. 35-43; John iv.

[g] Tischendorf gives the arrangement of the Alexandrian MSS., which is somewhat different from this.

It is worthy of remark that many of those idioms of the Old Testament which are proper to the Hebrew, and of the New Testament, which we term Hebraisms, are often as truly Syriasms. Hence, frequently it occurs that a phrase or a sentence, which in the Greek Testament was obscure, is quite intelligible when presented to us here, in a language so much more congenial with the writer's habits of thought and utterance. This remark relates specially to the use of certain particles, and an unusual application of nouns and verbs, *e. g.* 1 Cor. x. 2, 'And all of them were baptized by the hand of Moses, in the cloud and in the sea.' Again, Ch. xv. 29, 'Otherwise what shall they do who are baptized instead of the dead?' In Heb. vi. 4, already quoted, is another example, where τοὺς ἅπαξ φωτισθέντας is rendered 'those who have once descended to baptism,' or rather '*a baptistery*.' The following are different: John i. 1, 'The word' is a feminine noun, with a masculine verb and pronoun, giving the translator's view of the personality of the Word and its reference to Christ. In ch. xiv. 1, the verb is imperative, 'Believe in God and in me believe.' So also in ch. v. 37. The translator's view of the Lord's day is given in 1 Cor. ii. 20, 'When therefore ye assemble, ye do not eat and drink *as becometh the Day of the Lord*.' As instances of the unusual application of nouns, Gutbier gives these. (Preface to Reader—N. T.) βίβλος for *catalogue*, Mt. 1. 1: ξηρὰ for *land*, Mt. 23, 15: πᾶν ῥῆμα, for *anything*, Luke i. 37, σκεῦος, for the *instrument* of the rational soul, the body, 1 Thess. iv. 4. ἀιών for world, ἀδελφός for associate, εἰρήνη for every good, ἀστεῖος τῷ θεῷ for very beautiful, Acts vii. 20. Such a use of words was perfectly natural to the writers of the New Testament, and equally so to those who executed the Syriac version, hence we generally find these simply transferred from one language to the other.

But without further details, we might next inquire who have investigated and exhibited the character and claims of the Syriac version during the last three centuries? and what use has been made of it? The answer to these questions might be long, but it may be short. There are the editors of editions and translations, and the compilers of Grammars and Lexicons. In this list we find such names as Buxtorf Jun., Pococke, De Dieu, Walton, Castell, Michaëlis, Lee, Bernstein, Hoffmann, Greenfield. Then there are the annotators who have availed themselves of it, such as Beza, Piscator, De Dieu, &c. There are the editors of the New Testament in Greek; the writers of introductions to the study of the Holy Scriptures; and those who have produced separate treatises on the subject, a list which would be more lengthy than instructive, and yet would include some of the names most known and honoured in sacred literature. Reference has before been made to Dr. Wiseman's *Horæ Syriacæ*, of which the first part appeared in 1828 at Rome, the remainder has not been published. The intention of this book seems to be principally twofold: 1. To refute the too hasty statement that there is in Syriac no word which expresses *to signify*, *represent*, or *denote*: and 2. To describe a Syriac MS. called the '*recensio Karkaphensis*,' which is in the Vatican. There is no doubt that the first of these objects has been attained, though it is questionable whether the Romanist doctrine of the Eucharist has been by any

means confirmed by the entire discussion. On the contrary, Dr. Lee rendered the Protestant doctrine essential service, by giving a true interpretation of the very authorities referred to by Dr. Wiseman.

There is one other treatise to which a brief space shall be assigned; it is a critical examination of the Syriac version of the epistle to the Ephesians, by Dr. Löhlein (Erlangen, 1835). We mention this, because it exhibits the principles on which a comparison of this translation with the Greek text should be instituted. Although others have made this comparison of certain books, as Acts, James, &c., yet the plan of this brief essay may be presented; the rather as it may be done in a few words. After a preface containing sundry observations on the writings of others, Dr. L. treats:—1. Of the care and caution which must be employed in comparing this translation with the Greek original. 2. He shows that respect must be had to the various readings of the Peshito. 3. Even when all the MSS. and editions of the Syriac agree, too much importance must not be attached to the circumstance, owing to the alterations which this text is asserted to have undergone from the Nestorians and others. 4. Too much confidence must not be reposed in the vowel points, which are of a more recent date than the version itself. 5. There are differences of idiom which may render a departure from the exact expression of the Greek text necessary. These must be carefully observed, because hence arise certain *omissions*, *additions*, and *alterations*. 6. Customary deviations from the wording of the Greek text do not constitute a various reading. 7. Those variations which appear to depend upon the taste and caprice of a translator, or upon the customary order of words in any common phrase. From both these will also arise *omissions*, *alterations*, and *additions*, as well as a *transposition* of the order of the words of a sentence. 8. Some differences may have arisen from the fallibility and inaccuracy of both translators and copyists. 9. If these rules and facts are attended to we may consider ourselves to be in a position to judge of the actual relation of the two texts.

It is evident that these, or some such principles, should guide us in comparing the entire translation with its originals; and that rules not very different should and must influence us in comparing any other version in a similar manner. It is because they are few, short, plain, and to the purpose that we have given them.

But it is not desirable to prolong our observations, therefore we conclude with a few words on the value of this version.

We think it may be safely said, that there is no ancient translation of the New Testament at least, more valuable than this for critical purposes. Whatever be the worth of the LXX as a translation of the Old Testament equally belongs to the Syriac Peshito of the New. This is the oldest version of the one, as that is of the other. Both represent a recension of the originals prior to any MS. we possess. As a translation, the Syriac is the more correct. It was, moreover, made into a language with which the chief actors in the Gospels, and most of the writers of the New Testament were acquainted, if indeed it were not vernacular to them. Clearly, if a knowledge of the Greek of the

Old Testament be important, so also is an acquaintance with the Syriac of the New. Is the style of the LXX capable of illustrating the Greek of the New Testament? So is that of the Syriac version: for if there are Hellenisms there are Syriasms. Perhaps many supposed to be the former are really the latter. Are there Hebraisms both in the LXX and in the Greek New Testament? Many of these are as much and as truly Syriasms. The more we consider the matter the more we wonder, that while some of the versions have been so much studied this has been so little. All who have written upon the actual or comparative value of translations have owned the worth of this. It has had the fortune to be praised by all, and by most to be neglected, as if praise were an equivalent for attention. While we place it at least as high as the LXX, we place it higher than the Latin Vulgate in every respect in which one translation is better than another. It is more ancient; it was made by more competent translators, because they lived nearer the time and place in which the New Testament had its birth; they knew the language of the country; they were no strangers to national habits of feeling, thought, and action, such as give a tinge to the style of the Greek New Testament. Whatever exceptions may be made on the ground of a corrupted text, we remember that a Tischendorf for the Vulgate has yet to arise, as he has but just arisen for the LXX: we cannot think that the doctrinal tendencies of the translators of the Syriac were so powerful as those of the Latin Vulgate, or if they were, that they were so alien from those of the apostolic Church. At present, much has been done for the Septuagint; something for the Vulgate; but little for the Peshito. And yet we do not admit that its text is so far deteriorated as to prevent its being brought into honourable comparison with them, and its being pre-eminently useful to the wise student of the Word of God.

Therefore we conscientiously commend this branch of sacred study to those who, in discharging the functions of their high calling, would rightly divide the word of truth. They will be aided by its use to obtain such views of divine truth as will be alike new, interesting, and refreshing. In other cases previous views will be confirmed when correct; or corrected if erroneous; and in general, the result will be a calmer reliance upon the substantial integrity of those transcripts of God's revealed will, with which in His Providence he has favoured us, and a more abiding satisfaction with the principles of that system which the Apostle denominates 'the glorious gospel of the Blessed God.' The reason is plain; all the higher qualifications essential to a true translator of the Divine Word—those which can be found alone in him that has experienced its salutary power—here concentre, and in the personal experience and faith of such a man, seen in his work, the Christian student will sympathise, while all unconsciously perhaps he will be refreshed by them, and assimilated to them.

If then this knowledge is so desirable, we trust the time is nigh when it shall be far more general. May the Providence of God soon say of this hidden treasury, as the Redeemer, of the man that was blind, when 'he sighed and said unto him *Ephphatha!* that is, be opened!'

B. H. C.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians. By John Eadie, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature to the United Presbyterian Church. London and Glasgow: Griffin. 8vo. Pp. xliv., 466.

We have very great pleasure in introducing to our readers this truly learned production. A large volume on one small portion of Holy Scripture is something novel in our country, though common enough among our continental neighbours. As an English writer, Stuart set this example of exhaustive criticism and commentary, in his works on the Romans and the Hebrews, and we gladly welcome Dr. Eadie's similar effort on the Epistle to the Ephesians. It is only in this way that we can expect our divines to do full justice to the Word of God. Life is too short, in most instances, to allow of one pen to write a learned exposition of the Bible; but this is not the principal reason for our desiring monographs. Although the Scriptures relate, generally, to one grand object, they offer immense diversity in the characters of the different parts. A man who could expound Isaiah would not necessarily be competent to meet the difficulties of the Acts of the Apostles; nor would a clever exegesis of Genesis fit the writer to be equally successful with the Gospel of St. Matthew.

Dr. Eadie is a graceful and spirited writer, and knows how to clothe the hard outlines of textual criticism with the drapery of warm thoughts and elegant language. Perhaps by some this will be thought no advantage, preferring, as they may do, a dry and scientific treatment in matters of criticism. But as the exposition of the text of Holy Writ derives its peculiar value from the matter it professes to illustrate, we are delighted when it displays an animated interest in the subject before it, and glows with delight as its beauties are pointed out and its intricacies made plain. A skilful anatomist is none the worse for being a man of feeling and sentiment, who will accompany the dissection of a nerve with some observation to his pupils on the fine adaptation of the delicate mechanism before him to its results; so a commentator, in our opinion, loses none of his claim to confidence when it is seen that he personally delights in the Law and Word of God.

We cannot now attempt to do justice to the whole of this volume, but will confine ourselves to the introductory matter. Under the head, 'Title and Destination of the Epistle,' Dr. Eadie fully discusses the question, whether it was really written and sent to Ephesus; or in other words, whether the words in the first verse, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, are spurious or genuine. Tischendorf, in his last edition, retains them in the

text, but puts them in brackets as doubtful. We think Dr. Eadie is correct, in allowing a vast amount of early authority to counterbalance the adverse criticism. He alludes to internal evidence, and that, we think, has greater strength than is always perceived. We are aware that fancy has done something in finding allusions, in the Epistle, to the circumstances of the Ephesians, but even when her wings are pinioned, sober induction can find much that, as we think, is indisputable. Dr. Eadie has given the evidence, for and against, very fully and fairly, and decides for the retention of the old opinion, that St. Paul wrote this Epistle for the Ephesians.

As specimens of the warm and graphic style of Dr. Eadie, we give the following :—

'But "no small stir" was made by the progress of Christianity, and its victorious hostility to magic and idolatry. The temple of Diana, or the Oriental Artemis, had long been regarded as one of the wonders of the world, and "all Asia" worshipped the goddess. The city claimed the title of *νεωκόρος*, a title which, meaning originally "temple-sweeper," was regarded at length as the highest honour, and often engraved on the current coinage. The town-clerk artfully introduced the mention of this honour into the commencement of his speech; for though the whole province claimed an interest in the temple, and it was often named *ὁ τῆς Ἀσίας νάος*, yet Ephesus enjoyed the special honour of being the guardian or sacristan of the gaudy edifice. And the Ephesians were quite fanatical in their admiration and wardenship of the magnificent colonnades. Their quarries of Mount Prion had supplied the marble; the art and wealth of Ephesian citizens, and the jewellery of Ephesian ladies, had been plentifully contributed for its adornment; its hundred and twenty-seven graceful columns, some of them richly carved and coloured, were each the gift of a king; its doors, ceiling, and staircase were formed respectively of cypress, cedar, and vine-wood; it had an altar by Praxiteles, and a picture by Apelles; and in its coffers reposed no little of the opulence of Western Asia. A many-breasted idol of wood, rude as an African fetich, was worshipped in its shrine, in some portions of which a meteoric stone may have been inserted, the token of its being "the image that fell from Jupiter." Still further, a flourishing trade was carried on in the manufacture of silver shrines, or models of a portion of the temple. These are often referred to by ancient writers, and as few strangers seem to have left Ephesus without such a memorial of their visit, this artistic business "brought no small gain to the craftsmen." But the spread of Christianity was fast destroying such gross and material superstition and idolatry, for one of its first lessons was, as Demetrius rightly declared—"they be no gods which are made with hands."'—P. 11.

'Whatever emotions the Church of Ephesus felt on receiving such a communication, the effects produced were not permanent. Though warned by its Lord, it did not return to its "first love," but gradually languished and died. The candlestick was at length removed out of his place, and Mahomedan gloom overspread the city. The external scene has also become one of melancholy desolation. The sea has retired from the harbour, and left behind it a pestilential morass. Fragments of columns, arches, and porticos are strewn about, and the wreck and rubbish of the great temple can scarcely be distinguished. The brood of the partridge nestles on the spot of the theatre and stadium; its streets are ploughed by the Ottoman serf, and the heights of Coressus are only visited by wandering flocks of goats. The best of the ruins—its columns of green jasper—were transplanted by Justinian to Constantinople, to adorn the dome of the great church of Sancta Sophia, and some were carried into Italy. A straggling village of the name of Ayasaluk, or Asalook, is the wretched representative of the great commercial metropolis of Ionia. While thousands in every portion of Christendom read this Epistle with delight, no one now remains to read it in the place to which it was originally addressed. Truly the threatened blight has fallen on Ephesus.'—P. 41.

It is the complaint of many, that we are too much indebted to Germany for our standard works on theology; we hope the encouragement given to this native contribution, of high excellence, will prove that the labours of our own countrymen are properly estimated.

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1. *St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome in the earlier part of the Third Century. From the newly-discovered Philosophumena.* By Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster. London: Rivingtons, 1853. 8vo. Pp. 319.
2. *Hippolytus and the Christian Church of the Third Century. With a copious Analysis of the newly-discovered MS.; and a Translation of all its important parts, from the original Greek.* By W. Elfe Tayler. London: Hall, Virtue and Co. 1853. 12mo. Pp. 246.

The unexpected attention attracted to the subject of Hippolytus gives a cheering intimation that the *sources* of the authentic history of the early Church are not yet exhausted. A flood of light has been thrown upon the Church in the West in the third century, by a MS. which in 1840 was not known to the learned world. The presumption is that further treasures have yet to be brought from their lurking places, and that many gaps in history may yet be filled up, and many doubtful matters elucidated.

Dr. Wordsworth states in his Preface, that—

'The present work consists of two parts. The former contains a dissertation on the authorship of the newly-discovered "Philosophumena," and on the Life, Times, and Works of the writer, especially in reference to Christian doctrine, and to the early history of the Church, particularly of the Roman Church, with some application to the circumstances of our own age. The latter portion of the volume is occupied with the historical narrative which is contained in the "Philosophumena," concerning the Church of Rome in the first quarter of the third century, and is the most ancient and ample record now extant of the condition of that Church in that early age. This narrative is presented in the words of the original, with an English translation and notes.'

The design thus sketched out is completed in a clear, candid, and learned manner, by an inductive process which conveys conviction to the mind of the reader. We may almost term Dr. Wordsworth's style mathematical, so devoid is it of all adventitious matter, and so closely does it follow up the propositions to be established. In sentences of great simplicity, the premisses are clearly laid down, and the conclusion is drawn calmly, without any attempt at parade or mere effect. We shall not be expected to analyze the whole work, and we can only give specimens of what we have just indicated as one of its characteristics. One objection to the work being the production of a bishop and a martyr is, that there is a tone of self-confidence in the narrative. Dr. Wordsworth admits the fact, but denies the inference, and shows that the perfection we are apt to seek in men whom we survey through the dim religious light of many centuries, is unreasonable.

'But let us remember the circumstances of the case. Our author, whoever he was, was a learned and eloquent man. Few persons in his age in Christendom,

none probably in the West, could have composed the volume before us. It is rich in human learning as well as divine. The style is somewhat turgid, but it displays solid erudition, as well as luxuriance of language. Let us imagine such a person as this residing at Rome in the second and third centuries. He was well qualified to be Bishop of Portus, because it was the principal harbour of the imperial city, and was thronged with strangers—Greeks, Asiatics, and Africans, merchants, shipmen, and soldiers, philosophers, physicians, ambassadors, and astrologers, Christians, Jews, and Pagans, flocking to Rome.

'But let us suppose such a person as this associated with such ecclesiastics, and placed under the rule of such Bishops as he represents Zephyrinus and Callistus to be—the one illiterate, the other profligate, both promoters of heresy. Let his account of their doings be exaggerated—though it is not easy to say why an author who writes like the author of the Philosophumena (and who appears to be no other than St. Hippolytus, a bishop and doctor of the Church) should be accused of misrepresentation—yet this we know that the Western Church at that time was not endowed with erudition, especially such learning as that in which our author excelled. He had the misfortune to be placed under men far inferior to himself, and "knowledge puffeth up." His own superiority was a stumbling-block; their inferiority was a snare. Suppose such a person as this to have been formerly intimate with the holy and learned Irenaeus; suppose him to have been elated with his ancestral dignity of doctrinal succession, derived through Irenaeus and Polycarp from the blessed apostle St. John, what a contrast would he see at Rome! What a severe trial of his temper would be there! What a perilous ordeal to pass through! Shall we be surprised that under such circumstances as these expressions of conscious superiority, or even of vituperative indignation, should have escaped the lips of Hippolytus?'—P. 101.

We recommend to our readers Dr. Wordsworth's remarks on M. Bunsen's assertion, that the definitions of the ancient Church 'are imperfect, and have been *foisted into Scripture*, and into the early Fathers, by means of *suppositious words and verses in the New Testament, by forgeries in patristic literature, and by dishonest or untenable readings and interpretations* in both.' He speaks in respectful and high terms of M. Bunsen, but with firmness exposes the crudeness of some of his statements. We will conclude our notice of this work by extracting what he says on this subject, expressing at the same time the great pleasure we have derived from Dr. Wordsworth's learned and judicious treatise.

'Let me therefore observe, with feelings of deferential respect to M. Bunsen's station and office, that he has not dealt fairly with Hippolytus. He has imagined his address to heathens to be "a Confession of Faith." He asserts that the Scriptures and the works of the fathers have been interpolated, &c., in order to make them speak the language of ecclesiastical definitions. He affirms that the sacred text of the New Testament has been adulterated with "dishonest and untenable readings and interpretations." He has allowed this charge to stand, in vague and dark generality, to overawe the ignorant and alarm the credulous. And, having brought these heavy accusations against the text of Holy Writ,—accusations the more formidable because they are indefinite, and cannot therefore be fairly met and encountered face to face—he has proceeded to treat St. Hippolytus as he charges others with having treated Holy Scripture. Sometimes he has corrupted the text of Hippolytus with untenable readings. Sometimes he has disfigured his sense by erroneous interpretation. He has charged others with the heinous sin of tampering with the Scriptures in order to make them square with preconcerted definitions. Far be it from us to impute any such motives to M. Bunsen in his dealings with Hippolytus. But the fact is, in some cases he has made him appear to be heretical.'—P. 182.

Mr. Tayler has done good service by his very excellent volume,

which may be called a *manual* of all that need *generally* be known on the subject of Hippolytus. It is only in this general sense, in reference to the bulk of readers, that the statement in the title can be allowed to be correct—'a translation of *all its important parts*.' In a popular manual, this is admissible, but in no other way, because it is difficult to define, as a matter of historical criticism, what parts of this precious relic are *unimportant*. But, dismissing this trifling matter, we express our thanks to Mr. Tayler for having put the substance of Hippolytus—his history, his works, and his doctrines, in a form so attractive and cheap. He says rightly, that after M. Bunsen's and Dr. Wordsworth's valuable works, 'a concise, clear, and popular essay on the whole subject of the newly-discovered manuscript was still a desideratum.' The three qualities thus mentioned are eminently possessed by Mr. Tayler's production, and we anticipate for it an extensive circulation. It is very beautifully printed, and the price places it within the reach of the masses. Mr. Tayler and Dr. Wordsworth view the early Church from different ecclesiastical platforms, but their personal opinions are only brought out as they should be, by men who combine earnestness of conviction with Christian charity.

Hebrew Politics in the Times of Sargon and Sennacherib: an Enquiry into the Historical Meaning and Purpose of the Prophecies of Isaiah; with some notice of their bearings on the Social and Political Life of England. By Edward Strachey. London: Longmans, 1853. 8vo. Pp. 442.

This is the production of a layman, who has employed the *otium cum dignitate* given him by Divine Providence, in the thoughtful study of the Word of God. Such contributions to Sacred Literature are peculiarly pleasing to us, as evincing a growing recognition of the principle that, as Christianity makes all its members priests, so there is no lore useful to the teacher, which is not equally so to the taught. Nothing will tend more to exalt the real value of Biblical truth than its careful study by laymen; it will both raise the clergy to higher attainments, and free their profession from those mere class prejudices, the *idola tribûs*, which seem so identified with it.

There is only one thing which indicates that this volume is the work of an amateur, and that is the want of a *lucidus ordo*, which a theological training would doubtless have given to it. While there is a principle running through the whole, and Mr. Strachey never loses sight of his theory, the connecting links are not always visible to the reader. What the theory is will be best stated in the words of the author:—

'This, then, is the important matter to us, whether the law of disease which, as distinguished from that of age, is so plainly at work in England as well as in every other nation of Europe, can be still arrested; and, in particular, whether there is truth in that half-forgotten faith of our statesmen in former days, that the political history of the Hebrews does contain indications of the remedy as well as the disease, though the latter only is described in the books of Greece and Rome; whether, for instance, Milton, who was no mean statesman in a day when men had to show what was really in them, and who had no lack of knowledge as to what

the ancients could teach us of politics, was right when he asserted of the Jewish books that—

> "In them is plainest taught and easiest learnt,
> What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so."

To get an answer to this question for myself; to ascertain whether an English squire could find in the Bible any political instruction which might avail him at union boards and county elections, and in his relations with the parson and the magistrate, the farmer and the peasant, was my purpose when I began the study of Isaiah many years since; and the hope of serving some one desirous of such information might have seemed to me excuse enough for thus attempting to show what I had learned of the internal politics of Judæa, and of their relation to those of modern England. But, meanwhile, there are gathering signs that the times of Isaiah and the principles he enunciated are finding and may find more and more their counterpart and their application in our foreign relations too.'—P. 6.

This is a high purpose to contemplate, and certainly one of the most legitimate uses of Holy Scripture. and Mr. Strachey has executed his task in a devout spirit. However much we may differ on the individual applications of the main idea, as a whole, we feel its truth and importance. But this is not the whole value of the volume; it is a most interesting common-place book on all topics connected with the exegesis of Isaiah. The author came to his task well prepared by a knowledge of the history of the criticism and interpretation of the book, both foreign and domestic, and the reader will find much suggestive matter mingled with the principal theme. The book is really a learned one in its details and substance, and exhibits freely-expressed opinions on most of the erudite questions which have been raised on the writings of this prophet. Some idea may be formed of the mode of treatment pursued, by the following passage relating to the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of Isaiah:—

'"The burden of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see." A number of learned modern commentators of Germany maintain that "the higher criticism," as they name it, has ascertained this title to be spurious, and the prophecy at the head of which it stands, as well as several others in the book, and especially Chaps. xl. to lxvi., to have been written towards the end of the great Babylonish captivity. But this "higher criticism" is not the constructive criticism by which a Niebuhr and a Grote have restored the political histories of Rome and Greece; but that negative 18th century criticism, that "victorious analysis" which Niebuhr taught us how to escape from, or rather to make our servant instead of our master. And if it still asserts its power in the region of biblical literature, and especially in the question of the genuineness of the writings of Isaiah, it is not the less on the eve of becoming obsolete here as elsewhere in that respect in which it most prides itself. For antiquarian research, sceptical questioning, skilful anatomy, refutation of the credulous or fraudulent figments of writers or commentators, and for sweeping away by these means every kind of accumulated rubbish, the negative criticism is, and will continue to be, invaluable, not only to other students, but to the student of the Bible, is as far as it is applicable to his subject-matter. But the mechanical and logical arrangements by which it proposes to frame a substitute for what it has or supposes it has destroyed, are now understood not to be really constructive in the sense which science demands and declares possible. It does not discover the law in the simpler facts, and then explain the more complicated facts by that law; but it starts with a theory, and makes the facts fit this theory by learned and ingenious adaptations, or if they are quite intractable, rejects them, declaring that it has a "critical feeling" that they are not genuine.'—P. 140.

These are excellent observations, but we think Mr. Strachey has failed to apply them himself, in his remarks on the word *Coresh* or

Cyrus, in the latter chapters of Isaiah. He seems to be disposed to adopt a conjectural emendation of U. Möller, who transposes the letters and renders the word *righteous*. Now for this there is no authority whatever, but mere *imagined* superiority to the reading sanctioned by the Hebrew text, the versions, and uninterrupted historical tradition. Is not this what Mr. Strachey justly complains of in some of the German critics, the application of one's own sense of what is fit for the meaning conveyed by the existing and otherwise well supported text? But notwithstanding this exception, Mr. Strachey exhibits throughout a deep reverence for the Scriptures, as embodied in the original texts.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of John Pye Smith, D D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., late Theological Tutor of the Old College, Homerton. By John Medway. London: Jackson and Walford, 1853. 8vo. p. 648.

Dr. Pye Smith was extensively known in a two-fold aspect, as a divine and as a man of science. If his title of Doctor of Divinity was thoroughly appropriate to his studies and attainments, that of Fellow of the Royal Society was no less well-adapted to his tastes and labours in natural philosophy. He had a world-wide reputation, and will continue to the latest ages to be numbered among those worthy brotherhoods, the theological and scientific writers of Great Britain. But he enjoys an honour even greater than this—he was a Christian philosopher in the highest sense, delighting in bringing into close union and harmony what are too frequently divorced asunder, the books of nature and of grace.

Mr. Medway has told the tale of Dr. Smith's threescore years and ten with great fidelity; and the volume will be valuable as a record of the joys and sorrows of a good man, both in his private character as a Christian, and his public one as a tutor and a pastor. But we feel, that while this biography will fully satisfy the demands of Dr. Smith's immediate friends, and of the religious circle in which he moved, his life has yet to be written for the world at large. Important as all matters regarding Dr. Smith's religious feelings and peculiar views as a Congregationalist are in themselves, as related to him and to his immediate followers, they cannot be expected to interest the tens of thousands who have different standpoints, and who will rather be repulsed than attracted by the details to which we allude. We should like to see Dr. Smith more simply, as a sincere Christian man, hallowing science by his piety, and recommending true religion by his great attainments as a philosopher, than tied down so much by the circumstances of home, and the associations of the chapel at the 'Gravel Pits.' Divine Providence made him revolve in an orbit of great compass, but the biographer has too much lessened its periphery, and subjected the noble planet too much to the centripetal influences of home and Homerton.

In reference to home, we confess we are deeply grieved at the disclosures made by Mr. Medway, as to the character of the influences

exerted by it, on the greatest and most active part of the life of Dr. Smith. Mr. Medway went on the presumption that everybody knew that all was not right in that quarter, and that therefore the whole truth had better be told. We assure him that he is quite mistaken in this conclusion, for, while intimately acquainted with Dr. Smith's writings and public character, we were not aware before that a worm was always gnawing at the root of his private happiness. Some whisper we did hear, a long time back, of certain peculiarities in reference to Dr. Smith's home relations, but nothing to prepare us for the revelations of this book. We feel sure that the far greater part of Dr. Smith's admirers had not even heard that whisper, and they will learn now, for the first time, that he was domineered over by an imperious woman—fastened, like Prometheus on the rock, for thirty years, to one who should have been his helpmate, but became his bane! These revelations, we maintain, were not needed—they can do no good—they must be most painful, or *ought* to be, to the children and grandchildren of the mother thus held up to reprehension. Had she been the wife of a private man her faults would have been hidden in the grave, or in the grieved hearts of those who witnessed her aberrations; but because her husband achieved a fame as extensive as the world of letters, she has to be dragged out of her little sphere, to the eyes of mankind at large, as Xantippe serves as a foil to Socrates.

Nothing but a deep conviction that these observations are called for could induce us to make them. We are sure Dr. Smith would have shrunk with horror from the thought of giving publicity to the faults of one, whom, after all, he appears to have loved. Besides, there are two sides to every question, and readers will not be slow to apply the maxim, *Audi alteram partem.* We knew nothing of Dr. Smith's private character, but we feel sure, from reading Mr. Medway's detailed account of his domestic infelicity, that he must have been partly to blame. The husband is the head of the wife, and he is bound to rule. Had Dr. Smith combined with the sweet mildness of his character, more of the authority with which a Christian should rule his own house, we must believe the world would not now have heard of these home miseries. A tighter hold of the rein would probably have prevented much of the eccentric prancing of the domestic steed.

As it is, the volume before us is deeply interesting, and will have a large sale; but we feel sure there is room for another biography of Dr. Pye Smith. Apart from the error of judgment, which, in our opinion, led Mr. Medway to open up the scenes we have commented upon, he has discharged his duty with great modesty, and made good use of the materials at his command. The style is pleasing, and the execution reflects great credit upon him as a scholar and a Christian.

1. *The Domestic Commentary on the Bible.* By a CLERGYMAN of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. London: Harry Wooldridge, 1853. Vol. I. of the Old Testament. To be completed in Four Volumes. Imperial 8vo.
2. *The Portable Folio Family Bible; with the Commentaries of Scott and Henry.* Condensed by the Rev. JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature to the United Presbyterian Church; and containing upwards of Four Thousand Notes, Critical and Explanatory, selected from the great standard Authors of Europe and America, by the Rev. WALTER M'GILVRAY, D.D. Glasgow: W. R. M'Phun, 1853.

THE first-named of these works is an exceedingly well-printed edition of the authorized version, with marginal references, to each chapter of which is appended a commentary, or, as we think it should be rather called, some practical reflections, designed to illustrate and apply the preceding portion of Scripture. The editor says in his preface, 'Let no one forget what is the real character of this work, lest by expecting too much, he neglect to profit by what is really prepared for his use. To give a full expression to the whole substance of the sacred volume is not the aim of these pages. The author has written just as he would have spoken, were a family assembled before him for daily worship, and as he has been accustomed to speak for many years in his public ministrations.' Keeping in view this professed design, we think the work quite accomplishes it, and that for a family it will be found very useful. Perhaps exegetical remarks are too much sought after at the present day, to the neglect of the impression which Holy Scripture is calculated, in its substance, to produce on the mind of a devout reader. The remarks are pious and evangelical, breathing a personal experience of that 'delight' which the good man is said to find in the 'Law of the Lord.' For use in family worship, we think the common division of the chapters, here followed, not the most judicious: some are too long for that exercise. Orton on the Old Testament, and Doddridge on the New, are good models in this respect. They reject the artificial divisions, and take passages according to their historical or doctrinal connection. This work is published in numbers, and is very cheap.

Mr. M'Phun's folio Family Bible is an unique production, on the preparation and circulation of which there hangs an exceedingly interesting tale, relating to Bible distribution among the working men of this country. This Bible is a 'Working-man's Family Bible,' and a great boon it is to him, which we hope he will appreciate. An article is in preparation for the next number of the JOURNAL, on *the Bible and the Common People*, in which this work and the preceding one, with other popular editions of the Scriptures, will be noticed in their bearings on the lower classes of our land. We shall therefore only now say, that the work makes a small demy folio, is beautifully printed, and contains a body of notes quite extensive enough to occupy the life of a working-man in properly studying them. The marvel is that the book is sold, bound in roan with gilt edges, for *one guinea!*

Mr. M'Phun deserves the thanks of all good men, for his praiseworthy exertions in producing this very valuable edition of the Bible.

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1. *Homiletics; or, the Theory of Preaching.* By A. Vinet, Professor of Theology at Lausanne. Translated from the French. Edinburgh: T. and I. Clark, 1853. 8vo. p. 480.
2. *The Preacher and the King; or Bourdaloue in the Court of Louis XIV.* Translated from the French of L. Bungener. With an Introduction by the Rev. George Potts, D.D., New York. London: Nelson, 1853. 18mo. p. 370.

The first of these volumes is a scientific treatise on the art of preaching. Although the foreign standpoint of the author gives to the style and matter some little unfitness for the latitude of Great Britain, it is a work of great value, and if properly studied, cannot fail to be of great service to the pulpit oratory of this country. Although we cannot now enlarge on this subject, it is one which has received in the Journal some lengthened consideration,[a] and we shall embrace an early opportunity of returning to it. The work of M. Bungener conveys, in the form of an interesting historical tale, most impressive lessons on the faithful discharge of the ministerial office.

We feel bound to say that M. Vinet's book has not received the full advantages which a translation might give it, in the eyes of an English reader. Although we have not the original by us, we have detected numerous cases in which obscurity has been allowed to overshadow the sentiments of the author, through an unfortunate choice of words to convey his ideas in our language. Take an instance from p. 192, under the head of *Emotion*:—'*If it were not permitted us to touch*, what an example would have been given us by the writers of the Bible, the most pathetic of all writers,' &c. &c. Here we presume the word rendered touch is the French *toucher*, to *move—affect others*: but how improper to give this bald and ambiguous version! But, besides this word, the whole sentence is obscure, and of very doubtful meaning.

Egypt and the Bible; being an Enquiry into the Traces discernible in Holy Scripture, of the Influence exerted on the Character of the Hebrews by their Residence in Egypt. By B. A. Irving, B.A. Cambridge: Macmillan, 1853.

This is the Norrisian Prize Essay for 1851. The 'Athenæum' says respecting it, 'The competitors were set to maintain a thesis, not to discover the truth. Being told to discover Egyptian influences on the Hebrew character, Mr. Irving has of course discovered them.' This observation is as false in fact as it is churlish in manner, and does no credit to whoever penned it. Because the subject proposed was the influence of Egypt on the Hebrews, it did not follow that little or

[a] See 'The Pulpit of the Church of England,' No. 4. New Series.

much was to be attributed to that source, and a competitor was no more likely to be successful by taking the *plus* side than by adopting the *minus* side of the question. We need no arguments to prove to us that a sojourn in Egypt for above two centuries must seriously have affected the character and manners of the Israelites, and the Scriptures intimate that such had been the case. Mr. Irving's essay, without pretending to exhaust the subject, is an interesting contribution to it, and we recommend it as well worthy the attention of our readers.

The Bible in Many Tongues. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1853. 24mo. Pp. 192.

A LITTLE pocket companion, containing *multum in parvo* on subjects relating to the original languages and the versions of Holy Scripture. Although the name of the compiler is not appended to it, we know that he is one who may be depended upon for the correctness of the numerous facts here brought forward. The book is divided into four chapters, of which these are the heads:—1. The Biography of Books in general, and of the Bible in particular. 2. The Bible in the ancient East and at Rome. 3. The Bible and the Reformation. 4. The Bible and Christian Missions. We recommend the circulation of this little volume among the young, as containing a great amount of valuable and highly interesting matter, as the following quotation will show:—

'If it be asked what has become of those ancient volumes which were once so numerous, the answer is at hand. A considerable number remain, and a much larger number have been destroyed. The Romans burned the books of the Jews, of the Christians, and of the philosophers; the Jews the books of the Christians and of the Pagans; and too often Christians burned the books of both Jews and Pagans. The reading and copying of the Jewish Talmud, for example (which often contained copies of the Old Testament), were forbidden by the emperor Justinian, by many of the French and Spanish kings, and by several of the popes. In the year 1569, twelve thousand copies of it were thrown into the flames at Cremona. The Goths and Saracens burned, on principle, all Christian books, wherever they found them. When Buda was taken by the Turks a vast sum was offered to redeem the great library founded there, but in vain. . . . It must be added that the writing of many MSS. has been wilfully obliterated. Through the scarcity of parchment, great estates were often transferred in the middle ages by a mere verbal agreement, and the delivery of earth and stones before witnesses, without any written deed. Parchment was so scarce, that about the year 1120 "Master Hugh" being appointed by the convent of St. Edmondsbury to write and illuminate a copy of the Bible for their library, could procure no material for the purpose in England. This scarcity tempted the needy or the unscrupulous to efface even the Scriptures that the parchment might be devoted to some popular use. So early had these practices begun that in the 7th century the Council of Trullo found it necessary to notice and condemn them.'—P. 63.

RECENT SERMONS.

1. *The Second Adam: a Course of Lectures designed to illustrate the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Union of the Divine and Human Natures in His Sacred Person, with certain occasional Sermons, delivered in St. John's Church, Cheltenham.* By William John Edge, M.A. London: Rivingtons, 1853.
2. *Village Sermons.* By the Rev. J. W. Colenso, D.D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Rector of Forncett St. Mary's, Norfolk. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1853.
3. *Sermons Preached at Bognor.* By the Rev. Edward Miller, M.A. Second Series. London: Rivingtons, 1853.
4. *Short Sermons at the Celebration of the Lord's Supper.* By the Rev. Harvey Goodwin, M.A., Minister of St. Edward's, Cambridge. Cambridge: Deighton, 1853.
5. *Twenty Sermons for Town Congregations.* By the Rev. Charles Hardwick, M.A., Fellow of St. Catherine's Hall, and Cambridge Preacher at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.
6. *Free Enquiry: the Great Duty of Man. A Discourse preached on Resigning his Charge over the Congregational Church, Kentish Town.* By the Rev. W. Forster. London: W. Freeman, 1853.

When we remember that it is by preaching that the greater proportion of minds are furnished with their knowledge of Divine truth, the important influence of Sermons is at once recognized. Therefore, while we are necessarily prevented from giving these productions lengthened notice, we feel it our duty to examine them as they may appear before us, and record the opinion we entertain of them. Our aim, however, will generally be, to let the writers speak for themselves, believing that specimens of their compositions will best introduce their character and claims to our readers.

Mr. Edge's Lectures are designed to counteract what he considers the ignorance of ordinary people of Christian doctrines. He says in the preface:—'Seventeen years of ministerial experience have convinced the author, that a deep and lamentable ignorance of the fundamental truths of Christianity prevails among persons who profess and call themselves Christians. While theoretically acquainted with the precepts of the Gospel, and partially instructed in one or two favourite doctrines of the school or sect with which they may be connected, they know little or nothing of those sacred verities, which are at once the root and life of all evangelical instruction, whether it relate to practice or doctrine, conventionally so called.' We believe there is no exaggeration in this, and Mr. Edge, as far as his influence extends, has applied himself to remedy the evil, by these thoughtful and suggestive discourses. The following titles of some of them will show the deeply-interesting nature of the topics touched upon:—'The Incarnation of the Word;' 'The Childhood and Youth of the Incarnate Word;'

'Christ's Miracles on behalf of Dæmoniacs;' 'His Habit of Life;' 'His Disembodied Existence,' &c. &c. These are treated freely, yet calmly, and with the freedom from mere fancies which should distinguish all who handle the word of God. But while deep subjects are discussed, the style is easy and popular. We will give an extract from the sermon, 'Have the Prophecies of Christ's Kingdom been fulfilled?'—

'The notion which so many seem to entertain, viz., that there will be an universal prevalence of true religion in the world before the Advent, has no foundation whatever in Holy Scripture. The tares and the wheat will grow together till the harvest. The goats will pasture with the sheep till the chief Shepherd comes. The bad fish will not be cast out of the net till the angels that accompany the great Fisher of men shall sever the evil from the good. The world will go on as the world has ever done, until the Son of Man shall come. The sun will be running his daily course in the heavens, the grass and the flowers will be growing in the fields, and the birds sweetly singing in the air; ships will be traversing the ocean, railway trains thundering to and fro on land; the sons of labour will be toiling at their daily tasks, and the votaries of pleasure preparing for their nightly festivities. The glutton and the drunkard will be eating and drinking, the profligate following his sins. The servant of Christ will be thinking of his Lord, and doing whatever he does lovingly, prayerfully, and heartily, for His sake; when suddenly the sign of the Crucified shall flame in the firmament, and the chariots of God be seen on high, and every eye shall behold Him whom the Roman soldier pierced. For lo! He cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see Him, and they also which pierced him; and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of Him! Then those only who are waiting for Him, and that love his appearing, will go in with Him to the marriage feast! To them He will give power over the nations, and make them rulers over his cities. Shall we, my brethren, be found ready? If you would have an answer to this question, you must ask yourselves, "Are we ready *now*?" '—P. 328.

Dr. Colenso is about to proceed as Bishop to Natal; a great interest must therefore attach to the character he may possess as a public teacher. It is satisfactory to know, that without any pretensions to originality, these Village Sermons are characterised by earnest faithfulness. Preachers too often leave the sins which 'easily beset' their people, for the loose generalities which leave no impression. Dr. Colenso, on the contrary, discovered the bad propensities of his flock, and attempted to cure them. In this style he attacks the abomination of the fair at Forncett—an abomination annually inflicted on all towns and villages, and yet too often visited and encouraged by those who ought to know and act better:—

'Can any heathen festival, think you, exceed in abomination the vile doings within many a public-house in our own neighbourhood, or the gross wickedness of the night-houses of Forncett Fair? Better fling your children into the river, as far as they are concerned, than bring them up, by your own example and encouragement, in deeds like these of sin and shame, to be the devil's servants here, and to share his misery hereafter!'

The 'Sermons preached at Bognor' are expository discourses of a high order, and convey a most favourable idea of the intellectual character of Mr. Miller's ministrations. They might indeed have been published in the form of essays, and would have been, in that shape, far more likely to be extensively read, than they will be, we are sorry to think, in their pulpit form. We cannot do better than give an

extract from the first sermon, 'The World before the Flood.' Mr. Miller endeavours to show that the length of life of the antediluvians made them giants in intellect. After treating most ably on this conception, he thus proceeds—

'But we contend that the march of mind could never have been arrested and overtaken by the shades of night in the antediluvian world, where the lamp was held up for a thousand years by the same mighty spirits, who struck the vital spark and continually fed the flame. We see nothing, in *their* case, to prevent a perpetually increasing development of mental power; but now that the life of man has dwindled to threescore years and ten, it is obvious that such development would depend on a *succession* of gifted intellects, and that when the line was broken, the empire of thought would pass away. And it *has* passed from East to West, and its throne has been raised, and tottered, and fallen in almost every quarter of the globe, and never continued in one stay.

'The mere assertion of this palpable truth would almost suffice; controverted it cannot be. In proof of it we will not linger on the memory of the Isles of Greece, or among the imperishable monuments of imperial Rome in the Augustan age. There, although the power to equal their glorious ancestors seems gone for ever, there is, at least, some record of the past, some reverence for classical antiquity; as if the spirits of the dead were hovering yet over the land where their ashes rest; where the undying page was written, and lofty deeds were done. We need not allege the degenerate race, who haunt like unclean birds of prey, and defile and destroy the remains of Balbec, the temple of the sun, and Tadmor in the wilderness, Palmyra, the queen of cities—even in her desolation surpassing all that is conceivable of earthly grandeur. We can produce a more striking instance in another hemisphere, where recent travellers have discovered gigantic ruins, and have exclaimed almost aghast, "What manner of stones and what buildings are here!" for they tell of noble nations, of whom every record has long since passed away. Till now the forest growth of centuries has covered like a pall these cities of the dead; and, while the poor benighted savage hews down the tangled mass of vegetation, and discloses colossal statues, and terraces, and towers, he knows no more of their origin than the axe that he plies for hire, and gazes with stupid wonder, not at the relics of his mighty ancestry, but rather on the traveller, who has surmounted danger, and fatigue, and hunger, and breasted the river and crossed the sea to look upon a stone!

'We repeat, then, that the infancy of art and science and refinement in the new earth is no argument against the perfection we contend for in the world before the flood. The gradual growth of civilization, the ebb and flow of learning, the relapse of one people into barbarism while another emerges from darkness, are all conformable to the altered destinies of the human race,' &c.—P. 27.

The 'Short Sermons at the celebration of the Lord's Supper' are plain and practical, and well adapted to their professed object, as the following passage will show:—

'Wherefore, Christian brethren, let me charge you to seek more of the influence of the Spirit upon your own hearts and lives, not only for your own sakes, but also that the Spirit may be poured upon all flesh, yea, upon all those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death; or who, living nominally in a country where Christ is Lord, nevertheless have forgotten him by whose name they are called. When you pray that Christ's kingdom may come, remember how much of the coming of the kingdom depends upon yourselves; what privilege more unspeakable can there be than this—to be the means, in ever so humble a manner, of pulling one stone out of the palace of Satan, and laying one in the temple of God? The righteous, whose memory endureth for ever, and who are not afraid of any evil report, are just those who have been eminent above their fellows for advancing the kingdom of Christ—holy men, who have illustrated religion by their lives, and have been, so to speak, the channels of God's grace to their fellows, these are they who being dead yet speak, and whose bones blossom as the herb, and whose spirits live "for evermore."'—P. 41.

We naturally expect much from the sermons of Mr. Hardwick, nor are we disappointed. As Cambridge Preacher at the Chapel Royal, he worthily fills his important and honourable position, and displays the requisite qualities of a Christian scholar and gentleman. The discourses are eminently topical, each one discussing a single subject in plain, perspicuous, and forcible language. If delivered exactly as they now appear, we should think them deficient in length; yet they admirably show how a text of Scripture may be pertinently and practically handled in a small compass. Formal divisions are not used, and from the unity and brevity of the discussion they are not needed. This continuous and essay-like treatment of a sermon is rather fashionable just now; and when sermons concentrate their matter on one leading idea, as is the case with Mr. Hardwick's, no exception can be taken against the plan. We decidedly think, however, that a clearly-defined division is almost always an advantage, giving as it does a more lucid arrangement to the hearer, and assisting his memory. In a printed book we can turn back again to observe the connection of the parts with the whole; but, while listening to a preacher, if the thread is lost, it is not easily regained; and judicious divisions assist the effort made to correct the results of a moment of inattention. A few of the titles of the sermons will convey some idea of the importance of the contents of the volume. 'Scepticism Rebuked by the Example of St. Thomas;' 'The Rich Man and his Doom;' 'Warnings from the House of Eli;' 'The Majesty of the Truth;' 'The Confessors in the Fire;' 'The Speechless Guest,' &c. From the first-mentioned we give the following characteristic quotation: —

'Is it not, however, a most melancholy feature of the age in which we live to question or ignore this intimate connection of the heart and understanding? Is it not too common, also, as the fruit of this one-sidedness, to swerve into the snares of unbelief? . . . . . In men of thought and education it is easy to observe the fermentation of this evil spirit. They are shrinking from the fulness of the truth as it is written in the Bible. They have grown impatient of the claims put forward by the sacred volume to a paramount authority—put forward on the ground that it contains a superhuman element, its inspiration; they are anxious even to disparage its historical character, or at the best would reduce it to the level of a merely human document. Recoiling, like the Sadducees of old, from every taint of Pharisaism, they have rushed, as did the Hebrew sceptic, into opposite extremes. They have confounded what is true and heavenly with a host of erroneous after-growths which have been tending to obscure it; they have ventured to reject them both, to burn the wheat and tares alike. Another class among us who, indeed, stop short of these conclusions and repudiate their authors, are impelled, notwithstanding, by the self-same bias, to a kindred form of unbelief. They will acknowledge that the Bible is, in some degree at least, a revelation of the will of God, but claim the right of suspending their belief in very many of its pages; they would pare down articles of faith which strike them as offensive; they would limit the essentials of the Gospel to the very smallest number—all that is transcendental or obscure, mysterious or sublime, yea, all that would imply the introduction of a miracle into the provinces of nature or the workings of the soul, is, in their view, to be stripped of its superhuman force, or weeded from the sacred volume.'—P. 8.

As we cannot praise the Discourse by the Rev. W. Forster we should have passed it over in silence, had it not been the first of a series of twelve on 'difficult texts and texts misunderstood,' all of

which, as far as published, are so many direct attacks on all we venerate, as the cardinal doctrines of our common salvation. That Mr. Forster is a clever man his sermons clearly evince; and that he is conscientious is made to appear from his having renounced a prosperous pastoral charge, rather than conceal the new opinions which 'free enquiry' has led him to form. But that he has launched away from *terra firma*, and got far entangled in the shoals of error, may be made plain to our readers by a single extract from his sermon on '*The death of Christ: its grand design the purification of souls, not the punishment of sins.*' He says, 'Thus the Trinitarian atonement really annihilates the justice, extinguishes the mercy, and dishonours the law of God; makes him out to be a being whom men cannot, and ought not to love, honour, and serve; lowers the worth of repentance, holiness, virtue, and good works; misrepresents the nature, design, and result of the Christian faith; hinders the spread of that genial, rational, and purifying truth which Christ embodied in his teachings, and ratified by his death.' So this is the anchorage to which Mr. Forster's free inquiry has led him! And so it will always lead astray those who so entirely mistake the privilege and duty of exercising private judgment, as Mr. Forster has done in his sermon on the subject. According to him, man is to make a clean breast of all early teachings, all impressions received from the lessons of history, and all opinions held by the great and good; he is then to open the Bible and form a system for himself, and to believe that because he has thus asserted his mental freedom, his conclusions are true, and acceptable to God! Has Mr. Forster yet to learn that all heretics have *believed* themselves to be right; and that *finding the truth*, is as important to an immortal being, as a free search for it?

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1. *Benedictions, or the Blessed Life.* By the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D.D., F.R.S.E. London: Shaw, 1853.
2. *Sabbath Evening Readings on St. Matthew.* By THE SAME. London: Hall and Co., 1853.

DR. CUMMING'S works come so frequently before us, that we can scarcely be expected to do more than indicate them as they appear; especially as they have substantially the same literary character. The first volume we have indicated contains a series of papers or discourses, on various texts of Scripture, in which a blessing is predicted or promised. The second is of greater pretensions, and comes more within the province of this Journal than any former work from the same source. We shall probably have occasion to criticise the expository works of which this is the first, more closely than we can now do, and we can merely express our wish that Dr. Cumming would remember that far different qualities are required for the composition of the first and the second of the works now before us. For the edification of pious persons in sermons, or sermon-like productions, a light and flowery style may be proper; but, something more solid, calm, and learned is demanded when the text of Holy Scripture is to be explained. Now, it does appear to us that Dr. Cumming has adopted

precisely the same *ad captandum* style in both the works, essentially different as they are in their objects.

Dr. Cumming can well afford to allow us to give him a little faithful advice, for he has attained great popularity as a preacher, and a writer for the good pious folk who think more of the style of a preacher or writer, than of his solid matter—that is to say, the class which includes at least three out of four of the mass of good people. As the rapidity with which Dr. Cumming produces his works, shows that he writes for present effect rather than for permanent fame as a divine, he has his reward in his popularity. But we should like to see his undoubted talents employed on something the world would not willingly let die. These volumes leave unmistakable marks of hasty thought and composition. For instance, in the exposition of Matthew i. we have marked the following errors:—'These four Gospels have always been received in every age of the *world*,' should be, in every age of the *Christian Church*. 'All ancient writers, as may be seen in Eusebius, the Greek ecclesiastical historian, Irenaeus, Epiphanius, repeatedly say that this Gospel was written in the Hebrew, &c.' The obscurity and confusion of this sentence need not be commented upon. 'The early *editions* of it now only exist in Greek.' What early *editions* are there of St. Matthew? Perhaps *manuscripts* is meant. 'It may have been so; at all events we have it only in Greek, if this be a translation, and it has been received by the whole Christian Church, as it indeed internally evinces, onward to the present moment, as the inspired and actual history of Jesus, composed by Matthew;' what does the sentence, *as it internally evinces*, refer to? The construction conveys the idea that *its universal reception* is thus proved by internal evidence, which is an absurdity. 'Jesus, which translated literally is, "He shall save his people from their sins."' No, Jesus means only *he shall save*, the other part of the quotation being the exposition of the angel. All these are blemishes which the *limæ labor* would have obviated.

Then there is a want of caution in the reasoning, as for example, when speaking of baptism, in p. 21, Dr. Cumming says, 'It does seem to me that the baptism of infants is most scriptural.' We expect to find some scripture references to establish this strong opinion, but meet with only this matter of taste and sentiment; 'Is there anything more beautiful than the sight in this congregation, when two parents, &c.' Would not a Baptist be justified in saying, after this model, 'It does seem to me that the immersion of adults is most scriptural. Is there anything more solemn than the sight, &c.' So, in p. 29, referring to the temptation of our Lord, it is said that Satan quoted incorrectly by omitting *in all thy ways*, in the passage from Psalm xci. Can Dr. Cumming really assert that this is Satan's misquotation? May it not be an example of the free way so often employed in the Scripture quotations of the New Testament? Then he makes it appear that Satan misquoted because the part omitted alters the sense of the passage; but the full text is a more general proposition than the abbreviated one, and it would be quite as reasonable

to say that Satan was off his guard, and lessened the force of his temptation, by leaving out the *universality* of the promise, as to affirm with Dr. Cumming that he omitted a part because *thy ways* meant the path of duty. We make these observations with a sincere desire that all our pens may in the *best* manner, and not only the most *ready* way, explain the solemn things of divine truth. It is but justice to Dr. Cumming to say that in the title page of his 'Benedictions,' he seems to anticipate something like an objection that his writings are ephemeral. He introduces the lines,—

'It may be glorious to write
Thoughts which shall glad the two or three
High souls, like those far stars that come in sight
Once in a century;
But better far it is to speak
One simple word, which now and then
Shall waken a new nature in the weak
And sinful sons of men.'

True; but, with due deference, we think *this* noble end would be better accomplished by writing less, and giving the spared time to a more studied aim at the mark.

Truth spoken in Love; or Romanism and Tractarianism refuted by the word of God. By the Rev. H. H. Beamish, M.A. London: Shaw, 1853.

Mr. Beamish, in the introduction to this volume, defends the term *Evangelical* from the sad opprobrium into which so delightful a word has fallen in some quarters, from its being made the symbol of a party. An advertisement told us, the other day, that a candidate for a curacy *was not Evangelical!* to such a state of forgetfulness will conventionalisms lead men. We should be glad to see a term so truly expressive of Catholicity taken out of the pale of controversy.

Mr. Beamish discusses, in distinct chapters, the following important subjects:—Rule of faith; baptism, baptismal regeneration, catholicity, auricular confession, schism, apostolical succession. He conveys his views of these topics with great mildness, and his opinions of what constitutes truth are *spoken in love.* The work will be useful to guide those whose reading is limited, amidst the perplexing controversies of the day. To enter more fully into the subjects treated of is beyond our province, and we can only find room for one short extract.

'We then do not derive any truth—any doctrine—any rule of religious faith from the unanimous consent of the fathers. No, it is not from the *consensus Patrum* but from the *contentio Patrum* we derive our knowledge of the canonicity of Scripture; it is not from their agreement with each other, but from their disagreement and controversies upon this vital subject, which brought to light those overwhelming evidences by which this question was finally and for ever decided and placed beyond the shadow of a doubt, and the integrity of the whole Scriptural canon, as the reformed churches now hold it, determined and fixed.'—P. 70.

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1. *Glad Tidings of the Gospel of Peace; a series of Daily Meditations for Christian Disciples.* By the Rev. W. K. Tweedie, D.D. Free Tolbooth Church, Edinburgh. London: Nelson, 1853.
2. *The Tree of Life, bearing Twelve manner of Fruits, and yielding its Fruit every Month.* To be completed in Twelve Monthly Parts. London: Blackader and Co., 1853.
3. *The Grand Discovery, or the Fatherhood of God.* By the Rev. George Gilfillan, author of the 'Bards of the Bible.' London: Blackader and Co., 1853.

These little works are too valuable in the department to which they belong, to receive anything but commendation, even if we discerned anything in them tempting to severity of criticism. They are intended for the largest class of readers, those, namely, who have but few opportunities of taking up a book, and cannot even then sit long at it. The two first consist of short pieces on texts of Scripture, calculated to revive and keep in exercise devout feelings. Without any pretensions to originality or fine writing, they bring home plain Gospel truths to the hearts of their readers. Mr. Gilfillan's work is in a higher style, but its object is the same. The following remarks on the much boasted 'progress' of our day, will give a good idea of the style and spirit of the book, which we can warmly recommend.

'It follows that progress, in its common acceptation, is a miserable delusion, the superstition of infidels, and the god of atheists. Here, too, there is a resemblance between the history of the individual and that of the race. How often are we deceived about the progress of an individual! He seems to have been growing steadily, while it has been all along a deceptio visûs. It has perhaps been but the growth of one morbid part and not of the whole man. In society it is the same. Without God, man's advancement is as much an illusion as is sometimes the motion of a railway carriage, which *appears* to be moving, while it is the one it meets which *really* is. Even with God the progress has been exceedingly slow, principally because man has in general resolutely determined to do without him, like a child who tries to walk alone. It shall be otherwise in the future. But we are decidedly of Foster's opinion that the complete renovation of the world shall be wrought out by means as independent of human instrumentality as is the rising of the sun. Man, indeed, can and ought to work and wait—if he work in the divine strength, and wait for the divine blessing; but if he begin to prate of "progress," and to trust in it, and to understand by it, either a fixed fatalistic motion, or the mere result of man's own unaided efforts, he is hopelessly wrong, and deserves to see the "whole of human hopes, wishes, efforts, and prospects brought down in a long abortive series by the torrent of ages to be lost in final despair." If the god Progress be thought worthy by his admirers of being painted, let it be as a Proteus, eternally changing his form, but never advancing—remaining, indeed, in all but skin, shape, and colour, perpetually and tantalizingly the same.'—P. 86.

The Future Human Kingdom of Christ. Vol. II. By the Rev. D. J. Heath, M.A. Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight. London: J. H. Parker.

Mr. Heath's general principle may be stated to be that, when we rise from the dead, we shall continue the same course we have begun in our present condition. If we become Christ's friends here, and aid him in his work of overcoming the devil; then, in the consummation,

when he accomplishes that work, we shall share in the victory, and reap the reward in our own chastened affections, and subdued passions, and submitted will.

On the other hand, while he that is holy is to be holy still; he that is filthy is to be filthy still. Those who have not properly used their life of probation will rise with their bad passions burning within them, but they will be unable to injure other men by the exercise of those passions as they now do.

Christ will absolutely and efficaciously destroy the power of the devil, and will save every man, good and bad, equally from his power. Mr. Heath looks upon Satan's power, now, as chiefly exercised in, if we may so say, making much of evil, in placing us under unmerited disadvantage, by being exposed to the effects of other men's sins. All this in the next life is to be altered, and any one's sins are only to rage and burn within himself, and will not be able to injure God's creation.

In this way Mr. Heath thinks we may understand, quite absolutely, the declaration that all men are saved, because all men, without exception, will be freed from a state of temptation, and from all evils not arising from himself, while still, men shall literally be rewarded according to their works, in that the good shall be happy and the evil miserable.

One prominent feature in the book is the distinction he draws between sin and sinfulness. He holds that committed sin may be pardoned and clean forgotten, as though it had never been done; but that sinfulness, *i. e.* the sinful condition of the heart, cannot be pardoned as long as it remains. We in fact are to get rid of sinfulness, while God engages that he will get rid of sin.

While we cannot give our assent to Mr. Heath's theory, we feel bound to say, that no one can rise from the perusal of his book without improvement. There are so many materials for thought; so many new methods of interpretation struck out, that many, who will not adhere to the entire system of the book, or even, it may be, agree with the results in it, will yet owe valuable trains of reflection to suggestions first derived from it.

The Genealogies of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as contained in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, reconciled with each other, and with the Genealogy of the House of David, from Adam to the close of the Canon of the New Testament; and shown to be in harmony with the Chronology of the Times. By Lord Arthur Harvey, M.A., Rector of Hickworth. Cambridge: Macmillan, 1853. 8vo., pp. 368.

Lord Hervey has grappled vigorously with the difficulties of the subject, and has, at any rate, produced a very useful work, in which other labourers in the same field of Biblical criticism will find ready to their hands the necessary materials, which are here gathered from the best ancient and modern sources, and arranged in a convenient form.[a]

[a] See the list of 'contents,' and of books made use of in preparing the work, prefixed to Chap. I.

The author's (apparently in the first instance) original researches have led him to the adoption as morally certain of the two following fundamental principles, as the basis on which the one true scheme of interpretation must be constructed.

1. That, according to the view which was universal among the ancients, and which nothing but the supposed necessity that one of the Evangelists must give the Virgin's descent has led some moderns to reject, both St. Matthew and St. Luke give the genealogy of Joseph, the legal father of our Lord.[b]

2. That, the coincidence of the two lines in David and Salathiel is accounted for by the fact that St. Matthew gives the legal descent of the heirs of David's and Solomon's throne (the word ἐγέννησε, used by St. Matthew, being shown to be associated with inheritance of land, in the ideas of the Jews, and in the language of Scripture), whilst St. Luke traces the real descent upwards to David, through Nathan, the elder brother of Solomon, by the same mother, whose descendents, on the failure of Solomon's line in Jehoiachin, Jechoniah, or Coniah (Jer. xxii. 29, 30, xxxvi. 30), became the *quasi* heirs to the throne. The result enables us to discern a remarkable force and propriety in those passages of Scripture, where the Messiah is spoken of as the heir of Solomon's throne, but only as the son of David, who should hereafter come forth as a 'rod' out of the 'stem of Jesse,' when (as stem implies) the parent stock had been cut down and become dead, and unto whom the 'gathering' of the Gentiles should then be.[c]

Such are the axioms on which, in common with the ablest of his predecessors, and with his contemporary Dr. Mill, Lord A. Hervey bases the general scheme which he has adopted. Our space does not allow us at present to follow him step by step throughout his investigation, nor are we quite sure that mere conjectural emendations of the text of Scripture, however plausible, can under any circumstances demand our acceptance as 'possible,' or probable solutions, even of difficulties which may be otherwise presumed to be insurmountable. Lord Hervey is evidently an earnest and sincere believer in the inspiration of the historical Scriptures, but he indulges with unusual freedom in purely conjectural emendations of the sacred text[d] (especially as

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[b] Chap. II.

[c] Chap. III.

[d] For instance, he proposes (Chap. IX.) to solve the difficulty arising from the discordance between the number of generations between Salmon and David, and the chronology of the corresponding period, which would require 100 or 120 years for a generation in that post-patriarchal period, by reading in Judg. xi. 27, '300 cities' for '300 years,' a result which, however plausible in itself, is not warranted by any authority, nor, we believe, would be rendered justifiable by the amount of grammatical irregularity in the text, in the absence of such authority. We agree with Lord Hervey in thinking that the period of the Judges admits of great contraction. We consider, however, that St. Paul's date of 450 years for the time of the Judges (Acts xxii. 20) does not necessarily mean consecutive years, but that since added to the 40 years in the wilderness we have 490 or 70 weeks of years for the time from the Exodus to Samuel or David, it may be regarded as a mystical number measuring the time during which the divine economy was worked out by the Judges as the successors of Joshua until the coming of David, the most eminent representative of Messiah. The remaining difficulty

regards figures and numerals), such as we conceive to be incompatible with the recognition of the office of the Jewish and Christian Churches as the guardians and witnesses of the original text, 'because that unto them (the Jewish Church) were committed the oracles of God,' and they 'received' them to 'give unto us.'[e] Lord Hervey thinks that 'there are cases where conjectural emendation carries as full conviction of its truth as the authority of the most accurate MS. can do.' For ourselves, we cannot so easily surrender the principle that every well-grounded conviction of truth on a question of fact (and the text of Scripture is such a question) rests more or less upon testimony, and that in the absence of authorities derived from ancient versions and MSS., or by certain deductions from the grammatical structure of the text itself, conjectural emendations are unwarrantable and inadmissible.

With this word of caution, we commend Lord Hervey's book to our readers (hoping to enter more fully on the subject at another time) as a valuable store-house of information on this important subject, and as indicative of an approximation towards a satisfactory solution of the difficulties with which it is beset. The two fundamental principles above mentioned being once recognised and established, there may be nothing in the way of reconciling these difficulties with the plenary inspirations of the evangelical records, since the former may, we conceive, be shown to have their counterpart in what we observe in the systems of nature, providence, and revelation, which present analogous difficulties to view.

THE following works are reserved for a more full notice in our next number:—

The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus. (The Syriac Text.) Now first edited by WILLIAM CURETON, M.A., F.R.S. Oxford, at the University Press, 1853. 4to. pp. viii. 418.

The Christian Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation considered and maintained on the principles of Judaism. By the Rev. JOHN OXLEE. London: Hatchard, 1815-1850. 3 vols. 8vo

John de Wycliffe, D.D., a Monograph, with some account of the Wycliffe MSS. in Oxford, &c. By ROBERT VAUGHAN, D.D. London: Seeleys, 1853. Small 4to., pp. 583.

De Lapidum cultu apud Patriarchas quæsito. Scripsit Dr. J. GRIMMELL. Marburgi Cattorum, 1853. London: Nutt.

Die Apostolischen Väter, Untersuchungen über Inhalt und Ursprung der unter ihrem Namen erhaltenen Schriften. VON ADOLF HILGENFELD. Halle, 1853. London: Nutt. (The Apostolic Fathers, an enquiry into the contents and origin of the writings which go under their names.)

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would then be to contrast the period of the Judges so that it may tally with the date in 1 Kings vi. 1, of 480 years from the exodus to the foundation of the temple.

[e] Rom. iii. 2. Acts vii. 38.

Die Biblische Theologie. Einleitung in's alte und neue Testament, und Darstellung des Lehrgehaltes der Biblischen Bücher, nach ihrer Enstehung und ihrem geschichtlichen Verhältniss. Ein Handbuch zum Selbstunterricht. Von Ludwig Noack. Halle, 1853. London: Nutt. (Biblical Theology. An Introduction to the Old and New Testament, and an exhibition of the doctrinal contents of the books of the Bible, according to their origin and historical relation. A handbook for self-instruction.)

A History of the Christian Church, Middle Age. With Four Maps constructed for this work by A. Keith Johnson. By Charles Hardwick, M.A., Fellow of St. Catherine's Hall, &c. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 8vo., p. 480.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

The Edinburgh Review, of November, has made a stir in the religious world by an indiscreet interference with the different sections of the Church of England. Its onslaught against what is known as the Evangelical party is unjust, since it aims at making all who belong to it appear ridiculous by the excesses of a few; a mode of attack to which all bodies are equally exposed. The writer appears to ignore the existence (except under the form of fanaticism) of that personal religion to which the formularies of his own church bind all its members; consisting in a renunciation *of the pomps and vanities of the world*, as well as the sinful lusts of the flesh. His remarks on the way in which some pious parents (may we not say *all*) expect their children to spend Sunday are a pernicious burlesque. Full well we know by some extensive observation, that the laying aside the playthings of childhood, and a guarded behaviour on that holy day on the part of young persons, is consistent with pure happiness. We have deeply regretted that so influential a Journal should have admitted such a paper into its pages.

In the British Quarterly for November, the only paper which comes within our limits is entitled 'The New Theology,—Maurice's Essays,' and it well exposes some of the exaggerated statements which that book contains. For instance, on the doctrine of the Atonement, the reviewer says:—

'Mr. Maurice is without excuse in the course he has taken on this subject. In the first place he has, to a great extent, misrepresented the doctrine as avowed by evangelical believers. Nothing can be more notorious than the fact that the men who see in the death of Christ the penalty of sin, do nevertheless see in that death, and in the whole mission of the Saviour, the most affecting expression of the love of the Father to our race. They not only see this love there as truly as any Unitarian, but it is to them a love much more impressive, because manifested, in their view, at much greater cost. One of the most patent truths of revelation—a truth proclaimed nowhere with so much emphasis as in the evangelical pulpit—is the truth that it was the love of the Father to the world that prompted Him to send his only-begotten Son into it. It may be that our preachers do frequently express themselves unadvisedly about the exactions of the divine justice from

Christ, as taking the place of the guilty; but no man having the slightest acquaintance with the English pulpit can need to be told, that the exhibitions of the Divine Being, as a Sovereign upholding law, are rarely so prominent as are the appeals which present Him as a Father, ready to embrace the returning prodigal.'—P. 448.

The Church of England Quarterly is about to receive a new start under a new editor, and we hope it will subserve the interests of true Biblical theology. It is, however, devoted to the political and social questions of the day as much as to religious ones, and will use its influence by giving *the right tone* to its articles on those subjects. The number for October, under the old *regime*, contains a paper on the Holy Eucharist, in the form of a review of Archdeacon Wilberforce's work on that subject. We think that work singularly deficient in clearness, and far removed from what we conceive to be the scriptural view of the Lord's Supper. This being the case, we should have liked the reviewer to have referred more to Scripture, and less to theory, in his notice of it. The Church of England takes her stand boldly on the word of God, and those are her truest sons who derive their arguments and illustrations most from that store-house to which the reformers so constantly applied.

In a review of Maurice's Essays, we think the writer has really adopted the views of that gentleman on the word *eternal*, although he expresses himself more guardedly. We extract the following passage, referring our readers to our full opinion upon the subject in an earlier part of this number of the Journal. We only add the remark, that if this doctrine be true, then the whole Christian world, from the earliest time to this day, has been deceived in its opinion on this subject.—

'We humbly suggest it cannot be proved that the idea implied in *αἰώνιος*, the Greek word adopted by inspired minds, is truly represented by the human-made and human-interpreted English equivalent *eternal*. . . . . Instead, therefore, of consulting theological dictionaries and commentaries for its definition, we prefer, with Mr. Maurice, accepting the explanation of its author,—"This is life eternal to know Thee," &c.'—P. 439.

That is:—translation is impossible, and any one may give his own subjective version of the word. This is really the amount of the matter. We expect far better things in the coming Series, having great confidence in the new Editor.

The North British Review for November contains a highly important paper on the 'Language and Literature of Modern Greece,' a subject but little known in this country. The writer shows that the Greek is not a dead language, the points of difference between the ancient and modern being very few indeed.

The Bibliotheca Sacra for October has very little that is purely Biblical. One article alone is of that character, an excellent paper on Jonah, forming a complete introduction to the Prophet, by Dr. C. E. Stowe, of Andover.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NIEBUHR AND EUSEBIUS.

Sir,—May I request your permission to offer a few observations upon one or two passages in Niebuhr's Essay on the Armenian Translation of Eusebius, inserted in the 8th No. of the 'Journal of Sacred Literature.'

1. In the 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' No. VIII. p. 280, in a note, Niebuhr writes: 'It is much more probable that there is an error in the number of years assigned to Manasseh; especially on account of the youth of his son Amon. There is nothing perhaps more unexampled in Eastern history, than that a king, who came to the throne at twelve years of age, should attain the age of 45 before an heir to the crown is born to him.'

It is perhaps Niebuhr, rather than the Biblical text, who seems to be in error here. For Manasseh is generally believed to have been carried to Babylon in the reign of Esarhaddon,[a] who is supposed to have died

[a] About the second year of Ahaz, cir. 741 B.C., Isaiah delivered the well-known prediction,—'Within *threescore and five years* shall Ephraim be broken that it be no more a people.' Bishop Lowth remarks on this passage that, 'it was sixty-five years from the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, when this prophecy was delivered, to the total depopulation of the kingdom of Israel by Esarhaddon, who carried away the remains of the ten tribes which had been left by Tiglath-Pileser and Shalmaneser, and who planted the country with new inhabitants. This seems to be the best explanation of the chronological difficulty in this place.' That Esarhaddon did introduce a body of Gentile colonists into Samaria, and that *this colonisation was on a scale apparently corresponding with the language of Isaiah's prediction*, we learn from Ezra iv. 2, 10. And as the capture of Babylon, cir. 680 B.C., would leave Esarhaddon at liberty to send his armies into Syria and Palestine, there is no impossibility whatever in the idea that the final introduction of a very numerons body of Gentile colonists into Samaria happened cir. 677 B.C., about sixty-five years after the commencement of the reign of Ahaz; and that Manasseh also was taken to Babylon at or about the same time, cir. 677-675, between the 22nd and 24th years of his reign. Dr. Jubb, as quoted by Bishop Lowth, observes,—'The Jews in Seder Olam Rabba, and the Talmudists in D. Kimchi on Ezek. iv., say that Manasseh was carried to Babylon by the king of Assyria's captains *in the 22nd year of his reign*.' (i.e. cir. 676 B.C.). I am, however, inclined to think that this opinion was merely a reasonable and highly probable inference gathered by the Talmudists themselves from the prediction of Isaiah; for if it had really been a national tradition of long standing, it would most likely have been noticed by Josephus.

In the 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' viii. p. 278, Niebuhr says of Esarhaddon—'That the story of the conquest of Egypt by him is false, is evident from the concurrent accounts of the Bible and Herodotus. Perhaps, however, it was he who led Manasseh captive to Babylon.' But the mere silence of the Bible and Herodotus scarcely warranted this strong language. In the 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' viii. p. 467, it is said,—'Colonel Rawlinson gives an account of a bronze lion discovered at Nebbi-Yunus, bearing the inscription, 'Esarhaddon, King of Kings; Conqueror of *Misr and Cush* (Egypt and Ethiopia).' In a letter from Baghdad, written by Colonel Rawlinson, and of which extracts appeared in the 'Athenæum,' it is stated,—'A very old Egyptian lion in black marble has been

in 667 B.C. Now the death of Manasseh occurred, according to the received chronology, cir. 643 B.C., at which time Amon, his son and successor, was twenty-two years old. Amon was therefore born cir. 665, i. e. *about two years after the death of Esarhaddon.*

It is clear that Niebuhr's objection to the Biblical number assigned to Manasseh's reign mainly rests on the supposition that Amon was his father's *eldest son*, although not born until after that father had reached the 45th year of his age, and the 33rd of his reign; and therefore after Manasseh's return from captivity. But that Amon was not the eldest son of Manasseh will at once be discovered on ascertaining the cause of Manasseh's deliverance and restoration to his own land. The sacred historian informs us 'that when Manasseh was in affliction he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers, and prayed unto him; and He was intreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom. *Then Manasseh knew that the Lord he was God,*' 2 Chr. xxxiii. 12, 13. These words prove that the royal captive returned to Jerusalem a sincere and penitent believer in the God of Israel; and thus we are certain that it was previous to this captivity that (as indeed the arrangement of the Biblical narrative would of itself seem to teach us) Manasseh 'caused *his children* to pass through the fire in the valley of the son of Hinnom,' 2 Chr. xxxiii. 6. (It is also to be remarked that it is elsewhere written that 'he made *his son* to pass through the fire,' 2 Kings xxi. 6.) It is true that we do not know what became of the *son and children* here mentioned; yet, as we are sure that they were all (whether few or many) born and consecrated to the heathen idol, before their father's captivity, we at least learn from these passages that there is no ground whatever for Niebuhr's statement that 'Manasseh, who came to the throne at twelve years of age, attained the age of 45, before an heir to the throne was born to him.'

2. In the 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' p. 280, Niebuhr says, 'If we reckon up the years of the five successors of Hezekiah, and add to them the 37 years of the captivity of Jehoiakin, we find that according to the numbers given in our Biblical text, which even Josephus had in his hands, about 137 years elapsed between the death of Hezekiah and the first year of Evil-Merodach. But according to Berosus, only 113 years had elapsed from the death[b] of Sennacherib (to the first year of

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discovered close to Colonel Rawlinson's own door at Baghdad. This marble lion has, apparently, the Egyptian name Sheshenk on its breast; and the bronze lion, found by the Turks at Nebbi-Yunus, bears upon it the same epithet for Esarhaddon which is found *on his Egyptian trophies* in the S.-W. palace at Nimroud, viz., that of king (conqueror) of Musar (Misr) and Kus.' Kus may possibly be the Arabian Cush, as, elsewhere, Colonel Rawlinson states that *Mirukha* (Meroe) is the name by which (the African) Ethiopia is designated in the inscriptions. We cannot help feeling doubtful how far it is true that the name of Sheshenk is to be found on the Egyptian lion. At all events these announcements favour the view that Manasseh was taken to Babylon in the reign of Esarhaddon, and, therefore, that Amon was born after his father's return from captivity.

[b] Niebuhr agrees with those who consider Sennacherib's reign to have extended through eighteen years; in which case the death of this Assyrian sovereign must

Evil-Merodach). Such chronological deviations were formerly always decided against the profane author, which is, however, a Jewish Masoretic superstition. It is much more probable that there is an error in the number of years assigned to Manasseh,' &c.

From this it appears that there is a difference of about twenty-four years between the statements of the Biblical text and of Berosus, in reference to the length of the interval between the deaths of Hezekiah and of Sennacherib, and the accession of Evil-Merodach. And these observations of Niebuhr are the more interesting just now, in consequence of the recently announced opinions of Colonel Rawlinson and Dr. Hincks, that Sennacherib ascended the throne of Nineveh cir. 703-702 B.C. In this case, supposing Evil-Merodach to have commenced his reign 563 B.C., the interval in question will be about 120 years. For according to Colonel Rawlinson, Sennacherib probably reigned 18 years, and therefore died cir. 684 B.C. And as Colonel Rawlinson finds that Sennacherib invaded Judea in the third year of his reign, it will follow, if Colonel Rawlinson's view be correct, that the 14th year of Hezekiah must have occurred cir. 750, and his death cir. 685 B.C.

However firmly we believe that the numbers severally assigned to the reigns of the Jewish kings were, without exception, given with perfect accuracy in the original Hebrew MS. of the Books of Kings, it does not follow that we are also firmly to believe that the Divine Providence has specially interposed to prevent transcribers[c] from falling into error while copying these regnal numbers. We have, therefore, no right to conclude peremptorily and summarily, without due previous investigation, that in every instance of numerical discrepancy the Biblical number must necessarily be correct, and that of Berosus or other secular historians certainly erroneous. Yet, perhaps, the *à priori* probability of accuracy in such cases is more strongly in favour of the Biblical text than Niebuhr's language would seem to indicate; for we can scarcely refuse to believe that the Books of the Kings were compiled, not only with a religiously earnest desire to draw up a thoroughly accurate statement, but also from abundant[d] and authentic materials. It will not be denied that these books have also been preserved by the

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have occurred about the same year as that of Hezekiah, *i. e.*, according to the received biblical chronology, cir. 698 B.C., and according to Colonel Rawlinson's view, cir. 685 B.C.

[c] The following seem to be instances of error in the transcription of regnal numbers:—In 2 Kings viii. 26, Ahaziah, king of Judah, is said to have been 'two-and-twenty years old when he began to reign;' and in 2 Chron. xxii. 2, he is said to have been 'forty and two years old' at his accession. Again, Jehoiachin was 'eighteen years old when he began to reign' (2 Kings xxiv. 8); but elsewhere we read, 'Jehoiachin was eight years old,' &c. (2 Chron. xxxvi. 9).

[d] If we read carefully the account of Jehoiachin's surrender to Nebuchadnezzar, 2 Kings xxiv. 10-16, and his removal to Babylon, accompanied by the most eminent, and doubtless also by the most pious of his subjects, there seems to be no ground whatever for thinking that the captives did not take with them an abundant supply of historical documents. These would certainly be carefully preserved during their captivity; and, at least the most important portion of them would be carried back to Jerusalem, where Ezra could afterwards have free access to them.

Jews with watchful and even superstitious care. Is not this more than can be asserted of Berosus, who wrote his history more than two centuries after the overthrow of Babylon, and at a time when the recently discovered Assyrian documents had already been withdrawn from observation? And, indeed, we have nothing of his work, except a few fragments preserved in Josephus and other writers. Hence, if we had only the two books of Kings, we might, in reference to the events of *Judæo-Chaldean* history, fairly regard their authority as superior to that of the Chaldean historian Berosus.

But we have an additional Biblical document. For the two Books of Chronicles are not servile copies, made long afterwards, of certain portions of the Books of the Kings: on the contrary, they contain several not unimportant additions from independent sources. And even if we are to suppose that the same individual, Ezra, was the compiler of both these summaries of Hebrew history, yet as we thus have the history as it were in duplicate, we must allow the strong claim of the numerical regnal statements of the Books of Kings to be received as accurate, to be yet farther strengthened by our finding the same corresponding regnal numbers in the Books of Chronicles.

The Jews are also to be regarded as fully competent witnesses to the fact that Evil-Merodach began to reign at Babylon, in the 37th year of the captivity of their king, Jehoiachin. For at the very time in question, they were themselves residing in Babylon, and the realm of Chaldea—and as they doubtless kept a careful reckoning of the years of their king's captivity, it must be considered all but impossible that there should have been a numerical error on this point in the original Hebrew MS. Moreover, the fact is *twice* recorded; first, in 2 Kings xxv. 27; and again, with a slight difference as to the day of the month, in Jer. lii. 31.

Now if we assume that Evil-Merodach succeeded his father Nebuchadnezzar in the 37th year of Jehoiachin's captivity, it will follow from the Biblical text, that Nebuchadnezzar reigned about 44 years; and since Berosus, as quoted by Josephus, assigns 43 years to this monarch's reign, the Biblical numerical statements on two points—the length of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, and the year of Jehoiachin's captivity in which Evil-Merodach ascended the throne—would seem to be strikingly confirmed by Berosus. Again, this writer states that Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, reigned 21 years. The Scriptures do not mention this king; hence any apparent chronological agreement will here be more indirect. Now it is generally supposed that Nabopolassar[e] revolted from Nineveh, and made Babylon the seat

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[e] Niebuhr writes, in the 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' p. 280—'Nabopolassar's revolt from Nineveh occurs in Olymp. 38 (628-624 B.C.) consequently the overthrow of the city and the empire took place at that time.' Niebuhr's statement is correct with regard to the overthrow of the imperial greatness of Nineveh; but the final overthrow of the city by Cyaxares probably occurred cir. 606 B.C. In the note p. 274, Niebuhr is inclined to reject the statement of the Armenian Eusebius that Evil-Merodach reigned 12 years, and to receive as correct the statement of Berosus in Josephus, viz., that this king reigned two years.

of an independent kingdom, cir. 626 B.C. And we seem to be justified in inferring from this fact that the imperial power of Nineveh had so thoroughly ceased cir. 626 B.C. that *her near neighbour and vassal* at Babylon could venture to declare himself an independent king. And it is therefore rather probable than otherwise, that the Assyrian monarch should have lost, some four or five years earlier, his hold upon the remote province of Samaria, and that Josiah should have been able (without fear of, and without real wrong to the sovereign of Nineveh) to act, under the divine impulse and sanction, as an independent sovereign in the nominally Assyrian province of Samaria, cir. 630 B.C. Thus far there would seem to be positive agreement, where the Biblical text can be directly compared with Berosus, and substantial agreement where they can be only indirectly compared together. Hence the number of years apparently assigned in the Old Testament to the period which elapsed from the commencement of Josiah's religious reformation to the accession of Evil-Merodach (*i. e.* from 630 to 563 B.C.) would appear, upon the whole, to be confirmed by Berosus. Accordingly, whatever numerical discrepancy exists between the Biblical text and Berosus is to be considered as having reference to the length of the interval between the death of Sennacherib (and of Hezekiah, on Colonel Rawlinson's view) and the year 630 B.C.

Let me now turn from Berosus to Herodotus, who teaches us that about ninety-one years elapsed from the accession of Neco to the overthrow of Psammenitus by Cambyses. If we suppose this event to have occurred between 527 and 525 B.C., it will follow that Neco succeeded his father Psammitichus cir. 616-618 B.C. The reader's attention is requested to the following extract from Herodotus. 'This king first set about the canal that leads to the Red Sea, which Darius, the Persian, afterwards completed . . . . in the digging of which one hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians perished in the reign of Neco. Now Neco stopped digging it in the middle of the work, the following oracle having caused an impediment—"that he was working for a barbarian." But Neco, having put a stop to his excavations, turned his attention to military matters; and triremes were constructed, some on the Northern Sea, and others in the Arabian Gulf, of which the docks are still to be seen. These he used as he had occasion; and Neco having come to an engagement with the Syrians by land at Magdolus,[f] conquered them, and after the battle took Cadytis, which is a large city in Syria' (Cary's Her. ii. 158). Let this be compared with another passage from the same writer. 'Neco, when he had ceased digging the canal, sent certain Phœnicians in ships, with orders to sail back through the pillars of Hercules into the Northern (Mediterranean) Sea, and so to return to Egypt. The Phœnicians, accordingly, setting out from the Red Sea, in the third year, having doubled the pillars of Hercules, they arrived in Egypt' (Her. iv. 42). We learn from these extracts that Neco was not naturally warlike; and, although it is not said how long, or how short a time was spent in digging the canal

[f] This was probably the defeat of Josiah at Megiddo.

before the cessation of the work, we can scarcely suppose that less than four or five years were thus employed. Add another year for the construction of the two fleets in the Mediterranean and Red Seas, and we can scarcely think that he would encounter Josiah earlier than the sixth or even seventh year of his reign, *i. e.* earlier than cir. 712-711 B.C. Hence the received chronology of the Old Testament—viz., that Josiah was defeated and mortally wounded in battle against Pharaoh Neco, cir. 710 B.C.—*would seem to be not only thoroughly consistent with, but also confirmed by the narrative of Herodotus.*

When, therefore, we reflect that the regnal numbers in the Biblical text were copied in duplicate, and doubtless from fully adequate and authentic documents—and, that subsequent transcriptions have from time to time been carefully made of both the summaries of Hebrew history—and, that where we are able to compare the regnal numbers of the Biblical text with the numerical statements of Herodotus and Berosus, we find a striking substantial agreement—we seem constrained to allow that where the Biblical numbers differ from those found in secular writers, they ought not to be set aside except on very clear and satisfactory grounds.

With regard to the numerical difference noticed by Niebuhr between the Biblical text and Berosus, if, indeed, the case stood simply thus—Berosus assigns only one hundred and thirteen years to an interval in Assyrian and Chaldean history to which our present Biblical text assigns one hundred and thirty-seven years, and there is no third and independent party to guide us in our decision;—my own preference would be very strongly in favour of the Biblical number. But the question has very recently assumed a different form; and, an opinion has been lately promulgated, that between the death of Sennacherib (and Hezekiah) and the accession of Evil-Merodach, is an interval of about one hundred and twenty-two years; exceeding Berosus by nine, and falling short of the Biblical text by fifteen years. For Colonel Rawlinson, after consulting original Assyrian inscriptions, says that Sennacherib invaded Palestine in the third year of his reign (his *third* would therefore be more or less coincident with Hezekiah's *fourteenth* year), and that the date of Sennacherib's accession is 703-702 B.C. This would bring the 14th Hezekiah down from 713 to 701-700 B.C. Accordingly 685 B.C. would be about the date of the deaths of Hezekiah and Sennacherib; *i. e.* these sovereigns died about one hundred and twenty-two years before the accession of Evil-Merodach (563 B.C.). If it shall appear, after more careful investigation, that the view of Colonel Rawlinson is correct, it will then be a question, 'Do the recorded events of Manasseh's reign fairly allow its length to be reduced from fifty-five to forty-two years,[g] so that the

[g] We are not to forget that the Septuagint version and Josephus agree with our Hebrew copies of the Books of Kings and Chronicles in assigning fifty-five years to the reign of Manasseh.

If we take away thirteen years from the reign of Manasseh, without a corresponding compensation elsewhere, we shall perhaps render more difficult the interpretation of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21; and Ezek. iv. 5.

only Biblical error shall be that of the incorrectness of transcribers in copying the regnal number?'

Now, the leading facts (so far as are requisite for my purpose) in the scriptural account of Manasseh's reign are these. He ascended the throne at twelve years of age. He consecrated to a heathen idol two or more children (one of them at least a son) *before his captivity*. After his return from Babylon to Jerusalem, he reigned at least twenty-three years; as, at his death, his son and successor Amon was twenty-two years old. It is obvious that, *so far as the mere facts here mentioned are concerned*, this arrangement is quite consistent, (1) with the supposition that Manasseh reigned (according to our present Biblical text) fifty-five years; or, (2) with the view that he reigned only about forty-two years. We must, however, require a much fuller examination of the Assyrian inscriptions, and a more satisfactory assurance that they have been accurately deciphered and interpreted, before we can accept a numerical result at variance both with the Biblical text and Berosus, and also with probable conclusions drawn from the Median chronology of Herodotus.[h]

3. It is familiar to your readers that the Cadytis of Herodotus has sometimes been identified with Jerusalem. Yet the words of Herodotus, 'from Phœnicia to the confines of the city of Cadytis, which belongs to the Syrians of Palestine, and from Cadytis, a city in my opinion not much less than Sardis, the seaports as far as the city of Jenysus belong to the Arabian king; and again, from Jenysus as far as the lake Serbonis, near which Mount Casius stretches to the sea, belongs to the Syrians; and from the lake Serbonis Egypt begins (Cary's Herod. iii. c. 5),' would rather seem to indicate *that Cadytis was a seaport, and the southernmost seaport of the Philistines*, and that, from its size (equal to Sardis), it was probably Gaza.

In the 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' p. 280, in the note, Niebuhr writes: 'I must in passing remark further, that the identity of Kadytis

[h] According to Herodotus, 179 years elapsed from the commencement of the reign of Deioces to the death of Cyrus. If we receive 530 B.C. as the date of the latter event, we have 709 B.C. as the date of the separation of Media from Assyria, and its erection into an independent kingdom. Assuming these numbers to be correct, it would seem not improbable that Deioces took advantage of the disastrous overthrow of the Assyrians in Palestine to establish an independent sovereignty in Media, and therefore that Sennacherib retreated from Judea, at least as early as 709 B.C. It is easy to say that fifty-three years is an improbably long period to assign to the reign of Deioces; but we have no right, without proper authority, to change this number into one more in accordance with our own notions of probability.

There are strange difficulties connected with the early history of Psammitichus in Herodotus, which I may perhaps notice at the close of the letter. It may be here remarked that, if Psammitichus died cir. 617-618 B.C., after a reign of 54 years, he became the sovereign of all Egypt, cir. 672 B.C. Herodotus tells us that he had previously been one of twelve kings who together ruled over Egypt, and Diodorus Siculus says that the joint rule of these twelve, which commenced after an anarchy of two years, lasted fifteen years. If then we add 17 to 672, we shall have cir. 690 B.C. as the date of the death of Sethon, the priest of Vulcan, who was king when Sennacherib invaded Egypt. If we think Psammitichus to have been about twenty-five years old when Sethon died, he would have been born cir. 715 B.C., and have been about ninety-eight years old at the time of his death.

and Jerusalem, which used to be rejected on account of the name, seems to be well established. Foreigners bestowed names on the Egyptian cities which had no similarity whatever with the native ones; may not the Egyptians have given names equally unlike their true appellations to foreign cities?'

On this subject the following remarks by Colonel Rawlinson[1] ('Outline of Assyr. Hist.,' p. 21, note) can scarcely fail to interest the Biblical student. 'The xlvii. chapter of Jeremiah prophetically describes the desolation by Pharaoh Neco of the land of the Philistines, and further alludes expressly to the capture and destruction of Gaza by the same king (v. i.). Our commentators have been content to say that this campaign is unnoticed in history, but such is not the case. The Cadytis, in fact, of Herodotus, which was taken by Neco after his engagement with the Syrians at Magdolus, and which has been hitherto identified with Jerusalem, is nothing more or less than the city of Gaza, the true form of which name, as given in the inscriptions, is *Khazita*. The Greeks changed *Khazita* into *Cadytis*, precisely as they changed *Akhzib* into *Ecdippa;* and that the identification has hitherto escaped notice is owing to the Hebrews having softened the feminine ending, as was usual with them, into *h* (עַזָּה), and having thus lopped a syllable from the name. The description, moreover, of Cadytis given by Herodotus in another passage (Conf. iii. 5, and ii. 159) is exactly applicable to Gaza, and will by no means answer to Jerusalem. Cadytis too, for *Kadatha*, as a Chaldee corruption of (קְדֻשָׁא), could hardly have been known in Syria in the time of Herodotus.'

4. In p. 280, Niebuhr writes in the note: 'It is universally recognized that the Labynetus of Herodotus is the Nabonnedus of Berosus; but it will occasion perplexity to any one who attempts to arrange the chronology of Herodotus for himself, that Labynetus, the Babylonian, is named as bringing about the peace between Alyattes and Cyaxares; for their war is older than the beginning of his reign. Yet Herodotus says (i. 188) that the last king of Babylon was the heir of the name and the kingdom of his father, and consequently this earlier Labynetus must be the mediator. Now, however, we are met with a fresh difficulty, for no list of kings of Babel contain such a king. I conjecture that Herodotus must have meant Nebuchadnezzar (the similarity between the names is not to be mistaken); and it appears to me that Amuhia, for whose sake the most gigantic edifices were erected, can be no other than

[1] The following extract from Colonel Rawlinson's 'Outlines of Assyr. Hist.' p. 24, strikingly illustrates a passage in Isaiah:—'Sennacherib must have now made that foray on the territory of Hezekiah which is noticed in Scripture under the expression, "He came up against all the fenced cities of Judah and took them" (2 Kings xviii. 13). Colonel Taylor's Cylinder gives an account of the prisoners and spoil which were taken in this foray. The numbers of the male and female prisoners are stated at 200,164; and it is very remarkable that Demetrius the Jew, as he is quoted by Clemens of Alexandria, ascribes the great Assyrian captivity of the Jews to this very king Sennacherib.' Well might Hezekiah say to Isaiah,—'Wherefore lift up thy prayer for *the remnant* that is left' (*found*, marg.); or as Lowth renders it—'for the poor remains of the people.' (Isa. xxxvii. 4).

the Nitocris, to whom Herodotus ascribes the great works on the Euphrates.'

This Amuhia is described in the preceding page as a Median princess, daughter of Asdahages the Mede, whom Nabopolassar asked in marriage for his son Nabochodrossor. Now Berosus, as quoted by Josephus, says that Nebuchadnezzar (apparently towards the close of his reign) 'built a pensile paradise, resembling a mountainous country, supported by stone pillars, to please his queen, because she had been brought up in Media.' But let the reader only glance at the language of the Greek historian when describing the apprehensions of Nitocris in consequence of the success and ambition of Cyrus. 'When Nitocris saw the power of the Medes growing formidable and restless, and that, among other cities, Nineveh was captured by them, she took every precaution for her own defence.' It would seem probable from this that Herodotus at least regarded Nitocris not as a Median princess, but rather as of some other nation. The name of Nitocris was certainly Egyptian, and we have no reason to think that it was also Median.

Again, the Labynetus who was conquered by Cyrus inherited from his father, the husband of Nitocris, the kingdom of Assyria, and Babylon, as the splendid imperial metropolis of Assyria, which had succeeded to the Assyrian rank and honours of Nineveh. It is however to be remembered that not only in the above quotation relating to Nitocris, but also elsewhere, Herodotus describes the Medes as the real conquerors of Nineveh, and also Cyaxares as the lord of Assyria Proper, after the overthrow of its capital. We may almost confidently assert that the Labynetus, who was mediator between the Lydians and Medes, never became lord of Assyria Proper *during the life of the warlike and ambitious Cyaxares.* But, according to the Biblical history and Berosus, Nebuchadnezzar reigned not less than forty-three years. If, therefore, this mighty sovereign died cir. 563, his father, Nabopolassar, must have died cir. 606, certainly some years before the death of Cyaxares, and therefore never could have obtained the kingdom of Assyria.

If, however, we suppose the eclipse of Thales to have occurred in 685, then the Labynetus, who with Syenneses mediated between the contending parties, was certainly Nebuchadnezzar, and this successful mediation occurred about the twenty-first year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. Now it was not until after the treaty between the Lydians and Medes that the Scythians were treacherously massacred and expelled by Cyaxares. But, according to Herodotus, up to the time of their expulsion, these barbarians 'governed Asia; exacting, besides the usual tribute, from each whatever they chose to impose; and, in addition to the tribute, they rode round the country and plundered them of all their possessions.' Now, unless we are altogether to exclude Mesopotamia from what is here called Asia, is it possible to believe that such a state of things existed so late as the twenty-first year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar? It is at least very improbable, and the accounts of the Scriptures, Herodotus, and Berosus (except that the latter states

that[k] Nabonnedus (Labynetus) surrendered to Cyrus and escaped with his life) are at once reconciled, if we suppose the Labynetus, who was the friend of Cyaxares, to be Nabopolassar—Labynetus, the husband of Nitocris, to be Evil-Merodach—the Labynetus who was conquered by Cyrus, to be Belshazzar—and the king who made Babylon the imperial capital of Chaldea and Assyria, to be Nebuchadnezzar.

5. I wish again to make a passing allusion to what appears the strange and unaccountable silence of Herodotus concerning a monarch so renowned as we know Nebuchadnezzar to have been, from testimony too strong and weighty to be for a moment affected by that silence. Yet our surprise will perhaps be much lessened by two or three obvious considerations. Herodotus is chiefly writing the history of Egypt, Lydia, Media and Persia, and mentions Assyria and Babylon only in subordination to these. He appears to have collected the materials for a history of Assyria, and of the fall of Nineveh, yet he never mentions the name of an Assyrian king,[m] except where Sennacherib is introduced as the invader of Egypt. We do not know that the son of Nabopolassar undertook any important expeditions against Lydia or Media; and the Egyptian priests would probably not mention to the inquiring Greek the defeat of Neco, near the Euphrates, or the subsequent Chaldean invasion of Egypt. Hence, so far as Herodotus' information extended, he would scarcely find even the name of Nebuchadnezzar occurring in the annals of Egypt, Lydia, or Media. Again, if in the course of his inquiries he heard of Nebuchadnezzar's victories over Arabia, Judea, Moab, Ammon, Edom, and Philistia, he would still, perhaps, regard him as a second-rate conqueror of certain obscure barbarous tribes; and the fact that the siege of Tyre lasted thirteen years, and terminated in the escape of the inhabitants with their wealth into the neighbouring island, where they erected a second Tyre, would not make Nebuchadnezzar appear a Cyrus, or even a Cyaxares or Crœsus. But if instead of the weary and protracted siege of Tyre, he had invaded the Greek cities of Asia Minor as successfully as Crœsus—if instead of Jerusalem and Zedekiah, he had sacked Sardis, and conveyed Alyattes a blind captive to Babylon, or had defeated Astyages in battle, and taken Ecbatana—then, doubtless, Herodotus would have presented to his countrymen the name and triumphs of Nebuchadnezzar. Yet there still remains another difficulty on this point. We know from the prophet Daniel, Berosus, and the recent investigations of Colonel Rawlinson, that the imperial magnificence of Babylon, her marvellous walls, gates, and palace, were mainly the work of Nebuchadnezzar. How is it, then, that Herodotus did not speedily discover this? It may be replied, that his mind was so deeply preoccupied with the Greek legends

[k] When we reflect that tradition assigned a short space to the interval between the return of Sennacherib to Nineveh and his murder by his sons; and that even already in the days of Herodotus, 'many accounts were given of the death of Cyrus,' we may well suspect that this was also the case, in some degree, with the end of the last king of Babylon. Berosus may have followed popular tradition in his statements concerning Nabonnadus, while historic truth is really to be found in the Book of Daniel, the contemporary of Belshazzar.

[m] Herodotus (ii. 150) mentions an Assyrian king Sardanapalus.

concerning Semiramis, that he would listen with incredulity to any Chaldean statements which exposed the fabulous character of those legends, by ascribing the glory of the imperial greatness of Babylon to Nebuchadnezzar, and not to Semiramis.

6. The history of Egypt in Herodotus was *not* drawn up by Egyptians for the use of their countrymen, but appears to have been communicated by the priests to the inquiring Greek traveller; and it is not unfair to think that they wished to give, through his pen, a very favourable picture of their country to foreigners. They may thus, perhaps, have concealed, altered, or exaggerated, at least, in a few instances, as best suited their purpose—a supposition which serves in some measure to account for 'Manetho's charging Herodotus with ignorance and false relations of Egyptian affairs,' as Josephus assures us was the case. Hence the venerable father of history might be the deceived, and not the deceiving party. Certainly there are very serious difficulties in some portions of his Egyptian narrative.

According to Manetho (whose statement is probably correct), an Ethiopian dynasty, consisting of three sovereigns, Sabacon, Sevechus, and Tarchus (Tirhaka), reigned in Egypt for the space of about forty years. But the account which Herodotus received differs from that of Manetho. 'During the reign of a blind man named Anysis, Sabacon, king of the Ethiopians, invaded Egypt; the blind king fled into the fens, and the Ethiopian reigned over Egypt fifty years. . . . . When any Egyptian committed any crime, he would not have any of them put to death. . . . . While yet in Ethiopia, an oracle had told him he was fated to reign over Egypt fifty years. Having received a strange vision at the end of these fifty years, he withdrew into Ethiopia, and the blind king (Anysis) resumed the government, returning from the fens where he had lived fifty years,[n] on an island formed of ashes and earth. . . . . After him reigned Sethon, a priest of Vulcan, who took away the lands from the military caste of the Egyptians. After this Sennacherib, king of the Arabians and Assyrians, marched a large army against Egypt, and was defeated.' (Her. ii. 137, &c.) After the defeat of the Assyrians, Sethon seems to have retained the royal power unto his death. As to the length of the interval from the retreat of Sabacon, and the resumption of the government by Anysis, until the defeat of Sennacherib in the reign of Sethon, we have no information. As it is my wish to name what is probable, let me assume that this interval was not less, though it may be more, than six years.

Bearing in mind what has been just advanced, let us look at the history of Psammitichus. 'This Psammitichus, who had before fled from Sabacon the Ethiopian, who had killed his father Neco,[o] having at that time fled into Syria, the Egyptians, who belong to the Saitic dis-

[n] It is almost needless to observe that this narrative resembles a popular tradition rather than authentic history.

[o] This seems contrary to what Herodotus had previously written of Sabacon's mildness and clemency, saying, 'that when any Egyptian committed any crime, he would not have any of them put to death.' There may, however, have been exceptions in cases of treason and rebellion.

trict, brought him back, when the Ethiopian withdrew, in consequence of the vision in a dream.' (Her. ii. 152.) Now Herodotus does not furnish an answer to either of the following questions: 'How old was Psammitichus when he fled from Sabacon into Syria?' and 'How long did he continue in Syria?' It would not be at all inconsistent with the language of the historian, to think that he was a young man, at least twenty years old, when his father Neco was put to death. But, to choose too low, rather than too high a number, let us suppose that Psammitichus was twelve years of age when he fled into Syria, and that he was fifteen when he returned on the restoration of Anysis to the throne. If we say that the Assyrian invasion occurred some six years afterwards, he would be about twenty-one years old at the time of Sennacherib's defeat near Pelusium. If this event occurred cir. 699-698 B.C., the date of Psammitichus' birth would be cir. 719 B.C., and he would thus be at least one hundred years old when he died. If, however, we think that, according to the received chronology, Sennacherib was defeated cir. 712 B.C., then, according to what has been just advanced, we must allow (what is apparently impossible) that Psammitichus was one hundred and fifteen years of age at the time of his decease, cir. 617 B.C. It would seem to be difficult to reconcile what Herodotus writes concerning Psammitichus, even with the supposition that Sennacherib's defeat occurred cir. 699 B.C., and impossible to reconcile it with the received chronology, that the defeat of the Assyrians happened cir. 712 B.C.

The scriptural student finds it difficult to resist the conviction that the Egyptian priests fabricated the account of Sennacherib's defeat near Pelusium, that they might ascribe to their own false god the fearful overthrow of the Assyrian host in Palestine by the Most High. Little skill is manifested in the construction of the fiction. For, when Sennacherib is described as the king of the Arabians and Assyrians, we are taught that the Arabian neighbours of the Egyptians (an advantage afterwards possessed by Cambyses) were in league with the Assyrian. It scarcely seems possible that these should be ignorant that the Egyptian soldiery had utterly refused to assist Sethon. They would eagerly communicate such a circumstance to Sennacherib, who would thus, most probably, have been induced to leave a sufficient force before Pelusium, to restrain the inhabitants, and to advance with the main army into Lower Egypt, which, he would be aware, was unable to offer any effectual resistance, in consequence of the determined disaffection of the military caste.

If Josephus has correctly rendered the meaning of Berosus, and if Whiston has rightly translated the Greek of Josephus, then the statement of Berosus, that 'when Sennacherib had abode at Nineveh *a little while*, he was treacherously assaulted and died by the hands of his elder sons, Adrammelech and Sarasar' (Jos. An. x. c. i. 95), agrees, to a certain extent, with the traditional account given in the apocryphal Tobit.

12*th August*, 1853. G.

P.S.—If we accept Herodotus' statement of the regnal years of Psammitichus and his successors, and consider the date of the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses to be cir. 527-525, it will follow that the reign of Psammitichus commenced cir. 672-673 B.C. If now we turn to Manetho,[p] we find that he gives an interval of twenty-one years between the accession of Psammitichus and the death (or close of the Egyptian reign) of the Ethiopian Tirhaka; which latter event would thus be dated cir. 694-693. Again, according to Africanus, the reign of Tirhaka over Egypt lasted eighteen years; and he would thus have ascended the throne of Egypt cir. 712-713. But according to Eusebius, Manetho assigns twenty years to Tirhaka, which makes the commencement of his reign to have occurred cir. 713-714. If these dates could be proved to be correct, it will result that, whether Sennacherib invaded Judea 712, or 700 B.C, in either case Tirhaka could have advanced against the Assyrians.

The following additional remarks are offered on this obscure portion of Egyptian chronology:—

1. It may be fairly said that the Scriptures, Herodotus, and Manetho, *agree* in stating that an Ethiopian sovereign ruled over Egypt not long before the time of Sennacherib's invasion of Judea. The name of this Ethiopian is *Sabacon* in Herodotus—*Sevechus* (Sebichus) in Manetho, and (according to the present Hebrew punctuation) *So*, in the Old Testament.[q] But סוֹ, the Hebrew form of So, admits, as has been observed, a punctuation by which it might be read S'va.

2. Herodotus and Manetho *apparently agree* in representing the Ethiopian sovereignty to have been exercised, *during the whole period of its continuance over all Egypt*. There is, however, a striking difference between the two historians. For, in Herodotus, this foreign sovereignty continues *fifty* years, under *one* king, *Sabacon*; whereas, in Manetho, it lasts only *forty* (in Eusebius forty-four) years, under *three* successive kings, viz. *Sabacon*, *Sevechus*, and *Tarchus* (or Tirhaka). Thus Manetho would seem to confirm the statement of Herodotus, that it was Sabacon who conquered Egypt; and in teaching us that the Ethiopian supremacy lasted at least forty (or even forty-four) years, he makes it probable that Herodotus received his '*fifty years*' from Egyptian informants. At the same time, when he says that the Ethiopian supremacy was exercised under *three* successive kings, Manetho must be understood as directly contradicting Herodotus, or rather his Egyptian informants.

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[p] Manetho's list of dynasties has been transcribed by Africanus and Eusebius. With regard to the regnal years of Psammitichus and his successors, Africanus agrees with Herodotus in the cases of Psammitichus, Psammuthis (or Psammis), and Amosis; and Eusebius (as also Herodotus) assigns twenty-five years to the reign of Vapheres (Apries). In Eusebius the Ethiopian dynasty continues forty-four years; and he thus comes nearer than Africanus to the fifty of Herodotus. In Eusebius the twenty-sixth dynasty strangely begins with 'Ammeres the Ethiopian,' who is not mentioned by Africanus. They unite in assigning *six* years to Pharaoh-Neco; but the history of his reign in Herodotus seems to require sixteen rather than six years.

[q] If the final (ס) in this name had a slightly guttural sound, the resemblance to Sevech would be increased.

3. There is another difference which deserves to be noticed. Herodotus writes, that at the time of Sennacherib's advance,[r] Sethon, *a native Egyptian*, reigned at least over Lower Egypt. Yet Manetho does not seem to give any countenance to this view. On the contrary, in his list of dynasties, the XXVth, or Ethiopian dynasty — Sabacon, Sevechus, Tarchus — holds the sovereignty of Egypt, without any apparent temporary interruption, to the end of the reign of Tarchus. And we may feel assured that it was in the days of Tirhaka that the large Assyrian force was miraculously destroyed in Judea.

4. Now it is perhaps remarkable that the Scriptures would seem in this particular point, *to agree partly with Manetho, and partly with Herodotus.* (*a*) They apparently accord with Manetho in teaching that So (Sevechus) was succeeded by Tarchus (Tirhaka). For they tell us that Sennacherib was informed that Tirhaka, king of Ethiopia, was advancing against him. This Ethiopian would thus be marching from Ethiopia through Egypt, at the head of a host sufficiently formidable to encounter Sennacherib, and therefore such as would enable him without difficulty to make himself master of Egypt. Jewish history required no farther allusion at that time to Tirhaka or Egypt. But is it at all likely that the apparently bold, enterprising, and ambitious Tirhaka, when already actually in possession of Egypt (perhaps welcomed, or even invited by the Egyptians to defend them against the Assyrians), a country which had very recently formed a part of the dominions of his two immediate predecessors, and which he would thus naturally consider to belong almost legitimately to the sovereign of

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[r] This seems to be confirmed by Colonel Rawlinson, who gives the following extract from Sennacherib's account of the transactions of his third year:—'The kings of Egypt also sent horsemen and footmen belonging to the army of the king of Mirukha (Meroe or Ethiopia), of which the numbers could not be counted. In the neighbourhood of the city of *Allakhis* (Lachish) I joined battle with them. The captains of the cohorts of the king of *Meroe* I put to the sword in the country of *Lubana* (Libnah)' ('Outline of Assyr. Hist.' p. 23). If we really have here the correct decipherment and interpretation of Sennacherib's words, it shows that no confidence can be placed in the Egyptian informants of Herodotus in this part of the history. Can the plural form, 'the kings of Egypt,' have any reference to the twelve kings mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus? or is it merely the usual way of speaking (in the inscriptions) of the Egyptian rulers? It seems clear that in this battle the sovereign of Meroe *was not present in person;* and thus the advance of Tirhaka himself to encounter Sennacherib (*see* 2 Kings xix. 9) must have been *subsequent* to this victory of Sennacherib near Lachish. On this point the reader is requested to consider the following circumstances:—As soon as Sennacherib hears of Tirhaka's advance, he sends Rabshakeh with a last and blasphemous message to Hezekiah. The pious king proceeds *immediately* and implores the divine succour. Isaiah is directed to promise deliverance, and *on that night* the 185,000 perished before Jerusalem, and Sennacherib returned to Nineveh. It therefore seems clear from the Scriptures that, although Sennacherib was willing to fight the Ethiopian, the two sovereigns did not meet. On the very night (2 Kings xix. 35) after the last message had been delivered by Rabshakeh, the Assyrian host was slain; and the terrible report would speedily reach Sennacherib and the main army near Libnah, who immediately withdrew from Judea. 'Behold I will send a blast upon him, and he shall *hear a rumour* and return to his own land, (Isa. xxxvii. 7).

Ethiopia—is it likely, I would ask, that the powerful Tirhaka should have quietly returned into his own remote southern dominions, and that too at a time when the disastrous discomfiture of Sennacherib had removed all present apprehension of Assyrian aggression? (*b*) Again the Scriptures appear also *to agree with Herodotus*, in stating that when Sennacherib was in Judea, *a native Egyptian was king at least in Lower Egypt*. For (1) while they call *So*, 'king of Egypt,' they speak of Tirhaka merely as '*king of Ethiopia*.' (2) In Isaiah xxx., which evidently refers to a time almost immediately preceding the invasion of Judea by Sennacherib, the Egyptian monarch, from whom the Jews are then seeking assistance, is styled '*Pharaoh*,'[s] which is the proper title of native Egyptian sovereigns. (3) And shortly before the Assyrian had heard that Tirhaka was marching to attack him, Rabshakeh, taunting Hezekiah with his supposed dependence on Egyptian succour, adds that *Pharaoh, king of Egypt*, will disappoint all who trust in him. Indeed, in the Old Testament, we may be said to have a twofold testimony to the fact, that a native Egyptian was on the throne when Sennacherib was in Judea. For we have *Jewish* testimony in Isaiah xxx.; and we have what may be regarded as *Assyrian* testimony in the language of Rabshakeh.

5. Can Manetho be fairly and without violence reconciled with the Scriptures and Herodotus, as far as regards the bare fact that a native Egyptian was on the throne when Sennacherib was in Judea? It will be permitted to attempt at least such a reconciliation. So, or Sevechus, may (as has been supposed by some writers) have voluntarily retired into Ethiopia some time before his death, not from any wish to abandon the kingdom of Egypt, but in order to avoid collision with Assyria, whose monarch he must have offended, by encouraging Hoshea king of Israel to declare himself independent. There is, however, nothing either in Herodotus or in the Scriptures to forbid our thinking that So still kept Ethiopian governors and garrisons in the principal cities of Upper Egypt, and that he continued to hold the sovereignty of that important portion of the Egyptian territory. Tirhaka may thus have succeeded not only to the throne of Ethiopia, but also to the virtual sovereignty of Upper Egypt. An ambitious and enterprising spirit,[t] a feeling of rivalry and the natural desire to recover the whole extent of the authority which had been enjoyed by Sabacon and Sevechus, may

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[s] How unlike is this monarch in the prophet's record to the Sethon of Herodotus, who had alienated from himself the military caste, and was obliged to depend on the unwarlike portion of his subjects. Sennacherib's narrative, quoted in the previous note, is equally unfavourable to the veracity or knowledge of the informants of Herodotus, who doubtless relates honestly what he had heard from them.

[t] It would seem, from the Assyrian inscriptions, that the rulers of Egypt had sought and obtained large assistance from the king of Meroe, in their expedition against the Assyrians in Palestine. The sanguinary defeat of the combined Ethiopian and Egyptian forces near Lachish would exasperate the pride of Tirhaka, and add to feelings of rivalry a bitter desire of revenge. There is perhaps nothing in the Assyrian records unfavourable to the idea that the king of Meroe was virtually king of a portion of Upper Egypt when Sennacherib entered Judea.

have stimulated Tirhaka to march against Sennacherib. He would thus (as has already been suggested) enter Egypt at the head of an overwhelming force; and what is more probable than that, on learning the disastrous retreat of the Assyrians from Judea, he should resume, and retain until his death, that sovereignty over all Egypt which had been possessed by his two immediate predecessors on the throne of Ethiopia? Hence the reign of the Pharaoh who succeeded Sevechus may have been so short and inglorious that Manetho probably did not deem it necessary or proper to insert the name of this Pharaoh in his list of the monarchs of Egypt. Indeed, had he done so, he would have been compelled to regard Tarchus (Tirhaka) as forming *a second Ethiopian dynasty.*

6. It may not be uninteresting to introduce Berosus in connection with the Scriptures and Herodotus. (a.) *All three agree* that on one single night a terrible calamity befel the Assyrians. In Herodotus, 'a number of field-mice, pouring in upon them, devoured their quivers and their bows, and the handles of their shields;'—in the Scriptures and Berosus, the Assyrian soldiers themselves perish. Again, in Herodotus, the disaster occurs in Egypt, near Pelusium, and the sufferers are under the immediate command of Sennacherib; but in the two other histories, the 185,000,[u] who died in one night, belonged to a detachment from the main army, and they perished in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem. (b) With regard to the Assyrian invasion of Egypt, Herodotus allows that Sennacherib entered Egypt with a large army of Assyrians and Arabians—(Cambyses afterwards in like manner sought the alliance of the Arabians)—but he appears to deny that he advanced farther than the frontier town of Pelusium. According to Josephus, Berosus asserts that Sennacherib made an expedition against Egypt, and that 'it was on his return from his Egyptian war to Jerusalem' that he learned the terrible destruction which had befallen his forces there. This language would imply that he advanced beyond Pelusium, and that his expedition was not unsuccessful. The Scriptures would seem strongly to favour the idea of a successful invasion of Egypt by the Assyrians; for (1) in Isa. xxxvii. 25, the Most High

[u] Hezekiah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem would have no insuperable difficulty in ascertaining the number of the slain, great as it was. There would be none of the confusion of a field of battle, no heaps of bodies piled upon bodies. The revellers were smitten over their wine—the sleepers where they were lying in unconsciousness of what was about to come upon them—the sentinels where they were stationed. The Jewish numerical statement of 185,000 would be eagerly received and noted in the Philistine cities, in Tyre and Sidon, in Damascus, and throughout Syria, and in the capital and other cities of Chaldea. It is not therefore necessary to suppose that Berosus took his account of the 185,000 from the Bible, though he may have seen it. Traditional accounts of the disaster, retaining accurately the number of the slain, may have survived to his time. When, however, he says that '*on the very first night of the siege* 185,000, with their captains and generals, were destroyed,' he is plainly in error. Sennacherib wished to terrify Hezekiah into an immediate surrender. He thus probably sent a very large force, 185,000 men, the flower of his army, to Jerusalem. He could do this without peril to himself; for, in case of need, the detached host could easily return to him within three or four days.

declares that Sennacherib[x] had used (perhaps in his letter to Hezekiah) this boastful language, 'I have digged and drunk water, and with the sole of my feet have I dried up all the rivers of besieged places,' words which would strikingly apply to a successful invasion of Egypt. (2) In 2 Kings xviii. 21, Rabshakeh calls Egypt 'a bruised reed'[y] (קָנֶה רָצוּץ), an expression which (when we consider who was the speaker) would rather apply to a successful Assyrian invasion than to Ethiopian supremacy. (3) The prophet Nahum, ch. iii. ver. 8, thus addresses Nineveh: 'Art thou better than populous No (Amon)? *Ethiopia* and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite; Put and Lubim were *thy* (*Nineveh*) helpers. Yet was she carried away; she went into captivity.' From these verses it would appear probable that at the time when the Assyrians, aided by the African Put and Lubim, took and sacked[z] No (Thebes), *the Ethiopians were masters at least of Upper Egypt.* It is perhaps at present uncertain whether this event occurred in the reign of Shalmaneser (Sargon) or Sennacherib. (4) In Isa. xx. 4, it is predicted that the king of Assyria (Sargon or his successor) 'should lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the *Ethiopians* captives.'

7. I would now notice the Assyrian account of the transactions of Sennacherib's *third* regnal year, as interpreted by Col. Rawlinson. 'In my (Sennacherib's) third year I went up to the country of the *Khetta* or Hittites (a name denoting Phœnicia, Palestine, &c.). *Luliya*, king of Sidon (the Elulacus of Menander), had thrown off the yoke of allegiance. I reduced his entire country: the places which submitted to me were *Sidon* the greater and *Sidon* the less, *Beth-Zitta*, *Saripat* (Sarepta), *Mahallat*, *Husuva* (a name for Tyre, derived from Usous, one of its founders), *Aksib* and *Acca*. I placed Tubaal on the throne in the place of *Luliya*. *Sitka* of *Ascalon*, who did not come to pay me homage, the gods of his house and his treasures, &c., I seized and sent off to Nineveh. I placed another chief on the throne of *Ascalon*.'[a] And all this was accomplished before the autumn of this same year. Assuming the substantial correctness of Col. R.'s interpretation, how strikingly does this rapidity of conquest accord with the divine description of Sennacherib's career in 2 Kings xix. 26, where the Most High says, 'Now have I brought it to pass that thou shouldest be to lay waste fenced cities into ruinous heaps. *Therefore their inhabitants were of small power; they were dismayed and con-*

[x] In 2 Kings xix. 24, the expression is still more striking,—'I have digged and drunk *strange* waters.' The Assyrian inscriptions seem to prove that Berosus' statement, *Sennacherib made an expedition against Egypt*, must be explained merely of his marching to encounter the Egyptians and Ethiopians near Lachish. At the same time it is not impossible that Sennacherib may have borne a conspicuous part in a successful invasion of Egypt, during the reign of his father Shalmaneser (Sargon). The annals of Shalmaneser may perhaps throw light upon this subject and upon the sack of No Amon.

[y] This epithet may however allude especially to Sennacherib's victory near Lachish—a victory which would strikingly accord with the prediction in Isa. xx. 4.

[z] As far as the Assyrian annals have been yet deciphered, there appears to be no mention of the capture of No Amon in the reign of Sennacherib.

[a] Outline of Assyr. Hist. p. 22.

founded; they were as the grass of the field and as the green herb, as the grass on the housetops, and as corn blasted before it be grown up.'

Sennacherib thus proceeds:[b] 'In the autumn of the (third) year certain other cities which had refused to submit to my authority I took and plundered. The kings of Egypt also sent horsemen and footmen, belonging to the army of the king of Mirukha (Meroe or Ethiopia), of which the numbers could not be counted. In the neighbourhood of the city of *Allakhis* (Lachish) I joined battle with them. The captains of the cohorts and the young men *of the kings of Egypt*, and the captains of the cohorts *of the king of Meroe*, I put to the sword in the country of *Lubana* (Lebnah). . . . And because Hezekiah king of Judea did not submit to my yoke, forty-six of his strong fenced cities, and innumerable smaller towns which depended on them, I took and plundered; but I left to him Jerusalem, his capital city, and some of the inferior towns around it. . . . And because Hezekiah still continued to refuse to pay me homage, I attacked and carried off the whole population, fixed and nomade, which dwelled around Jerusalem, with 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, the accumulated wealth of the nobles of Hezekiah, &c. I returned to Nineveh, and I accounted this spoil for the tribute which he refused to pay me.'

I have already noticed that the number of the male and female Jewish prisoners is stated at 200,164; and that this removal of so many inhabitants remarkably illustrates the language of Hezekiah, who, on the occasion of the advance of Tartan, Rabshakeh, and Rabsaris against Jerusalem, says to Isaiah, 'lift up thy voice for *the remnant that are left*' (2 Kings xix. 4).

8. Col. Rawlinson thinks *that it was in this third year that the miraculous discomfiture of the Assyrians occurred.* 'Sennacherib's annals do not of course allude to a discomfiture produced by pestilence and panic; but the summary way in which he closes his account of the campaign, merely stating that he returned to Nineveh with his spoil, would be alone sufficient to indicate some disaster to his army. It is also important to add that he was unable during the following year, owing apparently to the severe check he had sustained, to undertake any operations of magnitude, and that, so far as has yet been ascertained, he does not appear at any subsequent period of his reign to have ventured to lead his armies across the Euphrates into Syria.'—*Outline of Assyr. Hist.*, p. 25.

I would particularly request the reader's attention to the following. 'The events of the fourth year of Sennacherib present a marked contrast to the detailed and magniloquent descriptions of the preceding

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[b] There is a substantial agreement here between the Scriptures and the Assyrian inscriptions, as will appear from the following:—'In the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib, king of Assyria, come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them. . . . And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah *thirty* talents of gold and three hundred talents of silver.' It is quite probable that Sennacherib carried to Nineveh a much larger quantity of silver than this; and that the silver amounted to 800 talents. Menahem gave the Assyrian Pul 1000 talents of silver.

periods; they are confined to a few meagre lines, and refer exclusively to an expedition against the Chaldees, undertaken perhaps in order to punish *Merodach Baladan* for sending ambassadors to Hezekiah, which Sennacherib does not seem even to have conducted in person.'

9. I will here venture to suggest that it was in this *fourth* year, the transactions of which '*are confined to a few meagre lines*,' that the fearful destruction befel the 185,000 who had been sent against Jerusalem under Tartan, Rabshakeh, and Rabsaris.

For (1), according to the Assyrian inscriptions, it was not until the *autumn of the third year* that Sennacherib commenced hostilities against Hezekiah; and as the Assyrian returned to Nineveh before the close of the year, we have only four or five months allowed for the various events which happened between the commencement of hostilities and their final close by the miraculous destruction of the 185,000. These events are—

a. The rapid overthrow of the 46 strong fenced cities, and their numerous dependencies, and the defeat of the Ethiopians and Egyptians near Lachish.

b. The negotiations between the two kings, which terminated in the payment by Hezekiah of 30 talents of gold and 300 talents of silver.

c. The dangerous sickness and miraculous recovery of Hezekiah. That this was previous to the Assyrian discomfiture, is plain from the promise to Hezekiah while yet on his sick bed, '*And I will deliver thee and this city out of the hand of the king of Assyria*' (Isa. xxxviii. 6).

d. It appears to me that the measures taken to fortify Jerusalem (2 Chron. xxxii. 3) were subsequent to Hezekiah's miraculous recovery. For considering the following language of Hezekiah at this time to the people, 'Be strong and courageous, be not afraid nor dismayed for the king of Assyria, nor for all the multitude that is with him, for there be more with us than with him. With him is an arm of flesh, but with us is the Lord our God to fight our battles,' it seems to me that this cheerful confidence and language were subsequent to Hezekiah's miraculous recovery, and to the gracious promise of deliverance which he then received. And this view is perhaps strongly favoured by what immediately follows, '*And the people rested themselves upon the words of Hezekiah king of Judah.*' If we suppose the attempts to fortify the city to have followed the divine promise[c] and their king's miraculous recovery, *the full confidence of the people* in the words of their king is accounted for without difficulty.

e. The advance of Tartan and the 185,000 to Jerusalem, and the days or weeks which elapsed before their miraculous destruction.

(2) It must have been some time after the terrible defeat at Lachish, which appears to have occurred about the autumn of the year or shortly

[c] There seems to be a direct allusion to this divine promise, which, together with Hezekiah's miraculous recovery, had been probably reported to Sennacherib, when Rabshakeh, on his reaching Jerusalem, said,—'Thus saith the king, let not Hezekiah make you trust in the Lord, saying, He will surely deliver us, and this city shall not be delivered into the hand of the king of Assyria.' 2 Kings xviii. 30.

before it, that Tirhaka is advancing through Egypt, of course with a vast army, as it appears to be his intention to join battle with the Assyrian conqueror. We cannot easily suppose that Tirhaka would be able to assemble a vast Ethiopian army and be on his way to meet Sennacherib from the remote Meroe earlier than the following year, the fourth of Sennacherib.

10. With regard, then, to the miraculous discomfiture of the Assyrians, we appear to have three testimonies more or less direct to its reality.

a. The Chaldean historian Berosus, as quoted by Josephus, positively asserts that 185,000 Assyrians perished in one night in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

b. The Egyptian legend of Sennacherib's miraculous discomfiture near Pelusium seems to be nothing else than a deliberate forgery on the part of the Egyptian priests to secure the glory of the miracle to their own idol.

c. The fact that the transactions of Sennacherib's fourth year, as recorded by himself or his courtiers, 'are confined to a few meagre lines,' would seem, under all the circumstances of the case, to amount to a tacit confession of a humiliating discomfiture in Palestine during that year.

5th September. G.

ST. PAUL AND SLAVERY.

Sir,—In the 7th Number of the 'Journal of Sacred Literature,' new Series, there is a very interesting article on 'Slavery and the Old Testament,' in which the writer expresses his intention of considering in another number, Slavery as connected with the New Testament. We trust, however, that the following brief remarks on the Epistle to Philemon, will not hinder but assist this learned and accomplished contributor, in his investigations and researches on a most suggestive, but neglected subject.

In 'Aunt Phillis' Cabin,' by Mrs. M. H. Eastman, we find it maintained that slavery is—'Authorised by God, *permitted by Jesus Christ, sanctioned by the Apostles*, maintained by good men of all ages.' The same views are held by a writer in the 'Westminster Review' (No. V. Jan. 1853), who says, 'Clearly Paul would have voted for the Fugitive Slave Bill' (p. 299). Now, such erroneous statements as these are evidently maintained because the assertors were unable otherwise to solve the following problem, which occurs in the life of St. Paul; and believing that it has generally been passed over by the majority (if not all) of the writers on this subject, as unworthy of notice, we think it but right that a solution should be given, and it is our opinion that we have succeeded in doing so. The problem then is:—If slavery is contrary to Christianity; if Christianity condemns it; why did not Paul take advantage of the fine opportunity he had of declaring that such was the case in his celebrated Epistle to Philemon?

The question is fairly enunciated, and we think ought to be asked by every inquirer on the subject who is determined to think for himself. A satisfactory answer can, we think, be obtained, if we consider the two following facts:—1. The Epistle to Philemon was not a public letter to a body of Christians, but a private epistle never intended for public perusal, and consequently, there was *no necessity* to show the anti-Christian spirit of slavery. 2. We have a similar case mentioned in Matt. xviii. 25. The reader here can also ask; Why did not Christ take advantage of the fine opportunity he had of declaring the horrible practice of *selling debtors*, to be a practice contrary to Christianity? Just because it was *a civil* and not *a moral* evil. In all human societies evil *must exist*, in some countries it is of a mild nature, and in others it is of a most heinous kind, *e. g.* the Slave Trade in America; and the only way we can escape the contamination, is to refrain as much as possible from being guilty of this *civil evil*, which is inseparable from a community of fallible creatures (*e. g.* the States in America where slavery is unlawful). It was Christianity that stopped the selling of debtors; and so, in God's own time, we have reason to believe it will also put an end for ever to the slave trade. But it is against the present constitution of things to expect that there ever will exist a community free from *civil evil*, and, therefore, it is wrong for us to find fault with Paul (or to imagine that he favours slavery) for not giving his testimony against slavery; for if he had done so in the case of *one* civil evil, he must have done so in a thousand, and thus we would have nothing but a list of ancient civil evils forbidden by the Apostle, now long since eradicated by the progress of Christianity. Jesus Christ and the Apostles evidently knew that this would in time be the case, therefore, they took no notice of the *civil evils* existing during their sojourn here; but the sinful and immoral practices *arising out of* these civil evils were noticed and animadverted upon by them. Dr. Hinds, the present Bishop of Norwich, in his remarks on slavery ('History of the Christian Church,' p. 155), has expressed himself strongly in favour of this view of the subject, and as his reasoning is clear and convincing, we cannot refrain from quoting a small portion: 'But surely, whatever be the magnitude of the evil, and great it doubtless is, it is a *political*, not a *moral* evil; and as such, we may as well expect to find arguments in the New Testament for or against the Christian character of absolute monarchy or republicanism, as against slavery. Immoral and unchristian practices there are, doubtless, which *arise out of* this political or social evil as well as out of tyranny; and these are consistently stigmatised in the New Testament. The ἀνδραποδισταί, the men-stealers, are enumerated by St. Paul himself in a catalogue which embraces the vilest of mankind (1 Tim. i. 10); but with the question of slavery the Apostle had no more concern officially, than with the universal usurpation of Rome. As in the case of all other institutions, customs, and forms of society *not religious*, Christianity took no cognizance of this; Christ's was not a kingdom of this world, and interfered with nothing in the forms of any society.' The whole paragraph headed 'St. Paul and Onesimus,' from which this quotation is taken,

ought to receive due consideration from all those who take an interest in the subject, as they certainly are the most original that have yet appeared on a well nigh exhausted topic. P. S.

Partick, near Glasgow, N.B., Nov. 3, 1853.

INSPIRED CHARACTER OF THE FOUR GOSPELS.

Sir,—I beg leave, as the writer of the article in your last number on the 'Inspired Character of the four Gospels,' to point out the bearing on my argument of a phrase which has led a reviewer of the Journal in the 'Church of England Magazine' for November, to accompany a very favourable notice of the paper itself, with an assertion that the writer 'sometimes' does not 'understand' the meaning of words. The reviewer wonders that a Cambridge man should have called 'seven' a multiple. As far as I can see it is consistent with strict mathematical accuracy as well as with etymology, to apply that term to the sevenfold unit. I spoke of the 'mystical import of that sacred multiple,' considered as a multiple, or in the sense of seven*fold;* and I connected with the term a note (a p. 67), in which the sacred multiple as such, was shown from Scripture to denote *plenitude.*

The bearing of the term on the argument is therefore obvious. I had pointed out the typical relation of the seventh day of creation, to the rest in Canaan after the bondage of Egypt, and to that 'eternal rest,' from the bondage of sin, which follows the deliverance completed by Christ's resurrection. I had argued from analogy the relation of the six weeks of generations from Abraham to Christ to the first six days of creation; Christ being the 'Father of the age' or generation to which the seventh day of creation had an undoubted relation. It seems, therefore, to be '*agreeably* to the mystical import of that sacred multiple,' the sevenfold unit, that '*seven*-times-six generations would appear to have been analogously chosen to measure the "FULNESS *of time*" during which the divine purposes in respect to the *new creation* of humanity in Christ were gradually *developed* by means of the divine economy,' &c. (p. 68.) C. G.

Magdalene College, Cambridge.

ON THE SITE OF THE DESTROYED CITIES OF THE PLAIN,

AND THE SUPPOSED FORMER COURSE OF THE JORDAN INTO THE ÆLANITIC GULF.

Dear Sir,—Having lately read M. de Saulcy's 'Journey round the Dead Sea,' in which I was somewhat surprised to find the views he has brought forward respecting the destruction of the cities of the plain, the elevation of the Dead Sea, and the non-submersion of those cities by the waters of that sea; having also perused J. W. C.'s review of that book in the September number of the 'Dublin University Magazine,'

and having likewise read the Rev. G. S. Faber's very interesting communication 'On the Site of the Destroyed Cities of the Plain,' published in the October number of the same periodical, I take the liberty of sending to you—as the subjects are highly important—extracts from a short work of mine, in which I have made some remarks on the volcanic phenomena visible about the Dead Sea, or Sea of the Plain, and on the supposed former course of the river Jordan into the eastern branch of the Red Sea, formerly known as the Ælanitic Gulf, and now the gulf of Akaba.

You will perceive that they have previously taken partly the same view as that which the venerable and learned Mr. Faber has more ably advocated; but that they also further mention a second cause at this day existing, which likewise prevents the waters of the Jordan from now flowing into the gulf of Akaba, and which, as it has not been alluded to either by M. de Saulcy, or by the reviewer J. W. C., or by Mr. Faber, I conclude has entirely escaped their memories.

In the first place, I must be allowed to observe that I differ from the opinion which J. W. C. seems to maintain in following that of M. de Saulcy, of the position of the four destroyed Biblical cities—the fifth, or Zoar, was not destroyed—having actually been on the sides or margins of the former beautifully fertile plain of the Jordan; but that I concur with Mr. Faber in regarding the plain itself, or the greatest portion of it, upon which they originally stood, as being now covered by the waters of the Dead or Salt Sea.

On reading the French savant's work, it is plain that his supposition of the non-submersion of the destroyed cities is chiefly derived from Josephus, or rather that it is much the same as the following, which I here give from p. 365 of the 'Physical Geography of the Holy Land,' by Dr. John Kitto, published in 1848:—'It is clear that the Jewish historian did not consider that the cities were submerged in the Asphaltic lake, but lay upon its borders. There is nothing in his more formal account of the lake, or in his historical notice of the destruction of Sodom, to suggest that he supposed the lake was at that time first formed. He rather states that it previously existed, but that its nature and that of its shores was so changed, as to be no longer beautiful and rich as of old. In short, he manifestly conceives that Sodom and the other cities stood upon the borders of the lake in like manner as Tiberias, Capernaum, Chorazin, Bethsaida, and other towns stood upon the lake of Gennesareth.'

I must confess to me it appears that the expression in Gen. xiii. 12, and Gen. xix. 29, of 'the cities of the plain,' *i.e.* of 'the plain of Jordan,' Gen. xiii. 11, must in common language, and in ordinary acceptation, be the cities in the plain, and not the cities on the sides, borders, or margins of the plain, as Josephus and others have supposed. And such also seems to be the proper meaning of the previous verse, 25, in Genesis, chapter xix.

Holy Scripture, however, seems to me expressly to record that the plain upon which the cities originally were built was submerged, or covered by the subsequent waters of the Dead or Asphaltic Sea, for I

conclude that 'the vale of Siddim' was identical with 'the plain of Jordan,' or at all events with a portion of it; and we learn from verse 3, chap. xiv. of Genesis, that 'the vale of Siddim' was afterwards 'the Salt Sea;' and again, from verse 16, chap. iii. of Joshua, that 'the Salt Sea' was also called 'the Sea of the Plain,' that is to say, of the plain of Siddim, or Jordan. Indeed I find that the Vatican and Alexandrine versions of the Septuagint both translate 'the vale of Siddim' (Gen. xiv. 3) into 'the Salt Vale,' *τὴν φάραγγα τὴν ἁλυκὴν*. The original word in the Hebrew text is שִׂדִּים—Sdim, or 'Siddim,' as our English translation properly renders it; and I also notice that the Latin interpretation of the Syriac version, as given in Walton's 'Biblia Sacra Polyglotta' (vol. i. p. 52, Lond. 1657), of the 3rd verse of Gen. xiv. is this: 'omnes isti convenerunt in vallem Sodomitarum: hoc est mare Salsum.' Here 'the vale of Siddim,' or 'the Salt Vale,' is expressly termed 'the vale of the inhabitants of Sodom;' surely and without doubt signifying the plain, or vale of Sodom itself, and which, after the destruction of Sodom, became 'the Salt Sea.' Since I am not at all acquainted with the Syriac dialect, I cannot say whether or not the original words in the Syriac text correspond to the Latin 'vallem Sodomitarum,' but most likely they do. This plain, or vale, was evidently so denominated, from Sodom having been the chief city of the plain.

Consequently I must think that M. de Saulcy's views are incorrect, and that doubtless the waters of the Dead or 'Salt Sea' covered the sites of all (or most, Zoar excepted) of the cities of the plain after they had been destroyed by fire, or volcanic agency.

On the contrary, the reviewer J. W. C. writes, in his article entitled 'Late important Discoveries in Syria and the Holy Land,' and published in the 'Dublin University Magazine' for September, p. 367:—'Why, in the face of direct assertion to the contrary, it should ever have been supposed that these cities were submerged under the sea, which there and then was elevated for the purpose, it seems difficult to understand; but the fallacy once started established itself by degrees, and has been perpetuated by hereditary descent.' Upon this I will merely remark by asking, where does the Bible narrative directly assert that the destroyed cities of the plain were not submerged under the sea of the plain, or the Salt Sea? Commentators and interpreters of the Bible in different languages, as well as several eminent and careful geographers, have held and believed that these cities, situated originally in the plain of the Jordan, were, after their destruction by fire, covered by the waters of that river, which then formed, and still do form, the Salt or Dead Sea, or Sea of the Plain. Such an old and accurate view cannot be properly termed a 'fallacy;' and of the opinions of the latter, or ancient geographers, I will only refer to two.

Stephanus Byzantinus, in his work 'On Cities,' at the word Σόδομα, expressly records that 'Sodom was the metropolis of those cities which were engulphed, or overthrown, in the Asphaltic Lake'—*πόλεων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ασφαλτίτιδι λίμνῃ καταστραφεισῶν*. ('De Urbibus,' edit. Berkelius, Lugd. Bat. 1694, p. 677.) And the learned and well-known Cellarius

says, of the Lacus Asphaltites, sive Mare Mortuum, 'fuit olim amœnissima planities, quam Iordanes fluvius rigabat; inde in Sinum Arabicum, ut probabile est, se effudit. Eversione autem urbium factum, ut sisteret lapsum, et in ruinis illarum stagnaret.' (Vide 'Notit. Orb. Antiq. à Cellario,' edit. Schwartz. Lipsiæ, 1732, tom. ii. p. 484.) Again, the same author adds, at p. 485, 'teter hic et pestilens lacus fuit olim amœnissima planities, quam Iordanes rigavit; multis habitata civitatibus; quarum quinque sacer scriptor nominat.'

Also in his map of 'Palæstina,' given opposite to p. 390, tom. ii., Cellarius has placed the four cities, Zeboiim (on the north), Admah, Gomorrah, and Sodom within the Asphaltic Lake; and Zoar near the last in the marshy plain, now called El Ghor, at the southern extremity of the lake.

Time will not allow me here to notice more than one of the supposed exact sites of these impious and condemned cities of the plain, and that one—Sodom—was, as Stephanus names it, their 'metropolis.' M. de Saulcy, who, anxious to find the existing ruins of the ancient foundations of all the five cities, fancies that he has succeeded, although in two or three of them he has fixed on places containing some ruins, which are clearly much too distant from the Plain, or Salt Sea, even supposing his views to be correct, thus writes (vol. i. p. 472): 'Sodom was situated at the south-western point of the Dead Sea: the Salt mountain is called Sodom by Galen. Sodom was therefore on the very same spot with the Salt Mountain. This mountain is called by the Arabs, indifferently, Gebel el Meleh, or Gebel Esdoum, the latter expression being also that of Galen. Thus, then, if on the very situation of the Salt Mountain we fall in with the ruins of a town, there is every probability that these are the ruins of Sodom; and this probability becomes undeniable evidence, if the inhabitants of the country unanimously agree in giving to these ruins the name of Kharbet Esdoum ("ruins of Sodom"), and in attaching to them the traditional history of the town destroyed under the curse. All these conditions being strictly fulfilled, it is not possible to refuse credence to the fact that these ruins of a town called Sodom, are really the ruins of the Sodom mentioned in the Bible.'

This however is by no means conclusive; for it does not necessarily follow that Sodom should have been on the very same spot with the Salt Mountain, which is in the south-west corner of the Salt Sea. Indeed I think it certain, with Cellarius and others before him, that Sodom must have occupied a position in the plain a mile or two more to the north, or north-east, and which at this day is covered with the waters of that sea.

The Mount, or 'Hill of Salt,' Gebel el Meleh (or Malih), on the south-west margin of the Salt Sea, most likely derived at an early period its other title of Gebel E' Sdoum, or 'Mount of Sodom,' from its proximity to the site of the submerged city of Sodom;[a] and very pos-

[a] This period must have been before, or at the time when, Galen wrote, about A.D. 180, because he mentions 'the salts of Sodom from the mounts adjoining upon the (asphaltic) lake, which are named Sodom;' (ἅλεις) Σοδομενοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν περιεχόντων τὴν λίμνην ὀρῶν, ἃ καλεῖται Σόδομα.—De Simpl. Med. Facult., lib. iv. cap. 19.

sibly the name of Kharbet E' Sdoum, 'the Ruins of Sodom,[b] might have been conferred on certain ruins near the Salt Hill in later times, either by anchorites or monks, or perhaps by some pilgrims or crusaders.

In the second place, in correcting M. de Saulcy's statement of the elevation of the Dead Sea, Mr. Faber has well observed, after remarking on its great depression, or the sinking of its ancient level, that the plain or ground of the Jordan 'was volcanically depressed to such a depth that the river was henceforth cut off from its ancient course to the Red Sea,' or the eastern branch of it, anciently known as the Sinus Ælanites, and at present the gulf of Akaba, 'Bahr el Akabah.'

In addition to this there is also a second cause, which operates as strongly against the Jordan now pouring its waters into that gulf, and to which, as neither M. de Saulcy, nor the reviewer J. W. C., nor Mr. Faber have mentioned it, I beg to call your attention. This is the elevation of a portion of the southern extremity of the great valley, supposed to be the former channel of the river Jordan, at this day still named Wadi el Araba.

The highest point of this elevation occurs nearly at the parallel of 30° N. lat., about opposite to the spot called Wadi Beianeh, the exact height of which has not as yet been accurately surveyed, though it is probably from 350 to 500 feet above the levels of the Mediterranean and the Red Seas (between which there exists a very slight difference); and indeed the entire elevation forms a sufficiently powerful and natural barrier against the course of the Jordan proceeding further southward.

My remarks on this subject were made in a memoir, which I read before the section of geology and physical geography of the British Association at Birmingham in 1849, and published by Professor Jameson in his 'Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal,' vols. xlviii. and xlix. (1850), from the first of which, at pp. 35-37, I here add the following extract:—

Supposing the traveller to proceed northwards from the upper end of the gulf of Akaba, I state, after—'passing the opening of Wadi Beianeh, and still ascending, the most elevated table-land or small plateau of the Wadi el Araba is reached at about the line of 30° N. lat. and 35° 15′ E. long. nearly, which is very near 500 feet higher than the level of the gulf of Akaba, according to Herr Schubert. About that point the watershed occurs; some of the waters of the Araba flow south into the sea of Akaba, but most are carried off north by the tributaries of the Wadi el Jeib into the Dead Sea.

'The same traveller (Schubert) found the depression of the bed of that deep Wadi at about four miles south of El Weibeh ("hole with water") to be 91 Paris feet or 97 English feet below the level of the Red Sea; the commencement or most southern limit of that depression taking place at about 15 miles northward of Gebel Harun, in Wadi el

[b] In the passage before cited, Galen makes no mention of any remains—τῆς πόλεως Σόδομα—'of the city of Sodom.'

Araba. Consequently the Dead Sea, Asphaltic Lake, (Bahr Lut) the "Sea of Lot," must lie considerably lower than the level of the gulf of Akaba; indeed, Herr Schubert gives the level of the Dead Sea as being 598 Paris feet, and M. Russegger even more than 1300 English feet below that of the Mediterranean.

'These geographical facts then afford, as some authors have supposed, sufficient evidence that the river Jordan, although taking its source at an elevation of 1800 feet in the North Syrian mountains, has not flowed through the entire valley El Araba into the gulf of Akaba, or rather into the Red Sea, beyond what is now the strait of Tiran. And certainly these facts are decisive that it never has done so, if the natural conformation of this region has always been the same as it now exists with regard to depth and height. But against its having continued the same, "ab initio," up to the present time, much reasonable hypothesis and several remarkable appearances may be fairly advanced.

'Of the latter, some are the volcanic phenomena apparent around the Dead Sea and El Ghor, on the north; in the basaltic cliffs and creeks nearly opposite the isle of Kureiyeh; the frequent displacements of strata and rocks in many places on the north-west side of the gulf of Akaba; the coincidences exhibited by the strata in the isle of Tiran, with those of the Arabian and Sinaic shores; and the volcanic remains and crater-like hills between them and Sherm, on the south. Moreover, it may be collected from Scripture that certain changes had actually been effected in the vicinity of the Dead Sea (Gen. xix. 25), and that they were caused by fire (ibid. 24 and 28, and see Wisdom x. 6); if then, at that period, the southern part of the valley of the Jordan, the plain of the Dead Sea, and El Ghor, had through igneous or volcanic, or other agency, sunk much below their former levels, it is possible that a corresponding elevation of the land in Wadi el Araba might have taken place at the same, or perhaps at another time, by the same, or by a subsequent similar, agency.

'Again, it seems probable from Scripture that the Dead Sea and Wadi el Araba had been once continued, or more connected in their levels; because in Joshua iii. 16, and xii. 3, the former is called "the Sea of the Plain, (even) the Salt Sea," and in Deut. iv. 49, only "the Sea of the Plain;" the original Hebrew expression in all three verses is "Yam ha Arabah;" that is, the 'Sea of the Araba;' and the Septuagint renders it ἡ θάλασσα Ἀραβα. "Ha Arabah," in Hebrew, signifies the same as El Arabah in Arabic, a "desert plain," or a "plain." So likewise we find in Deut. ii. 8, "the children of Edom" described as dwelling "in Seir, through the way of the plain from Elath and from Eziongaber;" the Hebrew and Greek words for the plain are here also the same, viz. "Arabah." Consequently these passages from Scripture, showing that both extremes, north and south, of this great plain or Wadi bore the same appellation, prove that it was esteemed one entire valley in its whole extent from the Dead or Salt Sea to Elath and Eziongaber on the Red Sea, or Ælanitic gulf, in the land of Edom (1 Kings ix. 26, and 2 Chron. viii. 17).'

And, in the same Journal, vol. xlix., p. 270, I have thus remarked:

—'having before noticed the probable passage of the river Jordan through the Wadi el Araba, and its flowing into the Red Sea beyond the strait of Tiran at a former but remote period, as well as some of the physical causes which very possibly put a stop to its further conflux, and latterly confined it to the present limits of the Dead Sea, I will now alone mention the following fact, as an additional proof that the Dead Sea may once have formed either a continuation of the Ælanitic gulf, or that it may have been directly connected with the same, by the Jordan having poured its waters into it at an antecedent date.'

Baron A. von Humboldt writes, in his 'Views of Nature' (p. 260, edit. Bohn, Lond. 1850)—'In opposition to the hitherto generally adopted opinion respecting the absence of all organisms and living creatures in the Dead Sea, it is worthy of notice that my friend and fellow-labourer, M. Valenciennes, has received through the Marquis Charles de l'Escalopier and the French Consul (at Jerusalem) Botta, beautiful specimens of (a living coral or zoophyte) Porites elongata (of Lamarck), from the Dead Sea, which is supersaturated with salt. This fact is the more interesting, because this species is not found in the Mediterranean but only in the Red Sea, which, according to Valenciennes, has but few organisms in common with the Mediterranean.'

But I must observe, that if the river Jordan ever mingled its waters with those of the gulf of Akaba, by having flowed through the entire length of the Wadi el Araba, it must have done so previous to the time in which the author composed the 18th chapter of the book of Joshua, because in the 19th verse the 'south end of Jordan' is laid down as being at the 'Salt Sea.'

Trusting that the interest, and I conceive also the great importance of correctly interpreting Scripture, and of ascertaining as accurately as the Bible accounts will permit, 'the site of the destroyed cities of the plain,' as well as the former supposed course of the river of the plain (Arabah) from 'the sea of the plain' into the eastern arm of the Red Sea, or, as Cellarius gives it, 'Jordanes fluvius . . . . . inde in Sinum Arabicum, ut probabile est, se effudit,' will be a sufficient apology for my sending to you this communication for insertion in the next number of your Journal, I am, &c.,

JOHN HOGG, M.A., F.R.S.

12, *King's Bench Walk, Temple, London,*
Nov. 16, 1853.

*** The Peschito Syriac text clearly conveys the idea given in the Latin of the Polyglot:—ܒܩܥܬܐ ܕܣܕܘܡ, *in the vale of the Sodomites.* This looks like an attempt to get rid of the difficulty of translating שִׂדִּים,—which cannot mean Sodomites; yet it shows that, in the opinion of the translator, the vale appertained to that people. See Gesenius's 'Thesaurus' *in loc.*—ED. J. S. L.

INTELLIGENCE.

BIBLICAL.

China.—While those parts of Europe which are subject to the Church of Rome are for the present in great measure closed against the Bible, and agents for the circulation of God's word are either expelled from the scene of their labours, or compelled to advance with caution and amidst much apprehension, the East presents prospects of a widely different character. The political and religious changes which are taking place in China are of such a description that it seems impossible to avoid recognising the hand of Divine Providence in them, removing the barriers which had so long intercepted the light of Christianity, and facilitating the entrance and circulation of the Scriptures. Idolatry is breaking up in this vast empire, and a spirit of inquiry is abroad which promises the most favourable results. The Rev. J. Hobson, chaplain at Shanghai, in a communication to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, dated June 2, 1853, observes that, 'Whether this rebellion succeed or not, it is evident the days of Chinese exclusiveness and apathy are numbered. The demand for Christian books, and especially for works treating of Western nations, is greatly increased. I have had nearly fifty applications at the chaplaincy within a few days.' The Bishop of Victoria, in a letter of the date of July 7, 1853, from Shanghai, said,—'I despatched lately my two native catechists towards Nanking, *viâ* Loochow, but after thirteen days' absence, and encountering many risks from the Imperialists, they returned three days ago, having been able to accomplish only half the distance. Unless foreign intervention save the emperor, the insurgents must prevail. They form a most astonishing compound of religion, zeal, sincerity, and truth, with many elements of an opposite character. It appears they have only twenty-seven chapters of Genesis and a few Christian tracts among them; and yet at dawn of day they chant doxologies to the Trinity, &c. My catechists took one copy of our Chinese Liturgy and New Testament, but were forced to leave them at Loochow, as a discovery of them by the imperialist troops, further onward in their proposed route, would probably have led to their instant decapitation.'

From the accounts which have appeared in the public journals and elsewhere, of the origin of this remarkable religious movement, it appears that the element of truth which it comprises takes its origin in no small degree from the instruction of the late Dr. Gutzlaff, and the versions of Scripture made by him. The extraordinary facility with which that eminent man adapted himself to Chinese habits and manners, and which enabled him to obtain access to the native mind in a degree rarely if ever approached by any other European, led to the formation of a society of Christians called the 'Chinese Union,' for the purpose of promoting the spread of Christianity. It would seem that some of the members of this Society, in combination with the well-known 'Triad Societies,' which have for many years looked towards the liberation of China from the Tartar dominion, have taken a leading part in the present movement. Amongst the books published by the insurgent chiefs, and lately brought from Nanking to Canton, is the first part of the Book of Genesis, very elegantly printed, according to the translation of Gutzlaff, published by him at Hong-Kong. The 'Overland Friend of China' mentions the following circumstances to show the influence exercised by Gutzlaff's teaching. In one of the pamphlets of the Thae-ping party, called 'The Proclamations published by Imperial appointment,' the very phrase used by Gutzlaff as the general title of the Old Testament, viz., 'The Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament,' and the phrase 'the Supreme Lord, the Great God,' so often used in the books of the insurgents, is evidently taken from Gutzlaff's translation in Gen. ii. 4, and numerous other places. He has used it for an equivalent for 'the Lord God,' where the Supreme Lord stands for the first, and the Great God for the second

part of the phrase. The practice of Gutzlaff to employ the term Shangte for God by way of eminence, has been followed throughout in the insurgent books, while his practice of using Shin for 'gods,' when the Almighty was not designated, as in Gen. iii. 5, has been imitated in the pamphlets brought from Nanking, so that they may be said to have made Gutzlaff's translation of Genesis their text-book.

It also appears from an article by the Rev. Dr. Legge, of Hong-Kong, quoted in the 'English Presbyterian Messenger' for Dec. 1853, that Hung Sew-tseuen, the chief leader of the insurgents, has long been under the instruction of Christian teachers. 'The history,' says Dr. Legge, 'of his own acquaintance with the Scriptural truths, which he now publishes under an imperial seal, may be traced as follows:—In 1837, it is stated in one of the works which I have been analyzing, he was taken up to heaven, and fully instructed in divine matters. Before that time, however, his mind had been excited about the great truths which are contained in our Scriptures. There is evidence that he was for some months in 1846 residing, for the purpose of receiving religious instruction, with Mr. Roberts, an American missionary in Canton. On his first application to that gentleman, he informed him that the thing which first aroused his mind was a tract with the title—"Good Words to Admonish the Age," which was given him several years before at one of the literary examinations. The statements of that tract were subsequently, we learn from another document given last year by a relative of his to a Swedish missionary in Hong-Kong, confirmed to him by a vision which he had in a time of sickness, and during which occurred his visit to heaven. Thus we are carried back, beyond 1837, to the point when this religious movement commenced, and we want to find a tract entitled—"Good Words to Admonish the Age," given to Sew-tseuen, then a literary student, at one of the triennial examinations. Now we have the tract, and we have the record of its distribution on one of those occasions.

'"Good Words to Admonish the Age" was a tract well known to missionaries some ten or twelve years ago, but it has latterly been out of print. I had the old blocks sought out, however, during the present week, and have had a few copies struck off. No one can look into it without seeing at once that its phraseology and modes of presenting the truth are repeated in the publications obtained at Nankin. It is rather a misnomer to call it a tract. It is a compilation of tracts, or short sermons on passages of Scripture and the general principles of religion, in four pretty large Chinese volumes. The different volumes, however, used to be distributed separately, each with the general title, and, perhaps, Sew-tseuen only received one of them, and not the entire set. So then, as the oak is in the acorn, the present great movement lay in one or more of the volumes of this compilation—"Good Words to Admonish the Age." The writer is still alive, a Chinese, named Leang A-făh, who was baptized at Malacca in 1816, by Dr. Milne, and still continues abundant in labours, in connection with Dr. Hobson's operations in Canton. And now for the fact of the distribution of this tract at the literary examinations in Canton. This I shall give in the words of A-făh, in a letter written in the end of 1834:—"For three or four years I have been in the habit of circulating the Scripture lessons [another name for "Good Words to Admonish the Age"] which have been joyfully received by many. This year the triennial examination of literary candidates was held in Canton, and I desired to distribute books among the candidates. On the 20th of August, therefore, accompanied by Woo A-chan, Chow A-san, and Leang A-san, we distributed 5000, which were gladly received without the least disturbance. The next day we distributed 5000 more." My space will not allow me to quote more of A-făh's letter. His good endeavour soon brought the attention of the mandarins upon him, and the end was the severe punishment of one of his friends, the death of a second, and the flight of himself to Singapore. The detail which I have given shows you the book by which, the individual by whom, and the manner in which the head of this formidable rebellion was first brought into contact with scriptural truth. The connection between him and A-făh will greatly interest those who wisely like, in their study of Providence, to put this and that together. A-făh was the first convert made by Protestant Missions, and by him is communicated an influence to the mind of this remarkable individual, which has already ex-

tended to tens of thousands, and may by-and-by spread over the whole of this vast and thickly-peopled territory.'

The following hymn, extracted from the 'Book of Religious Precepts of the Thae-ping dynasty,' proves very clearly that Christian doctrine has in its leading features been received by the insurgents:—

'How different are the true doctrines from the doctrines of the world!
They save the souls of men and lead to the enjoyment of endless bliss:
The wise receive them with exultation, as the source of their happiness:
The foolish, when awakened, understand thereby the way to heaven.
Our heavenly Father, of his great mercy and unbounded goodness,
Spared not his first-born Son, but sent Him down into the world
To give his life for the redemption of all our transgressions,
The knowledge of which, coupled with repentance, saves the souls of men.'

In the contemplation of such marked tendencies towards Christianity, and of the measures actively taken by the insurgents for the suppression of the existing idolatries, it is gratifying to learn that the proposal to print a million of copies of the New Testament in Chinese, is obtaining extensive sympathy and support. Subscriptions have been already received towards 130,000 copies. The Testaments are to be printed in China, at the cost of 4*d.* each, by the British and Foreign Bible Society. It appears that the printing establishments of the London Missionary Society at Hong-Kong and Shanghae are abundantly supplied with Chinese type for printing the whole Bible, and will doubtless be of eminent service at this important crisis. Some of the missionaries of the Society referred to were, by the last advices, engaged in revising the Chinese translation of the Scriptures by Morrison and Milne.

Hindostan.—The reports of the various Missionary Societies, and all other accounts, concur in their testimony to the rapid downfall of the influence of the various systems of idolatry in India, and the eagerness of the people to receive the Scriptures. It seems indeed evident that 'the fields are white already to harvest,' and that little more is required now than labourers to gather it in. The Scriptures are happily being presented in most of the dialects of India. The Baptist missionaries have been honourably distinguished in this work.

But other agencies more extended than those of the Baptist missions are engaged in placing the Word of God before the numerous tribes of this vast country in their native dialects. Amongst the most recent efforts of this description, in connection with the British and Foreign Bible Society, we may enumerate the following.

The missionaries of the Church Missionary Society at Kishnagur have translated into Bengali the Gospel of St. John, and the Epistle to the Galatians, which are being printed and circulated, together with Mr. Wenger's edition of Dr. Yates's version, in order to obtain the opinions of competent judges as to their fitness for circulation amongst the people.

An edition of the Gospel of St. Luke, in Mussulman-Bengali, has been completed by the Rev. J. Patterson, and has been ordered to be printed at the Baptist Mission press. A version of the Acts of the Apostles, in the Nepalee language, by the Rev. W. Start, in continuation of a version of St. Luke's Gospel by the same gentleman, has also been sent to press. The Rev. W. Lewis, of Cherraponjee, has translated the Four Gospels and Acts into the Khassia language. The first volume of the Hindi Bible was completed last year. The Rev. Mr. Owen, the principal reviser of the work, states that the second volume is in progress, the book of Job being in the press. The Rev. Mr. Scheider, of the Church Mission at Agra, had been engaged in this work as one of the revisers of the translation. An edition of the Psalms in the Panjábi language is about to appear. A new edition of the Malayalim Bible having been called for, a revision has taken place, which has already extended to the Book of Genesis, and the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; and the New Testament is being printed. A revision of the Canarese version has also taken place, and a large edition of the Gospels, as far as to the end of St. Luke, has been prepared. The Telugu Old Testament, slightly revised as to the more prominent names and to orthography, has also been printed

for the use of missionaries. Revisions and new editions of the Bible in the Marathi, and the New Testament in the Guzerathi language, are also in progress. These various works, which are at present in the course of completion, or which have been recently brought to a close, indicate the extent of the agencies now in operation for the evangelization of Hindostan. In connection with this subject, the following summary of the chief translations into the languages of India since the days of Ziegenbulg, will be read with interest. It is comprised in 'The Bible in India' (Dalton), and is taken from a report of the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society:—

'At that time the Bible had not been translated into any language of India, and many years passed before the Tamil Bible of Fabricius and the Telugu Bible of Schultze were published. Then followod Dr. Carey's Bengali Bible, his Marathi Bible, and his Uriya Bible; Hunter's Hindustani, and Colebrooke's Persian Gospels; Henry Martyn's Hindustani and Persian New Testament; the other versions from Serampore, including the Sanscrit Bible; the labours of Dr. Buchanan and Professor Lee, with the Syriac Scriptures; Mr. Thomason's commencement of the Hindustani Bible; Mr. Bowley's Hindui Bible; Archdeacon Robinson's Persian Pentateuch; the Malayalim Bible; the Telugu Scriptures, prepared at Vizagapatam; the labours of Rhenius with the Tamil version; the Bombay translations of the Bible into Marathi and Guzerathi; the Canarese Bible completed at Bellary; the publication of the entire Hindustani Old Testament by Mr. Schurman and Mr. Hawkins; the labours of Dr. Yates and Mr. Wenger in a new version of the Sanscrit and of the Bengali Bible; Dr. Glen's Persian Bible; the Punjabee Scriptures, and the Burmese Scriptures, prepared by the American missionaries; Dr. Sutton's Uriya Bible; and all the various labours of other missionaries in preparing new editions of some of these works; and the translation of separate portions for minor tribes or nations, as the Nepalee, Lepcha, Khasia, Scindee, and Cutchee.'

It is of the extremest importance to direct in a right channel the growing taste of the Hindoos on literary subjects. Calcutta alone, it is said, sends out from native presses annually not less than 30,000 volumes in Bengali, amongst which are upwards of twelve papers and periodicals. There are upwards of forty native presses at work to supply intellectual food to the people, much of which is unfavourable to Christianity. The existing systems of heathenism, however, appear hastening to their doom.

Polynesia.—A version of the Scriptures in the Samoan language, employed by the natives of the Navigators' Islands, is being now made under the direction of the missionaries. The whole of the Pentateuch and the Psalms are in print, and other portions are in various stages of progress.

South Seas.—A version of the Bible in the Javanese has been completed, under the direction of the Netherlands Bible Society. Another translation into the Dajadi language is being made in Borneo by M. Hardeland.

Syria.—The following illustration of Oriental habits referred to in the New Testament is given by Habeeb R. A. Effendi, in his recent work 'The Thistle and Cedar of Lebanon,' p. 71. It is a description of a marriage in a native Christian family at Aleppo.

'On arriving at the residence of the bridegroom we were ushered into a long room, in which guests were seated from the door to the upper part, according to their rank in life, the chief guests being seated at the head of the divan on either side of the master of the house; others were ranged lower and lower; the poorest guests were close to the doorway, and one or two so poor that they did not even aspire to a place in the divan, but squatted themselves cross-legged on the ground. On the arrival of a fresh guest the master of the house would rise and come forward to receive him; and if, as happened on some occasions, the guest, from mock humility, would seat himself in a position lower than what his actual rank of precedence entitled him to, an absurd scuffle would ensue, in which the master of the house would endeavour to drag the other higher up into the room, and the guest, with many "stafer Allahs" (God forbid), and many false protestations, would pretend reluctantly to yield to the distinction proffered him, and so gain honour in

the sight of the assembled multitude. Such scenes brought vividly to my mind Our Lord's parable about the meek being exalted; and rendered it clearly evident that this etiquette, so strictly adhered to by the nations of all Syria to this present hour, existed in the time of the Redeemer.'

Palestine.—An interesting paper was read at the Syro-Egyptian Society Nov. 8th, 'On the appearance of the so-called tombs of the Patriarchs at Hebron in the middle ages,' by T. Wright, Esq., F.S.A. &c. Mr. Wright referred in the first instance to the 'Itinerarium a Burdigala Hierusalem usque' (A.D. 333), which describes the tomb of Joseph as being near Neapolis (Nablúz), and those of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah, at Hebron. The next referred to was Bishop Arculf (A.D. 700), who represents the tombs of the Patriarchs, and of Adam, as being in a double cave looking towards Mamré (Hebron). The cave was inclosed with a low wall, which Mr. Wright identified with the 'monument in form of a square,' mentioned by the earlier writer. Sœwulf, who travelled in 1102, describes the monuments of the Patriarchs and Adam 'of ancient workmanship,' as being surrounded by a strong castle, each monument being like a church, with two sarcophagi within, one for the man, and another for the woman. The bones of Joseph were buried more humbly than the rest, at the extremity of the castle. This 'castle' was supposed by Mr. Wright to be the 'square wall' before mentioned, or one built on its site. It is evident that alterations had taken place, probably in the time of the Crusades. Sixty-one years after this Benjamin of Tudela speaks of six sepulchres erected by the Gentiles, and it is plain from his language that he considered the tombs then shown as modern inventions. Burchard, a monk who travelled A.D. 1283, describes the Saracens as having built a fortification over against the double cave which was contained in the Cathedral Church. Maundeville, forty-years after, observed that Christians were not allowed to enter these caves, and this prohibition has continued till the present day. Mr. Wright remarked on Sandys's mistaken statement that the building over the tombs was a Christian Church erected by the Empress Helena, but now converted into a mosque. Mangles' description of an outer wall of great antiquity was referred to the square hall of the early travellers.

Assyria.—A paper was read Nov. 23, at the meeting of the Royal Society of Literature, communicated by Mr. Stuart Poole of the British Museum. The subject was a bowl found at Nineveh by Mr. Layard, and lately cleaned, which exhibits two circles of Egyptian hieroglyphics, the one apparently a simple inscription, the other, a series of cartouches. Mr. Poole expresses his belief that the writing is genuinely Egyptian, and a transcript of Assyrian names. He has observed the constant recurrence of certain groups, as *Noubu* or *Nebu*, in one case followed by the determinative used in hieroglyphics for God; and, in another instance, a group which he would read *Meret* or *Mered*, and would, therefore, compare with the *Merodach* (Mars), or the *Martu* (Neptune) of the Babylonians. Such occurrences can hardly be considered as merely accidental. In another cartouche, he reads *Mered-onkh-al* or *Mered onkh-bal*, which bears a striking resemblance to the *Merodach-baladan* of the Bible; on a second, he finds the name *Sut-her-tu*, which reminds one of *Sut-belherat*, a king (according to Colonel Rawlinson), who was vanquished by *Divanubara*, the ruler, who set up the black obelisk which was found at Nimrud. A third cartouche contains a name of even greater interest. It may be read *Sheneekterim*; the first two syllables of the name being, in Mr. Poole's opinion, undoubtedly a correct reading, and probably too the last also. This name bears a remarkable resemblance to that of *Sennacherib*, who, we know, himself conquered *Merodach-baladan*. In the conclusion of his paper, Mr. Poole states that he is unwilling, in the present state of knowledge, to urge these readings with too great positiveness; but that he throws them out, with a view of stimulating further research on a question of great interest.

Assyrian and Babylonian Weights.—At the meeting of the Asiatic Society on Nov. 19, a paper on this subject was read by Mr. Norris, with especial reference to the weights brought to England from Nineveh by Mr. Layard, and now deposited in the British Museum. These weights are of bronze, formed in the shape of lions with handles, some of them were also of marble in the shape of ducks.

There are inscriptions on them, some in the usual cuneiform Assyrian, and others in the cursive writing occasionally found in the Nineveh relics. He was of opinion that the inscription on the largest lion weight was in the Chaldee language and Phœnician character, and that it might be read חמישא עשר מנה, meaning fifteen manehs. As the talent contained fifteen manehs, and the weight in question was of 41lb. troy, the result would be a talent of 164lb., more than double the weight ascribed to the talent by Greek authority. On going through the weights (about twenty) he found the inscriptions on half of them giving results like that already obtained, but the other half represented the talent as only half the amount of the first, or 82lb. weight, several of the latter being decidedly Babylonian in their character. Mr. Wright, therefore, stated his conviction that there were two systems of weights used in the Assyrian empire; that a talent of 164lb. was used in the northern province of Assyria Proper, and one of 82lb. in the province of Babylonia. It was a subject of interest that the weight of the Babylonian talent thus inferred was very little less than that derivable from the statement of Ælian, that the Babylonian talent was equal to 72 Attic minæ.

Tomb of Ezekiel.—Mr. T. K. Lynch, in some notes recently made public, describes a visit made by him in May 1848 to Kiffel, a place where the Prophet Ezekiel is said to be buried. He visited the tomb of the Prophet, traversing first a spacious court, and on entering a large hall supported on two rows of pilastered columns, was shown in a recess at the far end a precious manuscript of the Pentateuch, written on a single scroll. Leading out of this hall, on the south side, was a little dark chamber, which contained the tomb itself enclosed in a wooden case. Above the tomb rose a spiral dome, gilt and enamelled internally.

Africa.—It is stated in the *Pennsylvania Freeman* that Dr. Phillips, a missionary in South Africa, has been informed by a German traveller, that he has discovered a race of negroes near the kingdom of Bambam, who are Jews in their religious rites and observances. Nearly every family, he says, has the law of Moses written on parchments. This statement furnishes a subject of interesting inquiry, but is probably much exaggerated.

Genealogy of our Lord.—An interesting extract from a Journal by the Rev. F. C. Ewald, in reference to the above important subject, appears in the 'Jewish Intelligencer for December.' It is as follows:—

'In the opening of the New Testament, the genealogy of our Lord, as given by Matthew and Luke, perplexed them. In Matthew, Joseph is called the son of Jacob; in Luke, he is called the son of Eli; and both Evangelists apparently give only the genealogy of Joseph; which I explained in the following manner:—According to the laws given to the Israelites, we find that if a father of a family had no sons, but daughters, the inheritance was given to the daughter; this law was established in the wilderness on the occasion when the daughters of Zelophehad came to Moses and said "Our father died in the wilderness, and he was not in the company of them that gathered themselves together against the Lord in the company of Korah; but died in his own sin, and had no sons. Why should the name of our father be done away from among his family, because he hath no son? Give unto us therefore a possession among the brethren of our father." Moses brought the case before the Lord, and the Lord said, "If a man die, and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter.' (Numbers xxvii.) However, as soon as this law was promulgated there arose a difficulty. The promised land was to be divided by lot to the children of Israel; each tribe was to have a certain portion, and each family in that tribe again their portion; if therefore a daughter became the heiress and married into another tribe, the one tribe would lose a portion, whilst the other would gain it. Therefore another law was given, namely, that such heiresses could not marry into another tribe, but their future husbands must be of their own tribe. (Numbers xxxvi.) The chief object of these laws was *that the name of the man who died sonless* should not be lost. (Numbers xxvii. 4.) On that account, he who married such an heiress was called after the name of his father-in-law and also of his own father, and had thus two family names. For instance, we read in 1 Chron. ii. 21-23, that *Hezron* married the daughter of Machir the father of Gilead, and she bare him Segub.

"And Segub begat Jair, who had three-and-twenty cities in the land of Gilead. And he took Geshur, and Aram, with the towns of Jair, from them, with Kenath, and the towns thereof, even threescore cities. All these belonged to the sons of *Machir* the father of Gilead." But they were the sons of Hezron, and the grandsons of Machir. The same is also clear from Nehemiah vii. 63. Jacob was the father of Joseph, Eli the father of Mary and the father-in-law of Joseph. Mary was an heiress, whose property was in Bethlehem, on which account she went to that place to be taxed. Mary being of the tribe of Judah, and of the family of David, she married Joseph, who was of the same tribe and family: he therefore is called, according to established law and custom among the Jews, the son of Jacob and the son of Eli, though the latter was his father-in-law, and therefore Jesus was called by the Jews, "Son of David."'

Ancient Money.—At a meeting of the Numismatic Society, held Nov. 24th, a paper by W. B. Dickinson, Esq., of Leamington, was read, containing a defence of ring money as a medium of exchange, in reply to some strictures by Mr. Vaux. Mr. Dickinson defined money as 'every article which is generally accepted in a community as a representative of property and a medium of exchange.' He illustrated his view from the circulation of several objects which he conceived to fall within it, referring to various passages of the Scriptures, such as Gen. xiii. 2, when Abraham is said to have been very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold,'—as Gen. xvii. 13, where the bond-servant is called 'he that is bought with thy money,'—as Gen. xx. 16, when Abimelech gives Abraham 'a thousand [pieces] of silver,'—and as Gen. xxxiii. 3-20, where the cave of Machpelah is purchased for four hundred shekels of silver, which though passed by weight, are said to be 'current money with the merchant.' Mr. Dickinson noticed the form in which the earlier nations kept their money, which he judged must have been of such a character that it could be looped together like rings, a view which he deduced from the account of the money found in Benjamin's sack—from a picture in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's Egypt, copied from the walls of one of the catacombs in that country—from the story of Rebecca in Gen. xxiv. 22, and from that of the Midianites in Judges viii. 24.

At the general meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in April, 1853, a copy of the new folio Welsh Bible, printed for the Society during the year at the Oxford University Press, was laid before the Board. A new folio edition had been long wanted for the reading-desks of churches in Wales, and the octavo Bible, published by the Society in the year 1809, was fixed upon for the basis of the new Bible. The errors in the octavo edition, which were chiefly of a typographical kind, are corrected in the folio impression. It appeared that for the preparation of this revised edition the Bishops of the principality had appointed the Rev. Morris Williams, whose abilities as a Welsh scholar are well known. He was commissioned to prepare the work for the press, and to superintend its publication; and their Lordships furnished him with certain general regulations for his guidance. The Rev. Rowland Williams, M.A., Canon of St. Asaph, the Rev. Charles Williams, B.D., Incumbent of Holyhead, and the Ven. John Jones, B.D., Archdeacon of Bangor and Anglesey, were appointed referees. The Bishop of St. David's took an important share in assisting in this revision. Much assistance was given by other eminent Welsh scholars, particularly by the Rev. Richard Briscoe, D.D., Vicar of Whitford. Prefixed to the work is a specific Declaration of Approval, subscribed by the four Bishops of Wales.

Much satisfaction was expressed by the Board on the production of this Bible. It was agreed to present the Society's thanks to the Rev. Morris Williams for the labour, judgment, and learning with which he has carried through this important work. A copy of the work, with a suitable inscription, has also been placed in his hands.

At the general Convocation of the Episcopal Church, at New York, on Oct. 17th last, a long and able discussion ensued on the subject of a standard Bible. Considering the long existing state of party in the Church, this discussion proceeded, as it were, stumbling over a volcano. But good temper, forbearance, and Christian feeling happily triumphed. In the course of the discussion, Dr. Andrews, of

Virginia, spoke against the adoption of the Oxford edition, which he condemned on account of 24,000 alleged typographical errors. He preferred the text of the American Bible Society. The Hon. Luther Bradish (late Governor of New York) alluded to the magnitude of the subject, and questioned the propriety of adopting the Oxford medium quarto Bible as a standard. He spoke of new translations lately put forth in America, and produced much amusement by quoting one of these, in which, for the words 'no variableness nor shadow of turning,' there is substituted, 'no parallax. or tropical shadow.' They lived in an age of progress; but progress was not always in the right direction, and not all change was reform. He spoke approvingly of the American Bible Society, which, he said, counted ten Bishops among its directors. Mr. Williams, of Virginia, said that if the house supported the Oxford edition, it would be assuming a hostile position towards the American Bible Society. It was finally agreed to re-commit the report, and this dangerous topic was thus for the present disposed of.—*Guardian.*

The Rev. Mr. Perkins, of Ooroomiah, writes, 'The Old Testament in both the ancient and modern Syriac is now going abroad among the Nestorians. It forms a large and beautiful volume.' The primary responsibility of the translation rested on Mr. Perkins, but the labour was shared with him by Dr. Wright, whose accurate scholarship, excellent knowledge of the languages, and taste for such labours, peculiarly qualified him for the task.—*Missionary Herald*, July, 1853.

The subject of the Norrisian Prize for the present year is The Essential Coherence of the Old and New Testament.

The examiners have given notice that the subject of the Le Bas prize for the present year is The Jews in Egypt, from the Captivity to the Destruction of Jerusalem.

At the sale of Dr. Hawtrey's library, the 'Coverdale Bible,' a great rarity, though imperfect, sold for 120*l.*, and has been sent to the United States.—*Norton's Literary Gazette.*

Dr. Benisch has published the second part of his translation of the Bible, comprising the Prophets; and Bible History for Schools, edited by him, is in the press.

The Rev. Mr. Smith, American missionary at Beirut, is making a new translation of the Scriptures into Arabic. The Pentateuch was finished last summer, and since that time he has been devoting his time to the New Testament. He had advanced at the date of the last report to the middle of Mark.—*Missionary Herald*, July, 1853.

There are two interesting papers in the Dublin University Magazine for October, too long for insertion in our columns: one is a translation, by the Rev. Dr. Hincks, of the inscriptions on the obelisk which Mr. Layard discovered in the centre of the mound at Nimrûd, and which is now standing in the middle of the central Assyrian room in the British Museum. The other is an article by the Rev. G. S. Faber, D.D. 'on the site of the destroyed cities of the plain.' The conclusion to which Mr. Faber comes is, 'that the whole of the once fertile plain of Jordan is now covered by the waters of the Dead Sea. Consequently, since the guilty Cities of the Plain, as the very name descriptively imports, were built in different parts of this plain, they also, or what remains of them, must be now similarly covered by the same great asphaltic lake.'

LITERARY AND EDUCATIONAL.

The proposals of the authorities of the University of Oxford in reference to the reform of their institutions have now assumed a definite shape. There are however two bodies, the Board of Heads of Houses and Proctors, and the Tutors' Association, which have put forth different plans, the principal points of which, respectively, are as follows.

The chief recommendations of the Report of the Committee of Heads of Houses and Proctors are: 1. That affiliated halls should be permitted, and that to encourage the foundation of a new independent hall or halls, under peculiar and stringent regulations, the sum of 10,000*l.* should be advanced, by way of gift,

from the University Chest, but that neither private halls nor unattached students should be permitted. 2. That the existing Hebdomadal Board should remain in its present position, but should be increased by the addition of eight other members to be elected by Convocation, two of these to retire yearly, and not to be re-eligible till after a year. 3. That some two or three professors should receive a small addition to their stipend; that the two Arabic professorships should be combined; that the Sanscrit professor should be forced to reside; and that two new Professorships should be established of some of the modern Eastern languages, particularly Chinese. 4. That the Head and Fellows of each Society should be empowered to alter or abrogate statutes, and to frame new ones; such changes in every instance requiring the consent of the Visitor, and becoming law by the confirmation of a New Court, to consist of the Lord Chancellor, the Chancellor of the University, and the Lords Justices, or other Judges of the Superior Courts.

The Report of the Tutors' Association proposes that,—

1. The study of standard books should continue to be, as now, the principal means of University instruction, and the examinations should be mainly in these books, and not generally in subjects.

2. It should not be in the power of the Professors or other examiners to introduce at their discretion new books into the examinations, or discontinue the old. Change in this respect should only be made by a legislative body, in which the various interests of the University are adequately represented.

3. The Tutors should be independent of the Professors, and should lecture as now, at their own discretion, upon the standard books authorised by the University. It is much to be wished, however, that different tutors in the same college should adopt a division of labour, each confining himself mainly to such books as have some community of subject-matter.

4. The examination should be conducted, as now, by sworn examiners, chosen out of the whole body of Masters.

The Report next proceeds to point out the wants of the University in regard to the different departments of study, but more particularly in regard to a proper professional course of theological study. This is followed by various suggestions on the mode of appointment to professorships, and the conditions of their tenure. In conclusion the Report states, on the question of religious tests, that it is not thought desirable 'to contribute in any way to the dissolution of the union which has hitherto existed between the University of Oxford and the Church of England.' Appended to the Report is a table of the proposed staff of professors, and the proposed stipends, existing endowments, subjects to be taught, and duties to be required, and the mode of appointment. The table comprises six Professorships of Divinity, three of Mental and Moral Philosophy, seven of Law and History, seven of Philology, and ten of mathematical and physical science, and music. The new professorships proposed are, Mental Philosophy, Ancient History, English History, Latin, and Arabic.

The National Public School Association of Manchester are taking steps to have an Education Bill brought in, based on their principles. It is said that the Manchester and Salford Education Association are about to follow this example, with the aid of Sir John Pakington in the House of Commons, and the Bishop of Manchester in the House of Lords.

A plan has been projected, and is being carried out with great liberality, for transferring the school for the orphan sons of clergymen from its present site in St. John's Wood to a new site near Canterbury, which has been provided by the munificence of the Rev. Dr. Warnford. The subscriptions of Dr. Warnford towards this desirable object, amount to 13,000*l.*

The Church of England Education Society, which was established recently by some members of the National Society, amongst whom the Rev. F. Close of Cheltenham occupied a leading position, has already made grants towards the erection of schools in Liverpool, Devonport, Bermondsey, Beverley, Lambeth, and Holme, besides exhibitions of 10*l.* to three students in the Highbury Training Institution, and one at the Home and Colonial School Society.

A county meeting has been held in Cornwall to promote the establishment of a Mining School at Truro. Some years since Sir C. Lemon offered to contribute 10,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* towards such an object, but the plan was rejected. The object is to found a school in which all the sciences bearing on Mining industry shall be taught to young men who are likely to be engaged in superintending works of that nature.

Public Libraries, Athenæums, and other Literary Institutes are being gradually established in the principal towns throughout England. Institutions of this description have been recently projected or opened at Bury, Holmfirth, Barnsley, Galashiels, and Prescot. The experience of the Manchester and Liverpool Libraries is, that the great mass of readers peruse books of mere amusement. It would be however a great benefit to religion and morality, if the perusal of works of an innocent, though recreative character, should in any degree tend to supersede the lower and more sensual gratifications in which too many of the working classes indulge.

The city of Colchester, occupying the site of the capital of the British King Cunobeline, and where a temple to the Emperor Claudius stood in the time of the Romans, has long been remarkable for the number and variety of Roman remains, of all kinds, which have from time to time been disinterred there. Amongst the sepulchral urns recently discovered is one of dark red pottery, covered with figures representing the sports of the Amphitheatre. Two gladiators have been engaged in combat, but one of them appears wounded, and drops his weapon, imploring mercy from the spectators. Elsewhere men are represented overcoming a bear. This urn, according to Mr. Roach Smith, was filled with calcined human bones. One group represents a hare hunt. There is the inscription SECVNDVS MARIO over the head of a man who is represented in the act of disciplining a bear. Above one of the gladiators is inscribed MEMN. SAC. VIIII., and over the other VALENTINV. LEGIONIS. XXX.

At the Society of Antiquarians, Nov. 24th, Mr. Thomas Chapman exhibited some very beautiful examples of flint spear-heads, arrow-heads, and implements of the primæval period, found by Mr. Samuel Anderson of Whitby, in ancient British tumuli in Yorkshire. Some of these specimens were of an unique description. They resembled rude combs, and were probably made for the same use; but it had been supposed by some that they were instruments used by the Britons for tattooing their bodies, although it is not recorded of them that they punctured their skins to effect this object.

A number of stone coffins, containing human remains, have been recently discovered in the ground of Braehead House, near Kirkaldy. Similar remains have been discovered in other parts, and large standing stones, some of them probably memorials of victory or defeat in contest with the Romans or the Scandinavian invaders.

The recent researches of J. Y. Akerman, Esq., F.A.S., at Harnham Hill, near Salisbury, have led to the discovery of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery, and of a great number of curious remains. Amongst other objects of interest is a plain gold ring exactly resembling a wedding ring of the present day. By the side of the skeleton of a young man was found the usual Anglo-Saxon knife, and what is singular, a two-pronged iron fork, fixed in a handle of deer's-horn. Fibulæ of a new form and pattern, rings, tooth-picks, ear-scoops, bronze tweezers, beads of amber, glass, and vitreous paste, umbones of shields, spear-heads, knives, buckles, clasps, combs, are amongst the articles found. It is argued by Mr. Akerman (in papers which were read before the inhabitants of Salisbury, and at the Antiquarian Society) that these remains belong to a period anterior to the introduction of Christianity, and that the persons buried were of the lower classes of society.

France.—M. Fortoul, the Minister of Public Instruction, has lately presented to the Emperor a voluminous Report on the progress of education in France. It states that the commercial schools or *Colleges* had so fallen into discredit, that in three years after 1848, 58 out of 312 had been closed. The 53 *Lycées* had lost 4000 scholars, and the Faculties and Universities had no pupils except at Paris. The

remedial measures adopted under these circumstances consisted in the resumption, by the Minister of Instruction, of the right of nominating to all the *Courses* or scholarships of the public schools; vesting in his hands the absolute appointment or displacing of all professors; and remodelling the whole course of studies on the regulations of Napoleon I., when Consul, which oblige all pupils to choose, on arriving at a certain class, between a classical and a mathematical education. The *Baccalaureat-ès-lettres* terminates the school education, and the *licence* the University education. The statistical results of the first year of the new system are as follows. The pupils in the *Lycées* amounted in 1847 to 23,000, but had fallen in November, 1852, to 19,000. On the 1st of January, 1853, they again exceeded 20,000. Six towns have already demanded the establishment of a *Lycée*, while 1404 free elementary schools have disappeared, and 3488 commercial elementary schools have been established, of which 699 are under the care of religious bodies. Amongst the higher schools, *Colleges*, the case is different. The change there has been from National into Free-schools, 58 of the former having disappeared, 28 of which have been converted into schools immediately subject to the Bishops, and nine under the direction of the Clergy. The *petits séminaires* of the Bishops contain 19,000 pupils, and there are 158 free-schools directed by ecclesiastics, containing 17,000 pupils. The education of females appears in France to be conducted almost entirely in convents.

One of the most important relics of ancient architecture in France, the Temple of Augustus and Livia at Vienne, is being brought to view by the removal of a number of houses from around it, at the joint expense of the French Government and the Commune. The former subscribes no less a sum than 6000*l*.

The Archbishop of Paris lately addressed a pastoral letter to the clergy and people of his diocese, instituting a new *fête*, to be called the *Fête des Ecoles*, which is designed to celebrate the renewed alliance in France of science and religion. The ceremony took place in the church of St. Geneviève, formerly the Pantheon, on Nov. 27th, and was attended by the Minister of Public Instruction, and a number of persons of distinction, connected with the learned and professional bodies. The service was conducted with unusual pomp and splendour, and an oration was delivered by the archbishop, which extended to two hours in length.

It is understood that a treaty for the mutual protection of literary and artistic property has been signed between France and Spain.

Germany.—The King of Bavaria has lately created a special order of knighthood, to reward eminent literary and scientific merit. The order is to be named after the king—the Maximilian order; and its decoration consists of a blue ribbon edged with white.

The recent meeting of the *Kirchentag*, in which the Confession of Augsburg was recognised as the standard of doctrine amongst German Protestants, was succeeded by a meeting on the subject of the Home Mission, founded by Dr. Wichern of Hamburg, who is also the founder of the *Rouhes Haus* there, an institution analogous to our ragged schools. The special subjects considered at this meeting were the observance of Sunday, spiritual provision for criminals, and for labourers on canals and railways, and prisoners discharged from houses of correction; also young men's associations, temperance societies, &c. It was resolved to urge on the authorities to establish a numerical proportion between the clergy and the population in large towns, and to take steps to put down houses of prostitution.

At Petronell, in Hungary, a very fine mosaic pavement has just been discovered near the castle of the Counts of Abensburg-Traun, and not far from the same spot a military order of the Emperor Trajan. Petronell is the ancient Cornuteum, and near it are the remains of a triumphal arch, raised by the Emperor Augustus to Tiberius, in memory of the conquest of Pannonia.

Mr. Adolphus Asher, bookseller, of Berlin, died at Venice on the 2nd of last month. Mr. Asher was one of the continental purchasers of books and manuscripts for the British Museum; and his knowledge of books and literary attainments

brought him into connection with the great literary men of this country, by whom his loss will be felt.

Italy.—An antique villa has been discovered between Acerno and Scafati, on the banks of the Sarno, at a depth only of three or four feet from the surface. The architecture bears no resemblance to that of Herculaneum and Pompeii, with the exception of the arcades. The house, of which the front wall is partly rotted by the oozing of the river Sarno, contains ten large rooms. Two human skeletons were found in it; also an agricultural implement in bronze, and the bones of a bird.

During some late excavations at Pompeii several human skeletons and one of a dog were discovered, pressed on each other. Two gold rings, ornamented with cameos, were found on the fingers of the left hand of one of these skeletons.

Greece.—It has been stated in some of the French journals that the Pantheon at Athens is to be completely restored, and converted into a Roman Catholic church. We should think the revenues of Greece would scarcely be adequate to so costly an undertaking. The report, however, is a new evidence of the aspiring character of Romanism, and the boldness of its attempts.

An interesting discovery has recently been made of the site of the city of Oropus. At a meeting of the Royal Society of Literature, on Nov. 9th, extracts were read from a letter addressed by Charles Newton, Esq., Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Mitylene, to Colonel Leake, giving an account of some inscriptions lately found by him. Mr. Newton states that at Mavrodhilissi, near Oropo, on the borders of Attica and Bœotia, he found a deep ravine near the sea-shore, situated between the villages of Merkopula on the north-west and Kalamo on the south, exactly as it is laid down in Sir W. Gell's map. On the steep sides of the ravine are the remains of ancient walls, on the left bank of a stream which flows through this ravine to the sea. They are evidently the foundations of a *temenos*, or sacred precinct of a temple. Within this enclosure were a number of blocks of marble strewn about the ground, as if they had been recently thrown down from some wall or edifice. Upon all of these were inscriptions, in most cases well preserved. The contents of these inscriptions are various, but they all refer to the city of Oropus, in which the most sacred spot was the temple of the hero Amphiaraos. The first mentions the dedication of all altars to Amphiaraos; five more contain decrees whereby the right of *Proxenia* was granted to different individuals; while the seventh is peculiarly interesting, in that it contains a long list of the victors in the musical, gymnastic, and equestrian contests, and in the chariot races. The cities of the Bœotian league were, we know, remarkable for the number of their Agonistic festivals, and archæology has already rescued from oblivion the lists of victors in several of these *Panegyres*. Records of the *Charitesia*, *Homoloia*, *Musea*, and, probably, *Erotidia*, have been preserved to us in other inscriptions, and now the list of victors in the Amphiaraia found at Mavrodhilissi adds one more to the series already published. In this inscription the musical and poetical contests precede the gymnastic, the horse and chariot races, which was, indeed, the general order of the Pythian games. Mr. Newton points out, by collation of numerous inscriptions published by Boeckh, the general order in which these several contests succeeded one another, and the change which took place in them during the later or imperial times, in accordance with the general change of manners: he suggests that the regular drama was probably first introduced into the Bœotian games about the time of Alexander the Great. Mr. Newton adds a determination from various evidence of the date of the first inscription to between Olymp. 115-145 (B.C. 320-200); of the third to between Olymp. 130-156 (B.C. 260-156); while the others he considers to be somewhat later. Mr. Newton concluded by saying that there could be no doubt that these inscriptions had been discovered on or very near the site of the temple of Amphiaraos, and that in the glen above mentioned he himself had noticed a fountain, probably the same as that mentioned by Pausanias, and a statue in white marble, lying across the bed of the brook, with the shoulders towards the middle of the stream. The statue is, unfortunately, much injured, and has lost the head and both the arms. Under the base is a square socket, in which an iron clamp has been inserted to fasten the figure to its pedestal.

The figure is of fine workmanship, and its surface is well preserved. Mr. Newton considers that this is the identical statue of Amphiaraos noticed by Pausanias.

Denmark.—A curious discovery has lately been made in the Danish island Yhrlen, situated between the islands of Thorseng and Fyen, close to Fuhnen. Several persons having remarked some coins lying about near some mole-hills, commenced digging about, when to their surprise they found the remains of a leathern bag, which had been decorated with gold ornaments, while within and around it were quantities of broken necklaces and bracelets of silver of very curious workmanship, and two hundred and fifty silver coins. These coins for the most part bore the inscription 'Adelred Rx. Anglo:' round the bust of a man; and on the reverse a cross with an inscription. Besides these coins were others bearing Byzantine and Latin inscriptions, with busts and bishops' mitres on them. The island had never been touched by the ploughshare: and it is strange to think that the treasure of one of the 'sea kings' of the tenth century has come to light almost exactly in the same state as when he hid it for safety in the sands of one of his native islands.

Egypt.—A letter from A. C. Harris, Esq., dated Rosetta, Aug. 1, 1853, states that M. Mariette, under the direction of the French Government, is making researches in the catacombs at Sakkarah; that Dr. Bengsch, on behalf of the Prussian Government, is making collections for the study of the *Demotic;* and that Abbas Pasha is causing some of the temples to be cleared out. Researches are also being made into the annual deposit of mud made by the Nile in its inundations, in order to test the accuracy of the statements made by some of the French *savans* in Egypt.

Syria.—It is stated that the Rev. J. L. Porter, a missionary, has discovered at no great distance from Damascus, a remarkable *tel* or mound, called the *Tel-es-Salahieh*, built of brick, in the style of the Babylonian mounds. Beside this crumbling ruin he saw a slab of white limestone, on which was a piece of rude sculpture resembling those recently brought from Nineveh. It will probably turn out to be a memorial of the Assyrian dominion over Syria, like the statue of the Nahr-el-Kelb, near Beirút. Mr. Hogg read a paper on this subject at the Royal Society of Literature, Nov. 23rd.

Assyria.—At the Asiatic Society, Dec. 3rd, the assistant secretary read extracts of letters received from Colonel Rawlinson, giving some notice of his labours for the last few months. Amongst other objects of interest, the Colonel gave some details of the early chronology of the Assyrian empire, which he felt satisfied must have been originally one with that of Babylonia—that, in fact, Assyria was a province of Babylonia until about the thirteenth century B. C., when the northern division threw off the yoke of Babylon, and became the paramount country, first at Kila Shergat, and afterwards at Nineveh, reducing Babylonia in its turn to the provincial rank. In the early periods Assyria was governed by satraps from Babylonia, who were called Patis—a word singularly resembling the Zend and Sanscrit words signifying lord or master. Six of these satraps had been found commemorated on three different bricks—a pair on each, in the relation of father and son; but as there was no connection between the inscriptions, no judgment could be arrived at as to priority of time. The Colonel has also found a large number of royal names of the same period from the southern division of the empire, and among them some designated as 'Patis of Assyria,' in addition to their royal title. He had also worked hard at the terra-cotta syllabaria, of which he had in his possession an immense number in fragments. From them he had made out a list of some hundreds of monograms, with their explanations, phonetic readings, and varieties of signification. One tablet contained a list of birds which might not be eaten, in the manner of the Scripture prohibitions; another, a list of the gods worshipped in the empire, with the names of the cities and temples where the devotions were performed. He was convinced that a very long period must elapse before the reading of these numerous lists of monograms could be satisfactorily completed; and until then it was in vain to endeavour to give a perfect transcript of the inscriptions before us in any phonetic alphabet. The Colonel mentioned in one of his letters the discovery of a third obelisk, which he was

expecting to receive at Bagdad. In the mean time a copy of part of the inscription upon it had reached him, from which he saw that the king (whose name did not occur in the part received) had, among various campaigns in Asia Minor, Syria, Lebanon, &c., undertaken an expedition against the islands in the Mediterranean, setting sail from the port of Arudus with a fleet of thirty-four ships hired from the Phœnicians. One half of the inscription was taken up with details of restoration and improvements of the city of Nineveh. The names of four kings are given as the builders of the works which required repair; and as three of them were the immediate predecessors of Assurakhpal, we cannot make the obelisk older than the sixth century B. C. A name is found upon this inscription which we have not read before; the phonetic rendering is Assuradanapali—no doubt the warlike Sardanapalus of the Greeks, the first of the name. The last received letter was written under canvas at Ctesiphon, to which place the Colonel had gone in consequence of ill-health, aggravated by the heat of Bagdad. He was occupied there in making interlineary and literal translations of the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I., from the Shugat cylinder, and of Assurakphal from the Nimrud monolith, which he hoped to send home soon.

America.—A pyramid has lately been discovered in California of considerable dimensions. It is built of stone, laid in courses from 18 in. to 3 ft. thick, and 5 or 6 ft. in length. Its present height is about 104 ft., but on the top is a platform more than 50 ft. square; and, according to the account, it appears evident that the pyramid was continued and completed originally. In opposition to this view we would refer to the recent discovery of other pyramids in Yucatan, which appear in all cases to have terminated in a platform, probably bearing a building of some sort. The outer surface of the blocks of which this pyramid was built being cut to an angle, the edifice when new must have appeared to have a smooth and regular surface from top to bottom. It is not known how far the pyramid may extend below the surface of the sands.

The *San Francisco Herald* gives some interesting details relating to a recent discovery by Captain Joe Walker, a celebrated mountaineer, of some remarkable ruins in the great basin between the Colorado and the Rio Grande. The country is barren and desolate, and entirely uninhabited. But though now so bleak and forbidding, strewn all around may be seen the evidence that it was once peopled by a civilised and thickly-settled population. They have long since disappeared, but their handiwork still remains to attest their former greatness. Captain Walker assures us that the country from the Colorado to the Rio Grande, between the Gila and San Juan, is full of ruined habitations and cities, most of which are on the tableland. Although he had frequently met with crumbling masses of masonry and numberless specimens of antique pottery, such as have been noticed in the immigrant trail south of the Gila, it was not until his last trip across that he ever saw a structure standing. On that occasion he had penetrated about midway from the Colorado into the wilderness, and had encamped near the Little Red River, with the Sierra Blanco looming up to the south, when he noticed at a little distance an object that induced him to examine further. As he approached, he found it to be a kind of citadel, around which lay the ruins of a city more than a mile in length. It was located on a gentle declivity that sloped towards Red River, and the lines of the streets could be distinctly traced, running regularly at right angles with each other. The houses had all been built of stones, but all had been reduced to ruins by the action of some great heat, which had evidently passed over the whole country. It was not an ordinary conflagration, but must have been some fierce furnace-like blast of fire, similar to that issuing from a volcano, as the stones were all burnt—some of them almost cindered, others glazed as if melted. This appearance was visible in every ruin he met with. A storm of fire seemed to have swept over the whole face of the country, and the inhabitants must have fallen before it. In the centre of this city we refer to rose abruptly a rock 20 or 30 feet high, upon the top of which stood a portion of the walls of what had once been an immense building. The outline of the building was still distinct, although only the northern angle, with walls 15 or 18 feet long, and 10 feet high, were standing. These walls are con-

structed of stone. well quarried and well built. All the south end of the building seemed to have been burnt to cinders, and to have sunk to a mere pile of rubbish. Even the rock on which it was built appeared to have been partially fused by the heat. Captain Walker spent some time in examining this interesting spot. He traced many of the streets and the outlines of the houses, but could find no other wall standing. As often as he had seen ruins of this character, he had never until this occasion discovered any of the implements of the ancient people. Here he found a number of handmills, similar to those still used by the Pueblas and the Mexicans for grinding their corn. They were made of light porous rock, and consisted of two pieces, about 2 feet long and 10 inches wide; the one hollowed out, and the other made convex like a roller to fit the concavity. They were the only articles that had resisted the heat. No metals of any kind were found. Strewn all around might be seen numerous fragments of crockery, sometimes beautifully carved, at others painted. This, however, was not peculiar to this spot, as he had seen antique pottery in every part of the country, from San Juan to the Gila.

Captain Walker continued his journey, and noticed several more ruins a little off his route next day, but he could not stop to examine them. On this side of the Colorado he has never seen any remains, except of the present races. The Indians have no traditions relative to the ancient people once thickly settled in this region. They look with wonder upon these remains, but know nothing of their origin. Captain Walker, who, we may remark, is a most intelligent and close observer, far superior to the generality of the old trappers, and with a wonderfully retentive memory, is of opinion that this basin, now so barren, was once a charming country, sustaining millions of people, and that its present desolation has been wrought by the action of volcanic fires. The mill discovered proves that the ancient race once farmed; the country, as it now appears, never could be tilled, hence it is inferred it must have been different in early days. They must have had sheep, too, for the representation of that useful animal was found carved upon a piece of pottery.

Lieutenant Beale states that on his first trip across the continent he discovered in the midst of the wilderness north of the Gila what appeared to be a strong fort, the walls of great thickness, built of stone. He traversed it, and found it contained 42 rooms. In the vicinity numerous balls of hard clay, from the size of a bullet to that of a grape shot, were met with. What was singular about them was the fact that frequently 10 or 20 were stuck together like a number of bullets run out of half-a-dozen connecting moulds, or like a whole baking of rolls. It is difficult to say what these were intended for. They were so hard, however, that the smaller ones could be discharged from a gun. And now it remains for the antiquary to explore this most interesting region in the very heart of our country, and to say who were the people that inhabited it. They may have been the ancestors of the Aztecs whom Cortes found in Mexico, for they were known to have come from the north. Tradition relates that they sailed out from their northern homes directed by their prophets not to cease their march till they came across an eagle sitting upon a cactus with a serpent in its claws. This they found where the city of Mexico now stands, and there they established their dominion. This legend is still preserved in the device upon the Mexican dollar. Some remnants of the Aztecs still remained within a few years past at the ruined city of Grand Quivera, or Pecos, in the wilderness of New Mexico. Here, in deep caverns, they kept alive with reverential care the sacred fire, which was always to burn until the return of Montezuma. It only went out ten years ago, when the last Indian of the tribe expired. It may be that the Pimos, south of the Gila, are an offshoot of the great Aztec nation, left behind in their march to the south. The Pimos, it is known, are far superior to the Indians of Mexico. They raise fine cotton, and from it manufacture all their clothing.

Among the books published by the insurgent chiefs in China is the first part of the book of Genesis in Gutzlaff's translation. The title page is emblazoned with the imperial arms, and over the whole are the words, 'A new edition, published in the Kwei-haou, in the 3rd year of the celestial dynasty of T'hae-ping.' 'If,' says the North China Herald, 'this first half of Genesis be only the commencement of

a series which the insurgent chiefs intend to continue as soon as they have opportunity, and as soon as the various documents comprising the "Holy Book" come into their hands, we may then expect to see, in course of time, should the insurgents prove successful, the whole of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures published by authority and circulated throughout the empire.' If this should take place, it would give the Bible a circulation in China which it has not been anticipated would take place for many years to come. Two copies of a version of the New Testament have been placed in the hands of one of the chiefs at Nanking, and were received with respect and gratitude.

At the last meeting of the United Presbyterian Synod, the Reports of the several Professors of the Divinity Hall were read, presenting a most favourable view of the efficiency and prosperity of the institution, and indicating both by the numbers attending the classes, and the thorough manner in which they were trained in all the branches of the course, what hopes might be entertained of the future ministry of this important religious denomination. On the opening of the Seventh Session, Professor M'Michael delivered a lecture on Hildebrand and his age. The total number of students attending the Hall is 191.

Some time ago, Messrs. Didot and Co. announced the publication of a philological work, on the French language in its relations with the Sanscrit, in which the whole anatomy of the European languages was to be laid bare. Two Nos. of this work are now before the public, and are exciting much attention among the learned bodies throughout the continent. Some of the etymologies may, at first sight, appear rather startling, but by following up what at first seems dubious, the reader is enabled to trace the word from its present form to its next of kin, and thus through its genealogical tree to its root the Sanscrit.—*New York Literary World*, Nov. 12.

M. Leopold Dukes has been commissioned by the Trustees of the British Museum with the writing of a Catalogue of the Hebrew works in that national institution.—*Hebrew Observer.*

Mr. B. Goldberg, who for the last fourteen months has been occupied in transcribing ancient Hebrew and Arabic MSS. at the Bodleian Library, has been honoured by the Royal Society of Literature with a small grant to support him for a time in his literary labours.—*Hebrew Observer.*

The total number of books and tracts issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, between the audits of April 1852 and April 1853, has amounted to 4,284,310:—

Bibles	153,799
New Testaments	79,483
Prayer-Books	324,928
Other books	1,154,253
Tracts	2,571,847
	4,284,310

In an inaugural lecture, distinguished for its vigour and novelty, delivered at the opening of the session of the Greek classes in the University of Edinburgh, Professor Blackie said 'that some of the most striking peculiarities of modern Greek can be pointed out as characterising the dialects of the New Testament, so that one of the readiest ways to become familiar with the language of the Christian Scriptures is to hear lectures in theology and church history in the modern Christian University of Athens. On this I desire to speak with peculiar emphasis, as, among other benefits which I have received from the study of the living language of Greece, the more intimate and familiar knowledge of the philology of the New Testament is not the least. Nothing, indeed, can be more hurtful to the highest interests of sacred literature than that nice circumscription within the limits of a few select authors, called classical, to which verbal scholars of a certain meagre culture, not uncommon in England, are apt to confine their attention.'

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND MISCELLANEOUS.

Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh will immediately publish the two last volumes of the Foreign Theological Library for 1852, viz., Olshausen and Ebrand on the Hebrews, and Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. IV.; also, the Fourth volume of Hengstenberg's Christology, translated from the Edition of the original just published. The alterations in this Edition are so great, as almost to render it a new work; while it is satisfactory to know that the change is one for the better. This volume commences the second series of Clark's Foreign Theological Library. The works at present in contemplation for this Series are the following:—

Baumgarten's Apostolic History; or, The Progress of the Development of the Church from Jerusalem to Rome. Translated by the Rev. A. J. W. Morrison, A.M.

Stier on The Words of the Lord Jesus.

Ullman's Reformers before the Reformation; translated by the Rev. Robert Menzies, of Stoddam.

Two or more volumes of Selections from the Studien und Kritiken. Translated by the Rev. Dr. W. L. Alexander.

Keil's Commentary on Kings. Translated by the Rev. Dr. Murphy, of Belfast.

Keil's Commentary on Joshua.

Dorner on The Person of Christ.

There can be little doubt that this New Series will comprise many works of the highest value and interest.

The recent measures in France, intended to bring hawkers of books and pamphlets more completely under the control of the central administration, have unexpectedly, and to the great chagrin of the high-church party, operated in favour of religious liberty. The tolerance of all religions established in 1789, and now indissolubly incorporated in the law of France, is a principle not yet completely engrafted upon the manners of the people. In many provincial districts the local authorities are as bigoted as the Spaniards, who refuse to bury Protestants, or the Tuscan persecutors of the Madiai and Miss Cunninghame. In those parts of France it has hitherto been practically impossible to disseminate Protestant Bibles, because the hawkers, who alone supply the majority of country people with books, knew very well that the sale of them would, under one pretext or another, entail the loss of their licence. But now that a Government stamp is affixed to every publication before it can be lawfully sold by the hawkers, they have nothing to fear so long as they sell nothing unstamped. The Government mark is a conclusive certificate, and, it being impossible for the Government to stigmatise the Bible as a bad book, Protestant Bibles are now selling freely in priest-ridden Brittany, and many other places where such things were scarcely known.—*U. P. Mag.*

Lately published, a Roman Catholic Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures, in a Series of Dissertations, Critical, Hermeneutical, and Historical, by the Rev. Jos. Dixon, D.D. The author is a Professor at Maynooth, and Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland. This is the only book accessible to English readers, in which the Catholic views of inspiration, of the authenticity of the different books of Scripture, of the principles of interpretation, and of other kindred subjects are fully brought out. Such topics are here discussed with clearness, erudition, and authority, and the work is one, we apprehend, which Protestant as well as Catholic theologians will be glad to possess and examine. The most part of the second volume is devoted to such subjects as can be but little affected by the peculiar religious faith of the author.—*Norton's Literary Gazette.*

Under the title of 'Great Truths for Thoughtful Hours,' Blackader and Co. purpose issuing a series of small works. The subject of each will be some important topic worthy of consideration by the earnest and the wise. Each will be complete in itself, and sufficiently short to be read at a sitting or two by even the most busy, while the matter and style will be such as to woo to a repeated

perusal. The preliminary treatise to the Series is Human Happiness, an Essay, by C. B. Adderley, Esq., M.P. 18mo., cloth, gilt edges, 1*s.* 6*d.*, or 1*s.* sewed.

No. I., The Grand Discovery; or the Paternal Character of God, by the Rev. George Gilfillan, Dundee. Cloth, gilt edges, 1*s.* 6*d.*, or 1*s.* sewed.

The Holy Bible, its Oneness of Mind, and Oneness of Design, by the Rev. David Laing, M.A., F.R.S., Perpetual Curate of Trinity, St. Pancras.

The Power of Personal Godliness, an address to professing Christians, by the Rev. Henry Burgess, Ph.D., M.R.S.L.

The same publishers announce another Series, under the title of 'Great Truths for Thoughtful Moments,' intended for Christian travellers, to scatter over the land. The subject of each tract is some important topic, the mode of treatment popular and attractive, and the length about 16 pages. The price of each tract will be a penny, and a packet containing 13, assorted, one shilling. In railway carriages, at stations, at hotels, or on shipboard, at home and abroad, opportunities will be afforded for their distribution.

A third Series will be entitled 'Great Truths Popularly Illustrated.' This series will include tales and popularly written essays. This latter series has been especially honoured by the approval of Archbishop Whately, under whose sanction it may be presumed to be published, the first tale in it having been written by a member of his Grace's family, and containing a Preface by the Author of 'English Life, Social and Domestic.' The first of the series may be expected about the end of January.

The first volume of these Essays will be a revised edition of Four Lectures delivered by W. H. Bainbridge, Esq., F.R.C.S., at the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool, on the 'Physiology of Mind, and the great purpose of education, as training man during his infancy on earth for his immortality in heaven.'

The Rev. Dr. Burgess, whose name the readers of this Journal will recognise, has been elected a Member of the Royal Society of Literature, the President of which is the Earl of Carlisle.

Mr. Blackader has published the second part of the English Bible, which, as is said by the Editor of Notes and Queries, May 21, 'has this great recommendation, that it is no endeavour to furnish a new translation, but only an attempt to turn our noble Authorised Version to the best account.'

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

(*To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.*)

Explorations of the celebrated cave of Arcy-sur-Cure in France — Origin of caverns generally; Theories on their Ossiferous and other contents; description of the Fairies' Grotto — Curious discoveries in a French Cathedral of the 12th century — Discovery of a great Roman Amphitheatre at Nantz — Archæological researches of Russia in the ancient kingdom of the Bosphorus; historical importance of some recovered inscriptions; exploration of burrows on the borders of Siberia — Late and curious discoveries in the ruins of Pompeii — Antiquities of late discovered through the demolitions carried on in Paris, and appertaining to the Roman and Mediæval epochs — Discoveries in Nôtre-Dame, in the Hôtel-Dieu, in the Place du Panthéon, in the old Roman cemetery, in the Rue de Rivoli, in the famous church and tower of Saint-Jacques-la-Boucherie, &c., &c.

Paris, October, 1853.

A curious paper has been recently submitted to the Academy, on the ossiferous cave of Arcy-sur-Cure, in the department of Yonne. The author, M. Robineau-Desvoidy, commences properly with a sketch of such phenomena in general and of their contents. I make you a succinct abstract of his remarks upon both these points, beginning with the caverns, and passing after to the bony relics.

The caverns are subterraneous cavities, found among rocks of the most different sorts, but especially those of the calcareous description. There are probably a great number of them which, having as yet no outlet at the surface of the soil, remain unknown to us. But every day, over the different regions of the globe, is bringing new ones to light by the various labours of man, whether in the working

of quarries or mines, in constructing roads and canals, in digging wells, cellars, foundations, or by certain natural accidents, such as land-slips among others.

The entrance of these caves is sometimes narrow like a chink; sometimes high, broad, spacious, commodious. It seems in such cases to have been opened by the hand of man. It is sometimes even fronted by a majestic vestibule. The direction of the interior takes all sorts of lines. The prevailing one runs parallel with the soil. But they sometimes dip more or less vertically towards the centre of the earth like wells.

The ordinary form is that of a long and winding gallery. At other times they spread out equally, or nearly so, on all sides. By turns expanding and contracting, they exhibit a series of chambers communicating by conduits of more or less constriction. Here you find it requisite to crawl laboriously on all fours; then of a sudden you arrive in halls which quite astonish you with their magnificence, beneath ceilings of immeasurable amplitude and elevation.

Among these caverns there are some of very considerable dimensions. It is now nearly two centuries since a French ambassador at Constantinople, named Nointel, made a visit, with over 500 persons, to the renowned cave of Antiparos, one of the curiosities of the Greek islands. He passed Christmas Day in those vast halls, which were lighted by 100 torches and 400 lamps, and had the ceremonial of the mass performed there with extraordinary pomp. The vale of Quizilla in the Caucasus contains several of these caverns, in one of which has been built an entire village, including its church. But the most extensive as yet known is the great cave of Kentucky, in the United States of America. Over twenty hours are requisite to traverse it throughout. Among its numerous chambers there is one of some 30,000 square yards; another, of which the ceiling is 200 feet high; a third is remarkable for its distance from the entrance, which is not less than 2½ leagues. The Green River, which is boatable, flows through a large part of the Great Grotto.

The caverns found among calcareous rocks are often covered, over all their walls, with those singular concretions which are formed daily before our eyes, and which are owing to the deposit of the carbonate of lime which certain waters, oozing through the crevices of the rocks, hold in solution by the aid of a small quantity of carbonic acid. They assume forms the most various and often picturesque: they resemble needles, pyramids, columns, pilasters, Gothic arches, candelabras, vases, flowers, cypresses, palm-trees, &c. They are often transparent, like glass, and when illuminated by the torches of the visitors, shed a splendour which is scarce endurable to the eye. The water, dropping on the floor, deposits a mammillaneous crust, sometimes quite thick, which is called stalagmite, and which differs from the stalactites but in form.

What is the origin of these caverns? They appear to be found under the influence of a diversity of causes. Some seem due to currents of subterraneous water, which cut themselves a channel through internal fissures of the soil, as rivers on the surface do through the depressions of its level. From many of them are seen to issue, even at the present day, streams of water more or less considerable, as, for instance, the Green River of Kentucky. Others seem owing to some one or other of the numerous convulsions which have been experienced by the crust of the globe, and in particular to upheavals: a few, in fact, retain the traces of these violent catastrophes, which is what gives them in part their desolate and terrible appearance. Others still may be attributed to vapours and to gases which, developing abruptly and in considerable quantity, would, by the force of their elasticity, determine, in rocks not yet consolidated, those immense and irregular vacuities. The concave ceilings of certain caverns would be well accounted for by this hypothesis.

Within very few years an unexpected event in science has come to give an important interest to these caverns, and has rendered them an object of active exploration. This is the fact of the large quantity of bones which is found in several, and which may one day shed a needed light upon certain geologic epochs. These bones are found generally under a layer of stalactites, in the midst of a mass of gravel and boulders, embedded in a reddish ferruginous slime. They belong especially to hyenas and bears, but also to other carnivores and ruminants, such as

the tiger, wolf, fox, elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, horse, ox, hare, rabbit, &c. In the cavern of Kirkdale, situated N.-E. of York, there have been found the remains of 300 hyenas. In that of Goclerouth, adjacent to Maggendorf, there were disinterred the relics of 800 bears.

Two opinions have been advanced to explain the presence of these bones. According to one the caverns had been inhabited by ferocious animals, that carried thither their prey, and perished there themselves. The hyenas, it is known, feed but upon putrifying flesh. For this purpose they transport to their retreat the remains of carcases which the vultures have devoured but in part, and they combine sometimes in large numbers, for the end of trailing to long distances, and with astonishing dexterity, dead animals of great size, for instance, camels. They even disinter the human bodies, so that the Turks are in the habit of covering the new-made graves with heavy stones. There have, besides, been found in the caverns quantities of the excrements of these animals, and some of the bones of the ruminants bore the print of their teeth. According to the other school of geologists, these bones have all been swept into these crevices by torrents of water, and were deposited in the caverns at the same time as the slime and boulders.

Each of the competing theories has some facts in its favour. At the same time it seems certain that the ossiferous and stony slime is in most cases incomparably more recent than the caves themselves.

But this is not all. Human bones have also been discovered in those caverns, with divers products of the hand of man, for example, pieces of old armour, potsherd, funeral urns, bracelets of brass engraved, with several other objects. But these remains do evidently not belong to the same epoch as the skeletons of animals with which they are found commingled; and they in no wise gainsay the opinion, universally adopted now, that our species belongs to a much later geological period.

Their presence has moreover nothing astonishing. The caverns have, in fact, been utilized by most primitive populations as temples, cemeteries, prisons, fortresses, dwellings. This is the order of appropriation assigned by the author of the paper, but the real one was just, or nearly, the reverse. The earliest use was that of dwellings for living men; thence followed the dwellings of dead men; and after, by a farther extension of the analogy, the dwellings of the gods, into whom some dead men had been raised. Their employment as prisons was adventitious, and, as places of refuge, accidental. 'The ancient Egyptians,' proceeds the author, with the same confusion of successive epochs, 'used them to celebrate their religious mysteries, and for the preservation of their mummies: the Tartar princes had their criminals flung into them. They have also been employed in a good many countries as places of refuge during war; and several of them still exhibit fragments of wall, with or without port-holes, and destined for the defence of the approaches. They have frequently and finally served as a den for robbers, those representatives of the primitive savage in our civilized societies. From all these we may conceive easily the presence there of human bones.'

M. Robineau-Desvoidy describes one of the numerous caverns which surround the famous one of Arcy-sur-Cure, and which bears the truly Celtic name of the *Fairies' Grotto*. Its floor, elevated some three yards above the usual level of the river Cure, is composed of clay, of stones, and of blocks of rock, detached as well from the superior as the lateral walls of the cave. The ossiferous stratum may be 2 or 2½ feet thick. What remains of it—for the upper portion has been lately washed off to obtain saltpetre—is formed of black earth, a sort of humus of which the aspect and touch denote an animal origin. The skeletons which it contains are still in their integrity, but the moisture has so impaired them, that when you try to lift them they fall immediately asunder into dust.

The writer succeeded, however, in bringing away a certain quantity of these bones, or rather fragments of bones, from which he determined the following animals: the elephant, the rhinoceros, the horse, the ass, a solipede smaller than the ass, the ox, the rein-deer, the elk, a goat, the hyena, the bear of the caverns.

'I would add,' he says, 'a circumstance which is important to be noted: it is, that these caverns have been inhabited by man, for there I found a large quantity

of rudely-shaped pottery, with cinders, charcoal, and several wrought articles. The pottery most frequently met with goes back to the Gallo-Roman epoch. This potsherd is embedded with the bones of the dog, the hare, the goat, the hog, the wild-boar, the sheep, the calf, and the ox. All these are to be carefully distinguished from the real fossil bones, although they may be found commingled together. I have even turned up a human skeleton in this cavern.'

In the repairing of a cathedral of the 12th century in the south of France—for these pious repairs go hand in hand with the profane throughout the empire—the workmen made a very curious discovery. It was no other than the remnant of a breakfast of bread and eggs of their mechanical predecessors of 600 years since. One of the eggs, which was left unbroken, is said to be in 'excellent condition.'

A discovery of much more magnitude has been made lately in the town of Nantz. One of the charters of the early middle-ages made some allusion to the existence of a Roman amphitheatre in the vicinity. This text has recently been taken up by a local society of archaiologists, who have betaken them to practical exploration. The result was the quite triumphant and astonishing success of discovering an amphitheatre the second in magnitude of Roman Gaul, and which will probably lead to other elucidations.

I have already sent you some of the results of the archæological researches which the Russian Government is prosecuting in various parts of that vast empire. Some new discoveries of much interest are just announced in the official journal. One of them is a pedestal or base of a marble statue, a monument of the time of Parisad I., king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. It has been found by Semanak, an officer of Cossacks, in April last, near the sea, and not far from the station of Sennaïa. This is the spot which is supposed to have been the site of Phanagoria, the capital of the Asiatic provinces of the kingdom of the Bosphorus. The pedestal bears a Greek inscription, which has been interpreted as follows:—'Massilia, daughter of Pasis, has dedicated (this statue) to Aphrodite Ourania—in the time of Parisad, archon of the Bosphorus and of Theudosia, and king of the Sindes, the Maïtes, the Thateans, and the Doscians.'

This Aphrodite Ourania is mentioned also on another marble, where she is qualified by the surname of *Apatouros*, Apaturia. It is doubtless the same personage who is found named in other inscriptions Aphrodite Apatouros, and who, according to Strabo, had at Phanagoria a celebrated temple, erected on the spot whither she had inveigled the giants to deliver them to the mattock of Hercules.

There are known but five inscriptions of Parisad I., son of Leucon I., and successor to his brother Spartokos III., who died in 348 B.C. These five inscriptions attest respectively the worship of Senesges and Astara (Baal and Astarté), of Apollon, of Phœbus, of Diana the huntress, and of Diana of Ephesia. The inscription that makes mention of Diana the huntress, was dedicated to her by Xenocleides, son of Pasis, and perhaps brother of the above Massilia.

Parisad I. was one of the most celebrated of the kings of the Bosphorus: his virtues even procured him the name of *Theos* (god), which is an instance of the true origin of the gods of Polytheism, as was divined by the admirable Warburton. Parisad and the other princes of the dynasty took the title of archons of the Bosphorus and of Theudosia, because the Greeks had, as well as the Romans, an aversion to the name of king. The term Bosphorus comprises the Greek cities attached to the kingdom since its foundation. Theudosia was the conquest of Leucon I., the father of Parisad, and figures in the royal title in almost all the Bosphorian marbles which are known to the present time, and which reach down to 275 before Christ.

As to the barbarous nations acknowledging the archonship of the Bosphorus, and who gave it the appellation of royalty, the inscription in question speaks first of the Sindes, whose country lay on the eastern coast of the Black Sea. The name Maïtes designates the people settled on the banks of the lake Mæotis. Of the two remaining nationalities, Thateans and Doscians, the former were situated to the north of the Hypanis; the latter are first mentioned on the newly-discovered monument, except by Strabo, who cites them as part of the great nation of the Maïtes.

Parisad I. died in 311 A.C. He was the friend and ally of the Athenians, who

erected to him, as also to his son Satyros, and his father-in-law Gorgippus, statues of bronze in the very Acropolis.

Another discovery, due to a member of the Geographical Society of Russia, wa made in the great steppe plain of the Kirgiss. It consists of curious monuments, of evidently high antiquity, but of the origin of which the details do not yet enable us to pronounce. In the upper region of the river Ischuga, which falls into the Yascarta, are found, in several places, rocks of a smooth surface, and whereon are human figures, apparently carved with a chisel. The outlines are rather regular, but the images seem to represent a series of events in the life of a distinguished personage. Upon each tablet there are four or five figures, of unequal height, some exceeding the medium stature of man, most of them on horseback or with horses at a short distance, or seated, in fine, upon the ground. Contiguous to the figures are engraven inscriptions, which will probably unfold the meaning of the picture.

Another monument, still more striking, arises in the middle of the vast steppe, and consists of a three-sided prism, composed of a single stone, and of an altitude of four *anschines*. It represents two horsemen galloping on the left, the first having a mattock suspended at his saddle-bow, the other brandishing a lance; while on the right two men are boiling meat upon a pan set upon a tripod. Some horsemen are approaching, but men come up behind them, take them by surprise, and cut off their heads with their swords. The Kirgiss nomads, encamped in the neighbourhood, pretend this monument to have been raised in honour of an ancient warrior called Kesyl-Kerpelseh, and to represent him, accompanied by his squire, when he is slain by the enemy. The figures graven on the rocks along the banks of the Ischuga relate also, according to their account, to the same personage.

There are several other monuments discovered farther to the north, and in the vicinity of Siberia, but they consist of mounds containing graves, and offer consequently less of novelty. It has been also remarked that all over the steppe of the Kirgiss were met a multitude of those shapeless statues, called in Russia, *little women of stone*, and disseminated in the Altaï, and throughout southern Russia.

Among the discoveries which the explorations of Pompeii are making daily, there have been lately found a group of human skeletons, with that of a dog. One of the skeletons is that of a young woman, bearing still upon the arms, the fingers, and the legs, bracelets and rings of great price. Alongside of them lay sacks filled with gold and precious articles. They were evidently taking flight from the awful catastrophe when the lava-flood arrested and engulphed them. And how touching was the fate and the fidelity of the dog, whose superior fleetness might have won its escape had it been willing to forsake its mistress!

A city of the living, this far-famed world of Paris, has also had of late its excavations and its discoveries. You are aware of the renovation which it undergoes at present in the repairing of its ancient monuments, and the construction of entire streets through the most antique and archaiological of its districts. The result is a vast number of the most interesting antiquities, which have been carefully collected by a body of men of science, attached to the Ministry of Public Instruction, and styled the *Committee of the History, the Language, and the Arts of France*. From their Report upon the subject I select you the chief discoveries, as made respectively in the city proper—that is, the islet in the Seine, and on the left bank and the right bank of the river.

City.—The portion of the Palace of Justice lying to the south of the Sainte-Chapelle, and where a building is now going up for the Correctional Police, has been the scene of the discovery of a large Roman edifice, in which were found some precious details of architecture and of sculpture; a painted panel, columns of stone, pediments, capitals of the Doric order, portions of tombs, some with, some without inscriptions. These fragments have been conveyed to the museums of Thermes and of Cluny, two repositories reserved specially for the antiquities of France, and to which I mean to make an early visit for the information of your readers. One of the pediments alluded to shows, by the traces of the cables, that, at the epochs of the great overflowings of the Seine, the boats were moored habitually to the

columns of the edifice. The same works in the Palace of Justice have disclosed further some Roman foundations, several pieces of coin of both the Upper and the Lower Empire, also some precious documents respecting the ancient precincts of this oldest of the royal palaces of France. In the suppression of a little street which ran adjacent to it, called St. Croix, there were discovered a Roman dwelling-house, a portion of an ancient street, of which the pavement was still in place; also the tomb of two Roman personages—husband and wife—without inscription, and which was carried to the conjoint museum above named.

In opening the Rue de Constantine, through the old cloister of Saint Martial, there were brought to light some fragments of columns, with two capitals of the 12th century, and a holy water trough of the same epoch, covered over with curious figures. The same street presented also the foundation of a Roman edifice, containing several apartments, a very complete hypocaust still full of cinders and charred wood, and an aqueduct, directed towards the larger arm of the Seine.

The grand works of restoration in the famous Nôtre-Dame have led to sinking a deep sewer across the court, which excavation has unfolded the following curiosities:—1st. a portion of the wall of enclosure of the celebrated Lutetia; some of the stones composing the wall, which was evidently built in haste, bore inscriptions and architectural details, that showed them taken from anterior edifices. 2nd. Numerous Roman dwellings which had occupied the site of the court, and among which was found proof that Childebert had levelled a certain part of them for the erection of the grand basilicon which he dedicated to the Virgin. 3rd. Some of the foundations of this consecrated edifice, a portion of the pavement in mosaic, three of the columns in dark marble of Aquitaine, a Corinthian capital, exhibiting all the characters of the sculpture of the Merovingian epoch. Fragments of columns of the same edifice have just been recognised in the foundation of the southern façade of the great cathedral itself of Nôtre-Dame.

The works which are now in progress, and designed to render navigable the small or southern arm of the Seine, have brought to light, along the Hôtel-Dieu, the sunk foundations of the façade of the hospital erected by St. Louis, and which was decorated with two grand arches adorned with statues, represented in the ancient engravings of the building. In turning off the water it was found that the façade had rested upon two arches in ogive, and which belonged to the bridge that spanned that arm of the river, but were suppressed by the extension of the soil. The discovery of these two arches has farther led to the recognition that the southern wall of the Hôtel-Dieu, which banks the river, is very ancient; that it is regularly pierced, in its whole length, with ogived arcades, and that the waters of the Seine, in coursing through those arches, used to flow underneath a large portion of the hospital before passing through the newly-discovered arches of the ancient bridge. When such things can be lost all memory of, in less than a thousand years, in the very heart of the most enlightened, if not most populous, of modern cities, how little need we wonder that the records of ancient cities are so imperfect, and the resources of fresh discovery so inexhaustible!

Left bank.—Among the most interesting in this district are a number of coffins, found on the site of the old church of Sainte-Geneviève, hard by the Pantheon; they were executed in thick planks of cast plaster, and presented on the outer surface a variety of rude ornaments, such as have been found at several points of the city: some fragments of antique cloth were found in the graves. Other monuments have also been discovered in the same locality, which fully confirm the established fact, that the whole summit of this the second in elevation of the hills of Paris, and all along the southern side, had been one extensive cemetery, and thus was justly styled throughout the middle ages the *Fief of Tombs*. Another curiosity, found in the same district, is part of the barrier erected under Philip Augustus in the 13th century. But more important is the following, as disclosing the condition of society in even the cities at that epoch. In demolishing some houses erected in the 17th century, they were found resting on the site of the famous Hôtel d'Harcourt, an edifice of the close of the 13th century. The very chapel attached to this dwelling, and of which some fragments still remained, presented

all the paraphernalia of a fortress, which goes to prove, *à fortiori*, the private mansions thus defended. In the chapel were found some paintings containing the arms of a former owner; and on the site of the Hôtel some sparse fragments of varnished pavement, and also some sculptured ornaments painted with much care.

Right bank.—The grand extension of the Rue de Rivoli has fallen in with large fragments of two Roman roads, one running eastward and the other towards the north; also several ground-works of Roman and Merovingian edifices. The remains of two round towers have been encountered on the site of the splendid barracks just completed to the rear of the Hôtel de Ville; and they are judged to have been connected with a square tower destroyed some time ago, and which was known to have belonged to the 11th century. A spectacle that much attracted the idlers of the city was brought to light by the demolition of several modern houses which were erected on the site of the old convent of Sainte-Catherine, and laid bare a range of immense Roman cellars of the 13th century.

But the most curious of the explorations were occasioned by the extension of the Rue de Rivoli across the site of the ancient church of St. Jacques-la-Boucherie. The soil, which had to be levelled to the depth of several yards, exhibited three historic periods of this grand monument. The lowest stratum presented some fragments of a construction of the Carlovingian epoch, to which historians refer the building of the first chapel. Over this was raised, towards the end of the 11th century or early in the 12th, an edifice a good deal more considerable, and the stumps (so to speak) of the columns of which remained in their places to the height of from one to two feet. Under the floor of this sacred church, of which the extent was partly ascertained, were found several bodies either in tombs or in the open earth; one of these graves contained the remains of a woman of proportions so remarkable, that it was obtained by Dr. Serres for his anthropological studies; the same grave contained a dozen earthen vases, or pitchers, of which some were like their mistress, of marked dimensions.

The third and grand church of the 14th and 15th centuries, which was destroyed in the Revolution of 1789, presented its wider ruins above those of its two predecessors. Fragments enough have been collected to preserve the style of its architecture. Its noble tower, which the *sans-culottes* had the æsthetical devotion to spare, and which is by far the most magnificent in Paris, has been the subject of investigations which have brought to light some curious paintings. This is the tower to whose summit Pascal went to make his immortal barometric discovery, and this was probably in its favour with the philosophical democracy. It stands out venerably grand, the noblest ornament of the Rue de Rivoli, and will be suitably enclosed and planted round with shrubbery. The city has given for this purpose 500,000 francs. In conclusion, all the late discoveries, of which the foregoing are a slight sample, will be published in a general monumental history of the city, accompanied by an archaiological map, now in progress of preparation.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

Discovery of the famous Casket of Saint Louis; description of its decorations, armorial bearings, &c.; curious uses of such articles on occasion of the Crusades - Human Palæontology; various mixtures of the Gallic race; evidence of it in the recent explorations of certain sepulchres; anatomical explanation of the physiognomy of the various races; the interpretation of natural history through the physical character of the people.

Paris, November, 1853.

M. Eugène Grésy, member of the Society of Antiquarians of France, has lately published a curious paper on the famous Casket of St. Louis. This precious relic was first deposited in the royal abbey of Nôtre-Dame-du-Lis, founded in 1244 by the authority of Blanche of Castile, and after enlarged, in 1248, by St. Louis himself. It was celebrated in the middle ages for the wealth of its relics, which were treasured in an adjoining chapel. On the suppression of the monastery in 1793, the irreverent Committee of the Revolution threw them open

to the multitude, and they were scattered in the neighbourhood around. The greater portion, however, found their way to the church of Dammarie, a commune formerly dependent on the monastic manor; and here it is that have been just recovered the relics in question of the royal saint.

That they are veritably his, the learned antiquary labours lengthily, and I should judge successfully, to prove. But of all the evidences, augmentative, traditional, or other, the least equivocal would seem the blazonry with which the casket is covered over, in addition to its mediæval and heraldic physiognomy. At all events, and without venturing to recommend an entire credence, where pious fraud might have had an interest, I cite the description of the curious articles.

The Casket of St. Louis is about 1 ft. long, by 2½ in. broad, and a little less in height. It is of oaken wood about one-third of an inch thick, and overlined with silver leaf to give relief to the destined varnish. This primitive varnish is of deep green colour; it is preserved but on the back of the little box: on the other sides it has disappeared beneath a coating of repainting of a duller and lighter tint, and which, in consequence, sets off inferiorly the metallic decoration. This decoration counts no fewer than eighty-five distinct pieces, besides a multitude of gilt-headed nails that form spirals in the intervals. There are forty-five armorial escutcheons, all enamelled with their proper colours in counter-sinking; the number was originally forty-eight, but three of them got loose and have been lost. But what is most significant is, *that the arms of France and of Castile are found to figure on all the sides of the casket; they are repeated twenty-four in all:* and the design is the very same as in the mural paintings of the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris. The order which determined the situation of the other arms must have been regulated, as in all questions of family etiquette, by considerations of parentage, of alliance, of pre-eminence of rank, or particularity of affection. By way of alternation, there have been ranged symmetrically twenty-four medallions in brass, of which the subjects, cut through and through and applied on leaves of the same metal, are almost all taken from the bestiaries of the epoch. Pearls in blue enamel represent the eyes of the animals. On the posterior phase appears a separate decoration; no blazonry whatever is admitted in its company. It consists of medallions applied on graven and gilt brass, and historied with scenes, which are in relief upon a ground of blue, and relate for the most part to the private life of a feudal personage of lofty lineage.

The lock which secures the casket is composed of pieces of brass, more massive. Four enamelled clasps, bearing the arms of Castile, consolidate the junction of the external panels; the angles of the cover are adorned beside with enamelled coins, in which are enchased some large ornaments of crystal. A huge dragon with powerful claws, eyes sparkling in enamel, holds in its mouth the guard which drops upon the keyhole, and seems to forbid fiercely all entrance. Its wings, enamelled blue, white, and red, enfold its body, half fish, half serpent, which terminates in an arrow-shaped tail. This symbolic animal is observed frequently upon the treasure boxes of the fourteenth century. It will be remembered the romancers of the middle ages used to place habitually their heroines and other treasures under the guardianship of winged dragons. In fine, the handle, which served to carry the casket by, is scaled and folded like the body of a serpent, and is terminated with a serpent's head at each end.

On the front side of the coffer are five escutcheons: 1st, of gold, with three tortoises gule, broken by a band with five pendants azure, which is William de Courtenay, who joined the crusades with St. Louis; 2nd, is effaced; 3rd, banded with gold and azure, and bordered in gule, which is Hugh de Bourgogne, who was also of the crusade; 4th, in gule with fork-tailed lion argent, which is Aufroy de Montfort, who followed the king in his voyage beyond the seas; 5th, chequered gold and azure, with border in gule, which is Dreaux, in honour of John de Dreaux, who was knighted by St. Louis, and his companion in the crusade.

On the opposite side there are: 6th, a coin of Britanny, in honour of Pierre de Dreaux, called *Manclerc;* 7th, of gold with lion sable, which is Flanders, in honour of the Duke of Flanders, who married Margaret, daughter of St. Louis; 8th, part in gule with golden chains disposed according to the quarterings of the field, which is Navarre, and part of azure with band argent crosses in gold, which

is Champagne, on account of Thibaud II., King of Navarre and Count of Champagne, who espoused Isabel, daughter to the king, and was with him on his second voyage beyond the seas; 9th, of gule with three clasps in gold, which is John Mallet, Sire de Graville, who joined the crusade with the king; 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, which are the arms of Castile; 14th, 15th, and 16th, three large spangled crowns of France inscribed in enamelled medallions.

Here is surely strong presumptive evidence of the genuineness of the alleged origin. The bas-reliefs in graven brass present the following curious subjects. 1st, a warrior armed with a sword combating a chimerical animal; 2nd, two quadrupeds back to back, and labouring along the circumference, their necks entwined, and the heads brought round so as to set them face to face; 3rd, a crowned personage piking a lion; 4th, a winged quadruped back to back with a lion passant, the heads contorted and brought front to front; 5th, two lions set back to back with the heads reverted to seize a pine apple; 6th, lost; 7th, an angel playing on a spinet; 8th, two fantastic birds, set back to back, and adorning the keyhole.

On the ends of the casket are numerous other armorial quarterings, whose dry details I shall spare the reader, with merely the following exception: it is in gule with three leopards gold, set one upon the other, which is England, perhaps in memory of Eleanor of England, who was maternal grandmother of the king. The bas-reliefs on the left end represent: 1st, a lion crowned; 2nd, a winged quadruped passant on the right; 3rd, a sunflower; 4th, a double-headed eagle. Those on the right end: 1st, a flower *de Marguerite:* might it be in allusion to Margaret of Provence, the King's wife? then the sunflower, forming a pendant, might be the emblem of the monarch; two birds set back to back, with heads contorted and pecking at a fruit; 3rd, a bird devouring a fantastic animal; 4th, a winged lion rampant.

The blazonry on the cover, which is naturally the most elaborate, and counts in fact sixteen escutcheons, must be omitted for the reason mentioned. I will only remark, in confirmation of the authenticity of the relic, that the arms here belong for the most part, to the king's family and immediate friends. The enamelled decorations on the back have more variety. They are: 1st, a personage slaying a lion; 2nd, a warrior armed with a sword, and taming a chimerical animal; 3rd, a beardless youth playing on the spinet in the presence of a young girl who dances, holding a species of jingle in each hand; 4th, a young married couple embracing each other; 5th, a king with crown on head and sceptre in hand, giving his benediction to a young prince who stands before him with hands joined; 6th, a coroneted baron on horseback, with a falcon on his fist; 7th, a crane darting at a fish; 8th, a foot-servant holding a hound in a leash; 9th, two knights attacking in single combat; 10th, two dogs launched in pursuit of a stag.

M. Grésy adds the following explanatory remarks. Heraldic decorations applied to portable articles were very much in vogue in the thirteenth century. The princes and barons, in setting out for the crusades and other distant expeditions, loved to carry with them in this manner the remembrance of those who were dearest to them, and to make a parade of their noble alliances. There was preserved in the church of *Saint-Yves de Briane* a purse of the days of the crusades (*pera peregrinationis*) embroidered all over with armorial bearings, and which passed for having belonged to Pierre de Dreaux, Duke of Britanny. Among the arms were remarked, those of Dreux, of Flanders, of Neelle d'Offemont, and several others. Montfaucon, who published it after a design by Gaignières, says, it had served to bring back relics from the Holy Land, a thing which was of frequent occurrence. The writer adds that he has seen, in a private collection, a leather girdle sewn all over with plates of armorial blazonry, and that it must have cinctured the loins of a Montmorency, as the blazon of that house is repeated on it several times. The collections of the Louvre and the Hôtel de Cluny have also several specimens of this description. I mean to pay them marked attention on occasion of the visit, which I purpose, when I have a few days' leisure, to make those two grand mediæval reliquaries. I hope also to find, at one or the other, the 'Casket of St. Louis;' though M. Grésy would have it deposited in the Sainte-Chapelle, to revive devotion.

M. Serre, an eminent writer, and professor of Anthropology, has recently laid before the Institute a paper on the French races, of which I sketch you a very succinct analysis.

France, of all the countries of Europe, has been the most commixed with foreign races. Greeks, Romans, Teutons, Saracens, Moors, Scandinavians, Goths, Visigoths, have alternately traversed the various regions of its territory, and have left on their way the relics of those who fell in battle or by disease. Whence it follows, on the one hand, that the Gallic race is the most mixed, and on the other, that its palæontology offers peculiar difficulties. The expedient to avoid these difficulties is to go as high as possible, and search the ancient burial places of the primitive inhabitants.

It is, moreover, to be noted that the full effects of such confusion would appear to have been limited or rectified by two circumstances: one, that the invaders were commonly followed by their own women; and the other, that the climate tends to countervail the crossing. 'The Gallic soil produces Gauls,' was an apothegm of Pasquier. In proof of the continued insulation of the races, the author cites his observations in the ancient burial ground at Précy-sur-Oise, which was discovered in digging a railroad track in 1846. Among the skulls he found the Gallo-Roman type, the Teuton type, a variety of the Mongol type approaching the Kalmuck, a Gothic type, and perhaps a Sclavic, characterised by the remarkable narrowness of that portion of the maxillaries which supports the incisive and the canine teeth. He thinks this sepulchre goes back to the times when, under the Emperor Theodosius, 100,000 of the inhabitants of the banks of the Danube were poured into the valley of the little river Oise, and along as far as Orleans, where they were checked by the Southern Gauls.

The like phenomena have been again observed a few weeks since by M. Serre, in the churchyard of the village of Agnès, in the same district. The Mayor of the Commune, in making some clearances about the church, which is of high antiquity, was struck with some peculiarities in several of the disinterred skulls, and sent to Paris for the attendance of M. Serre. This gentleman recognised, in fact, the greater portion of the above types, but in a manifestly modified condition. This modification then would be the element ascribable to soil and climate. And, having thus the two limits of this progression or alteration, with the time which intervened, this being conjectured about twelve centuries, M. Serre conceives we have the requisite data to solve the problem of this influence, by exploration of the intermediate gradations of sepulture.

For the prosecution of this enquiry he lays down the following important rules. In zoology, it is especially the crown of the teeth that is used for the characterisation of species among the mammals. The roots are of little interest, on account of the length of the maxillaries, and their slight influence on the facial structure in animals.

In anthropology, on the contrary, the shortness of the maxillaries gives to the dental roots a meaning at least equal to that of the crown. For, from the dimensions of the incisives result the dimensions of the vestibule of the nose; from those of the canine teeth result the dimensions of the mouth; and their length or their shortness determines the thinness or thickness of the lips, as well as the extension of the anterior portion of the alveolar arcades.

But, we know the supreme influence which the dimensions of the mouth, the lips, the nose, and the protrusion or retreat of the alveolar arcades exert in the physiognomy of human races, upon their distinct varieties, *and the etymologies of their language*. For the same reason, that is to say in consequence of the elongation of the jaws in animals, the cavities which hollow the osseous structure of the face offer little or no interest in zoology.

In anthropology, on the contrary, those cavities, by the contraction of the bones, become a sort of mould upon which are fashioned the cheeks, the orbits, and the root of the nose. Their variation in the several races is dependent on that of the cavities, which are the serial reservoirs for human respiration.

In fine, for the same reason also the base of the skull of animals has but slightly fixed the attention of zoologists; Daubenton has alone taken notice of its full importance.

In anthropology, on the contrary, the consideration of that surface offers a principal interest, and exhibits certain characters of which the fixity is independent of the influence of external agents, of which the action is so powerful upon man.

From these principles then it follows, that, in the researches of anthropology, the modifications of the bones of the deepest layers of sepulture, as compared with those of the superficial layers, should be traced in the following points: in the first place, in the *ensemble* of the teeth, and in the contour of the alveolar arcades; in the second place, in the relative capacity of the sinuses maxillary, sphenoidal, ethmoidal and frontal; in the third place, in the conditions of the base of the cranium, especially in the degree of opening of the *meta-facial* angles. Now, as to the cause of such modifications.

Assuming the skulls of the churchyard of Agnès to belong to the descendants of those at Précy-sur-Oise, is the modification wrought in the interval due to climate or to crossing? M. Serre thinks the latter to be the more probable hypothesis; and I beg to add, I think him in the right. Not, however, that the soil has not, in my opinion, a share of influence; and greater still, what M. Serre takes no account of, the *social* atmosphere. But the physical or physiological is the more fundamental, and therefore powerful cause, and operates with the more rapidity as the commixed races are more unequal.

After giving these directions for making the most of the epochs of mixture towards the illustration of the aboriginal Gallic type, M. Serre avows the necessity of ascending, after all, to at least the Roman or the ante-Roman sepulchres of the nation. These are to be found, he thinks, in the *dolmens* or 'Druid altars,' and he indicates one in particular (bearing the Irish name of 'Fairy Stone'), wherein assurance has been obtained of finding a number of genuine skeletons—'as soon as the funds of the Museum will permit the cost of the expedition.' This is probably a hint to the liberality of the Government; and the conjecture is not discountenanced by the conclusion of the memoir. I however give it as full of suggestion, as well historical as anthropological.

The interest which attaches to the primitive inhabitants of Gaul does not concern anthropology alone. The direction given of late years to the study of French history adds still a new interest, and one quite peculiar to the nation. The vicissitudes, without number, which the Gallic race have undergone have attracted the attention of all historians; and what, above all, has excited their astonishment, is to see that at all epochs that race has shown itself equal to the events against which it had to struggle.

Different causes have been imagined to account for this result, and never, to my knowledge, has the true one been sought where it resides, in the physical organization of the Gallic race itself. The little interest which anthropology excited till of late times, is in large part the cause of this oversight. The Celtic monuments found in France have been indeed figured and described; the vases, the instruments which they contained, have excited powerfully the interest of antiquarians. All has been said upon this subject, all has been commented.

But as to the Gauls themselves who erected those monumental stones, they have scarcely been taken the least notice of. Those precious remains have been flung to the winds, or if, by chance, some archaiologist has preserved an odd skull, it was not to give it any special attention.

The impulse at present given to historical researches has put an end to this carelessness. It is now understood that the appreciation of the events of a nation has its principal source in the knowledge, physical and moral, of the human races which accomplished them. Appreciation of the nations has shown the necessity of appreciating the agents; and thenceforth, anthropology has taken, in the aggregate of human knowledges, the elevated rank to which it is entitled.

I have already had occasion, in these letters, to make allusion to the French school of art established recently at Athens, for the exploration, on the ground, of the antiquities of classic Greece. The results are transmitted annually to the Academy of Inscriptions, which submits them to a special committee for judgment. The Report of this committee, for the past year, which has just appeared, is full of interesting information respecting Christian as well as Heathen monuments. I reserve it in its integrity for my next letter. A.

(*To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.*)

Sir,—The most important piece of information which I have to communicate is the formation of a new society, founded, not for the furtherance of a church, a doctrine, or a set of opinions, but to recognise and recommend the Saviour's words, 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another' (John xiii. 35). This new Society, denominated 'The Universal Christian Alliance,' has been called into existence by a conviction on the part of its founders, that practically the basis of 'The Evangelical Alliance' is too narrow for both the claims of the Gospel and the Spirit of the day. 'The Universal Christian Alliance' has for its object to give practical efficacy to these three principles—1. The love of God, as the Creator and Father of all men; 2. The love of all men as immortal creatures and children of God; 3. The love of Jesus Christ as the Son of God and the Saviour of men. The Alliance aims to attain this object by these means, namely, 1. The practice of charity toward all men without distinction of worship or nationality; 2. The provision of education and instruction for children, and the supervision of apprentices, according to the spirit of the Alliance; 3. The propagation and defence of its principles by conferences and publications. Among the vice-presidents are a member of the Greek Church, a Catholic, and two Protestants. In the list of the officers are names of ecclesiastical, literary, and social distinction. The most eminent men of Geneva are said to have signified their approbation, and under their influence an affiliated society will shortly be formed. The churches of Holland are expected to enter the Alliance.

The Society at the Hague 'For the Defence of the Christian Religion' has awarded a prize to M. G. V. Lechler, of Wurtemberg, for his essay on the subject proposed by them—'An historical examination, first of the character and the origin of *the Presbyterian system* in the Reformed Church; then of the development which the system has received, and of the limitations or modifications which it has undergone in different countries; lastly of the influence which it exerts in these days in the bosom of the Protestant churches.' The following are the questions already proposed as themes for prize essays (will there be no English competitors?):—'A series of biographical pictures of the *Belgian ecclesiastical history*, embracing the life of the men who, since the sixteenth century, have, whether at home or abroad, exercised the greatest influence on the Christian Church and the Christian life.' 2. '*A manual of devotion*, developing and seriously recommending a reasonable and edifying conception of evangelical truth in contradistinction to a dogmatic and mystic tendency.' 3. 'A *critical* but succinct *view of the history of Catholicism in the Low Countries* since the establishment of the Reformed Church there.' 4. 'A treatise on the character, history, and value of *the Biblical cosmogony*.' 5. 'Having regard to anterior researches, as well as the most recent discoveries, what origin should we assign to the different collections and *recensions of the Epistles of Ignatius*? what is the value of them for the appreciation of Christian doctrine and its primitive history?' 6. '*An apologetic library*, that is, a catalogue complete and distributed in scientific order, being also a literary history of all apologetic writings (writings in defence of Christianity), great and small, from the earliest times of Christianity down to our own days.' 7. 'A parallel of *the tendency of Christian Apology* as it is in modern times and as it was in former ages, with an indication of the causes and consequences of the former.' In addition the Society proposes these topics:—1. '*A History* of the synodal *Presbyterian system* in the Protestant Church of the Low Countries, with an indication of its origin, its development, and the course it has pursued up to now, and an estimate of its influence beyond the limits of that Church.' 2. '*A History of Ecclesiastical Independence* (congregationalism), consisting of a criticism of that system, of its origin, of its action, and of its different forms before and after the Reformation.' 3. 'What has been the effect on the exposition, the application, and the defence of the Christian revelation? what has been the effect of the neglect of its ethical character, and what progress may be made now in this matter in the department of Christian doctrine, practice, and apology?' 4. 'What did Arius and his disciples teach in regard to the person of Christ?

What forms has Arianism taken in later dogmatic systems? What judgment on that opinion must be pronounced by an impartial, exegetical, and dogmatical criticism?' The essays of the competitors should be addressed to the Society's Secretary, W. A. Van Hengel, D.D., and Professor in the University of Leyden.

Among the religious works which have come under my notice, I may briefly characterise the following:—An appropriate New Year's present may be made in a second edition of the very celebrated and permanently useful work which bears the name of *Thomas-a-Kempis* (De Imitatione Christi), translated and published in the beautiful little volume of which the title runs, 'Thomas von Kempen vier Bücher von der Nachfolge Christi Versehen, &c., von D. A. L. G. Krehl, mit illustrationen, &c., Leipzig, Kesselring.' This work is regarded in Germany as a masterpiece of what is there called Christian mysticism. The term has not, as in this country, an offensive character. Mysticism there means pretty much what we intend by piety. Mysticism, considered systematically, may be termed 'the religion of feeling,' or that devotion of the religious nature of man which has its sources and its outflow in and from the heart. The subject has once more excited attention in Germany, chiefly as a part of the prevalent reaction against Rationalism. The views thereof of a learned and moderate divine whose name is honourably known in England, Dr A. Tholuck, may be found, as in a nutshell, in '*Die Mystik*, Vortrag,' 2nd edition, 1853. Those of your readers who may wish to study the subject systematically and historically, will do well to possess themselves of the excellent treatise, 'Die Christliche Mystik' (*Mysticism in the Christian Church*), considered in its historical developments in the middle ages and in modern days, by Dr. L. Noack, one vol. 8vo., 1853, in which full and accurate sketches of the doctrine and its influences are given, as exemplified, among others, in Thomas Münzer, John Arndt, Jacob Böhme, Swedenborg, Novalis, as well as in the older representatives of the system, Bernhard of Clairvaux, Tauler, Thomas-a-Kempis, Staupitz, &c. The learned author has also very recently published a valuable work, entitled, 'Die Biblische Theologie' (*The Theology of the Bible*), an introduction to the Old and New Testament, with an exhibition of the doctrinal contents of the Scriptures; one vol. 8vo., 1853. Holding that the predominance of any one of our human faculties necessarily leads to error, so that the heart begets mysticism, and the head rationalism, both wrong in their negations, while on their positive side they—as all mere systems must do—run to excess, Dr. J. Scheinert has endeavoured to expound and uphold the Gospel in its fullness as well as its purity, in his work, 'Die Christliche Religion' (*the Christian Religion*), one vol. 8vo., 1853, the simplicity of whose title is an image of the simplicity of the Gospel as it there appears scripturally expounded and received, and set forth under the conjoint influence of reason and sentiment. How fiercely the war rages between Romanism and Protestantism on the Continent is made manifest—as by many painful signs and incidents—so by a systematic and reliable development of the workings and aims of the extreme and now predominant (though beginning already to decline) party in the Papal Church, in the carefully compiled work, 'Die Propaganda' (*the Roman Propaganda*), the fields and the laws of its operations, by Dr. O. Meier, 2 vols. 8vo., 1852-3.

Your humble servant,

TEUTONICUS.

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OBITUARY.

Died at Edinburgh, in October, the Rev. Robert Gordon, D.D., long minister of the High Church. He was a man of great intellectual power, and philosophical character, and his style of pulpit oratory was of a fervid yet dignified cast, rarely witnessed in our times. With the exception of Sermons, his name was not known by published works in the literary world; but as a preacher and pastor, and one of the leading men in the ecclesiastical and educational movements of Scotland, he has long occupied an honourably prominent place.—*Literary Gazette.*

At Glasgow, on December 10th, in his 74th year, the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. The deceased was an eminent Nonconformist divine, but was highly esteemed by men of all churches, and of all sects. As a man and as a public Christian teacher, he was an ornament to their common faith, and a benefactor to their common country. Though dead, he will continue to speak by his powerful writings, and by the savour of a holy and consistent life.

At his residence, near Dublin, on Oct. 26, Sir William Betham, Knight, aged 74. Few men have been more useful in public life than Sir William Betham. In the absence of an Irish aristocracy, his name was one which was in great request in the city of Dublin. Were a chairman required for any religious, charitable, or scientific purpose, Sir William was always ready and delighted to render all the assistance in his power. To his fellow-labourers in the field of letters, he was ever courteous and obliging; and as few were more fully capable of affording aid to the historian, the antiquary, or the genealogist, so he was always ready to give them the benefit of his extensive reading and research. — *Gentleman's Magazine*, Dec.

In July, at Oxford, aged 73, the Rev. Godfrey Faussett, D.D., the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. Dr. Faussett was the author of Jewish History vindicated from the presumed unscriptural view of it displayed in the 'History of the Jews' of Dean Milman, and of several controversial sermons.

At Brasted, on December 25, Dr. W. H. Mill, Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Ely. Dr. Mill was sixth wrangler in 1813. As a mathematician and scholar, Dr. Mill's attainments were of the very highest order; and the pursuits of his youth he continued as the relaxation of his maturer years. His acquirements in Sanscrit have won him a European reputation; and, as a contribution to the evangelising of India, as well as a classical production in that great language, his *Christa Sangrita* is a work unparalleled in modern literature. Dr. Mill's several publications as Christian Advocate are devoted to one of the most difficult subjects of Christian evidence; in them he has successively refuted the Pantheistic theory.—*Guardian.*

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We beg to express our thanks to 'Clericus,' and many others, for the kind and encouraging manner in which the last number of the Journal has been noticed by them. We would recommend to Clericus Jones's Persian Grammar as a good introduction to the language for one without a teacher. At the East India College, Haileybury, after the Grammar, the text books are, the *Akhlâki Muhsini*, the *Gulistan* of Saadi, and the *Anwâri Suhaili.*

We are making arrangements for securing an early and full account of the state of Biblical Literature, in all its departments and languages; and in several other matters hope to make the Journal still more worthy of the approval of our readers.

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LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES & SONS, STAMFORD STREET, AND CHARING CROSS.

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